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HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS
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A POPULAR

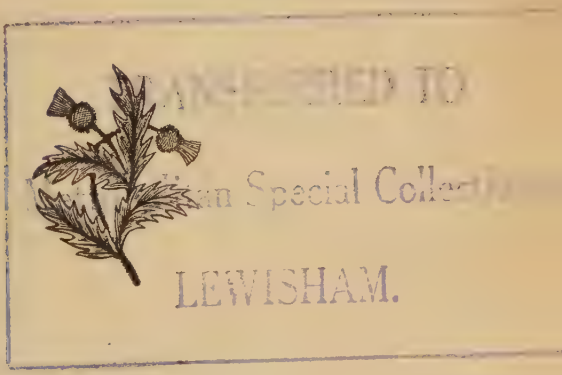
HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS

AND GAELIC SCOTLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TILL THE CLOSE OF THE 'FORTY-FIVE.

BY

DUGALD MITCHELL, M.D.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PREFACE.

My principal aim in the preparation of these pages has been to provide a general History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland of moderate length, and obtainable at a moderate price. Curiously enough, such a work has not, hitherto, been placed before the public. All previous histories of this romantic portion of our land have been large and costly, so costly that the written record of their country's story has been, practically, unobtainable by the general body of Highlanders. It is hoped that this volume will effectively meet the necessities of these readers, as well as appeal to all classes of the people. My endeavour has been to supply a work popular in character, and, at the same time, authoritative, educative, and comprehensive.

For the comfort of the reader, I have, almost entirely, abstained from the insertion of foot-notes. From time to time, however, in the course of these pages, I have taken occasion to acknowledge my obligations to many writers by special reference to their works, and here I would take the further opportunity of giving expression to my indebtedness to previous workers in the same field. Of the standard productions of such authoritative writers as Skene, Gregory, Browne, Tytler, Robertson, Rhys, Ewald, Joseph Anderson, J. F. Campbell, and others, I have made large use. How far, through their aid, and through the exercise of no inconsiderable amount of original research, I have succeeded in my endeavour, my readers are alone entitled to determine.

DUGALD MITCHELL.

Rothesay, *March, 1900.*

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— 86 A.D.

FAR back in the dim past there lived upon these islands of ours, as the records of archæology testify, a race or races of men who buried their dead in caves and chambered tombs, and whose tools and weapons were of stone and bone. Such is the broad fact taught us by science, and neither science nor philosophical research enable us to determine with much greater accuracy the exact period in the world's history when first the British Isles became the abode of a section of mankind.

Not until long after that old-world time—the Stone Age—had passed away, do we find our islands emerging upon the page of written history. Our earliest glimpses of them occur in the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome. To the Greeks they had become of interest commercially from the fact that, from a very early period, tin mines had been worked energetically in the South of England, and, at least, as early as the sixth century B.C. the adventurous traders of Phœnicia and Carthage had found their way hither, that they might exchange the products of the East for the valued yield of the Western mines. In this trade a Greek colony at Marseilles shared largely, and from that port British tin was conveyed to the cities and towns of Greece and Rome by the overland route.

The earliest references occur in connection with these circumstances. Orpheus, a Greek poet of the sixth century, wrote of

them under the name of the Iernian or Western Islands. By Herodotus, in the succeeding century, they were included, along with what are presumed to be the tin islands in Vigo Bay, on the coast of Spain, in the general name of the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands. Not till the following century do we find the name "Britannia" employed, but at that period the appellation was used in a general sense to denote the group of these islands, and distinctive names are found for the first time applied to Britain and Ireland when Aristotle, or a writer contemporary with him, speaks of two great islands beyond the Pillars of Hercules and the Gallic Bay as the islands of Albion and Ierna.

It is not improbable that in "Albion" we have the name by which Britain was known to the older races of inhabitants, and the statement of the venerable Bede, with which he begins his *Ecclesiastical History*, that "Britain is an island in the ocean formerly called Albion" seems to bear out this surmise. The derivation of the term is open to conjecture, but it is probable that it is related, not to *chalk cliffs*, nor yet to the abundance of *white roses*, as supposed by Pliny, but to the comparative height of Britain as an island, and is derivable from the Celtic vocable *Alp* or *Alb*, which signifies *high*. Many place names in Southern Europe are derived from the Celtic, and in the name of the Alps, Albania, and other mountainous districts, we find the same root-word as occurs in "Albion." In each instance the reference is to height. It is interesting, and somewhat significant in connection with this derivation, to remember that while the name Albion has for many hundreds of years been little used by the inhabitants of the greater part of the Island, it is still, in the form of Alban, or Albin, retained by the Highlanders who, in fact, continue to designate themselves Albinich after the old name of their country.

Strabo the geographer has preserved for us an account of a journey made, sometime in the fourth century B.C., by one Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles), who, in two visits, travelled over a considerable part of Britain, and claimed to have sailed round the half of it, reaching the island of "Thule," and ascertaining for himself that Britain is an island. It is from him we receive the first indications of the character and condition of the country. He found it consisted for the most part of forest or marsh. But there were open spaces in the woods in which sheep

and cattle were kept, and along the coast he found that wheat was grown. "This wheat," he says, "the natives threshed, not on open floors, but in barns, because they had so little sunshine and so much rain;" thus showing that our rainy climate arrested the attention of the stranger then as now. He further noted that the natives were acquainted with intoxicating drinks, which they made from corn and honey.

Little, however, is known regarding Britain or its people till the period of the Roman conquests. From the year 55 B.C., when Julius Cæsar first set foot upon our island, Britain became of increasing interest both to the Roman and the Greek world. To Julius Cæsar, in all probability, little was known of the northern part of the island, as his invasions were only temporary and of limited extent, but inferentially we may conclude that his statements regarding the characteristics of the inhabitants are applicable, in at least some measure, to the people of the whole island, and so we may take them as throwing light upon the inhabitants of far Caledonia at that time. 55 B.C.

In Cæsar's opinion, and he was an acute observer, no less remarkable in letters than in arms, Britain was peopled by two races, one occupying the interior who were considered to be indigenous, and who would seem to have been in a large degree the earlier Celtic immigrants; the other situated on the sea-coast, Celts also, but of later arrival, who proved themselves to have come from Belgic Gaul by their various tribes retaining the names by which they were known on the mainland, and by their bestowing upon their new possessions names similar to those with which they were familiar in the country from which they had come. After speaking to this effect regarding their origin Cæsar goes on to say:—"The population is numerous beyond all counting, and very numerous also the houses. These closely resemble the houses of the Gauls. They have great numbers of cattle. They use copper or copper coin or bars of iron, carefully made to a certain weight, as money.[1] . . . Of all the Britons those that inhabit Kent are by far the most civilized (Kent is a wholly maritime region). These, indeed, differ but little from the Gauls in habits of life. Many of the inland Britons do not

[1] This passage is very corrupt, and it is certain that ere Cæsar's time a gold coinage was in currency among several of the more southern tribes.

grow corn, but live on milk and flesh, and are clothed in skins. All the Britons stain their persons with a dye that produces a blue colour. This gives them a more terrible aspect in battle. They wear their hair long, shaving all the body except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve men have their wives in common; brothers very commonly with brothers, and parents with children. The offspring of each wife is reckoned to belong to the husband who first married her." Speaking of communities Cæsar elsewhere remarks:—"What the Britons call a town is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a vallum and ditch, for the security of themselves and cattle against the incursion of an enemy; for when they have enclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves and houses for their cattle." He also indicates the government of the Britons by kings, and writes at length on the Druidical priesthood which he found exercising great influence on our shores. At this time the Venetians carried on a large trade with Britain.

Descriptions which appear in the writings of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus tell us what was known regarding the inhabitants of Britain in the two succeeding reigns. Both of them agree in describing two races, the Britons and the Gauls. The former were less civilized than the latter, taller, of a slighter build, and with hair darker in colour, while Strabo, like Cæsar, refers to the more simple and barbarous races of the interior as being unacquainted with agriculture. Diodorus attributes to those whom he considered the aborigines "the simple virtues of the pure and early state of society fabled by the poets," and he further notes that they had many kings and princes, that they fought in chariots, and that it was their custom to store the ears of corn underground.

After the withdrawal of the forces of Julius Cæsar from the shores of Britain (54 B.C.) no Roman conqueror appears to have found his way hither during the succeeding ninety-seven years.
43 A.D. In the year 43 A.D., however, the active subjugation of the island was recommenced under the Emperor Claudius, the same with whom we come into touch in the "Acts of the Apostles," when we read that "Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome." At this date, or shortly before, civil war raged in Britain, and on the invitation of a British chief named Bericus, who had found his way to Rome, an expedition of forty thousand

men was despatched under the command of Aulus Plautius who, at that time, was over the imperial forces in Gaul. From this time forward till the final withdrawal, nearly four hundred years afterwards, the legions of Rome continued to control the destinies of large portions of Britain, and Roman camps and Roman cities, in ever increasing numbers, found place upon her plains.

As the armies of Rome gradually won their way northward through the territories of the powerful nation of the Brigantes, tribes of whom are considered to have reached as far to the north as the Firth of Forth, they came to learn somewhat of those tribes beyond the Firths of Forth and Clyde, the determined resistance of whom, in the future, it was theirs so long to encounter. By the year 65 they had heard of the Caledonian 65 A.D.
Britons, of the Caledonian Forest, Ocean, and Promontory. The latter, it is understood, referred to the peninsula of Kintyre, from the fact that it is noted they thence could see five of the Hebrides, while in the name "Caledonia" we probably find the British word *Celyddon*, or its Gaelic equivalent, *Coilltean*, meaning dense thickets.

Till some years later, however, (79) no foot of Roman legionary 79 A.D.
had trod, on warlike intent, the soil of what is known as present-day Scotland, and the Scottish border was first crossed by Roman conqueror during the command of Julius Agricola, whose biography has fortunately been handed down to us by Tacitus, his son-in-law, the great Roman historian. It is this writer, above all others, who dwells upon the doings of the Romans in Britain, illumining the darkness with the touch of his graphic pen; and it is now, for the first time, that anything definite regarding Scotland and its people appears upon the page of history. It is doubtful if Tacitus ever set foot upon our shores, but some of his descriptions might well have been those of an eye-witness, and their character is hardly to be accounted for by any other consideration.

By this historian Agricola is shown to have been a wise governor, as well as an energetic and successful soldier. Already he had served in Britain under three governors, and that with great honour to himself. These experiences were no child's play, as is evidenced by Tacitus when he says:—"At no time had Britain been under greater combustions, nor our affairs there more precarious. Our veterans were slaughtered, our colonies

burned down, our armies surprised and taken. At that juncture the struggle was for life; afterwards for victory." It is from incidental notes of this character that we are best able to estimate and to appreciate the resistance that was again and again, though fruitlessly, offered by the Britons to the arms of the conquering Romans.

The ambitious nature of Agricola, his "passion for military glory," and his energetic character determined him in the summer of 79 to extend his field of operations northwards, with a view to including the whole island within the possessions of Rome. By the end of that summer, it is inferred, though it is not definitely stated, he had added to the Roman province all the territory south of the Forth and Clyde, and reached the confines of that part of the country known to the Romans as Caledonia. Following his usual methods, he forthwith set about erecting forts within the conquered area, which, with characteristic caution, he provisioned for a year, thus rendering each, so far, independent of the other.

Recognizing also, as Agricola did, from the "conduct and experience of others that little is gained by arms where grievances and oppression follow," he set himself to the task of pacifying the conquered and redressing their ills. Thus he sought "to tempt them with the sweetness and allurements of peace." To further effect this, and to induce in them those habits of inactivity and repose which were most likely to reconcile them to their subject condition, he used all his arts to thoroughly Romanize the people. The young chiefs were educated as Romans, and taught the Latin tongue. They donned the Roman gown, and gradually acquired many of the habits and tastes of civilised life. "By degrees they proceeded to the incitements and charms of vice and dissoluteness, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, and all the stimulations and elegance of banqueting." All which, the historian frankly adds, "was indeed part of their bondage," as in fact it only too effectively proved itself in the future to be. In this connection it is to be noted that numerous remains of Roman baths have been discovered within this territory.

80 A.D. During the following summer the tribes of Caledonia came into contact, for the first time, with the proud legions of Rome. To be brought face to face with a highly disciplined army that

had hitherto carried all before it, to be called to combat with soldiers who sheltered themselves in camps and strong forts, carefully victualled, seems to have effectually paralyzed the Caledonians for the time being. As a result Agricola was enabled, apparently unmolested, to prosecute his conquering career, "quite to the mouth of the Tay" (the *Tavaus*), erecting as he proceeded formidable forts in positions wisely chosen to command the passes. The camps at Bochastle, Dealgan Ross, Fendoch, and the fort at Ardargie are probably among the structures erected at that time, while it is surmised by Skene that the great camp at Ardoch, north of Dunblane, marks the position of the entire Roman army. Here have been unearthed the only Roman inscriptions hitherto discovered north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. One of these commemorates a certain Ammonius Damionis, while other fragments show that the camp was in occupation subsequent to the year 117. 80 A.D.

To Highlanders the future operations of the Romans in Scotland are of peculiar interest, from the fact that the numerous campaigns entered upon were rendered abortive very largely as a consequence of the stubborn resistance offered to the Roman arms by the inhabitants of the Highland area, in the determined efforts they again and again put forth to maintain their much-loved freedom.

Having secured, in the manner indicated, the territory extending to a considerable distance north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde (the *Bodotria* and *Glotta* of Tacitus), Agricola devoted the summer of 81 to confirming his conquests, and running up defensive works. Taking advantage of the isthmus between the Firths, as pointing out a natural and easily maintained boundary, he erected a chain of forts extending right across the country from the neighbourhood of Borrowstoneness to Old Kilpatrick. So favourable a line of defence did this seem that, to Tacitus it appeared it might well mark their ultimate boundary, "would the bravery of their armies and the glory of the Roman name allow it." 81 A.D.

But there were other circumstances besides those just stated which, doubtless, appealed to Agricola, and determined him still further to prosecute his conquests. During a portion of the year 82 he had in his camp a petty Irish king who, expelled by domestic dissensions (possibly by the arrival of the Scots), had 82 A.D.

82 A.D. come to him for protection. By Agricola he was welcomed, "and under the appearance of friendship," says Tacitus, "reserved for a proper occasion." That occasion was the contemplated conquest of Ireland, for in the eyes of the Roman commander, "such an acquisition were of moment for the securing of Britain, if on all sides the Roman arms were seen, and all national liberty banished, as it were, out of sight." This idea, this desire to remove the inspiration of freemen from the neighbourhood of the conquered, had much to do, we may believe, with inducing the future repeated efforts to effect the subjugation of the Caledonians, rather than any special value attaching to the glens and mountains of the North, which might develop the ordinary earth-hunger of the conqueror.

Knowing so little as Agricola did of the extent of the country westwards, or of the character or number of the inhabitants, and, doubtless, keeping in view possible operations in Ireland in the future, he exhibited his caution and foresight by devoting this summer to an excursion to the West coast. This he successfully accomplished, "passing the Firth, himself in the first ship that landed, [and] in many and successful encounters subdued nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of Britain which fronts Ireland, more from future views than from any present fear." It is well nigh certain that the part of the Scottish coast here indicated is Kintyre, and it is probable that the "passing the Firth" means sailing down from the neighbourhood of Dumbarton to the coast of the Argyllshire peninsula.

Fortified by the information gathered on this expedition the
83 A.D. summer of 83 witnessed the resumption, by the invader, of the forward movement towards the north. But no longer were the free-men of the hills to stand idly by; no longer did they hesitate to strike a blow for liberty, and measure swords with the mistress of the world.

> "I give you shelter in my breast,
> Your own good blades must win the rest."

Anticipating determined resistance from the threatening attitude of the tribes, and realizing the greater difficulties from the denser forests, the more impenetrable swamps, and the more formidable mountain strengths which they would have now to encounter, Agricola decided to urge the war by sea and land, and

so began proceedings by causing his fleet to explore along the coast of Fife. The result of these demonstrations was to thoroughly rouse the Caledonians "to action and arms." Advancing "with great parade," and daringly assailing the Roman forts, so serious did the position of affairs appear that many of the Romans urged an immediate retreat south of the Forth. The General, however, determined to hold his ground, and learning that the enemy purposed attacking him in divers bands, he divided his army into three portions—a procedure which is borne witness to by the existing remains of camps, one at Cupar-Angus, one at Lintrose, and one south-west of the latter and overlooking the Tay. Suddenly re-uniting their forces, however, the Caledonians, by night, fell upon the ninth legion and fought their way right into the camp. Agricola, hearing from spies of the intended attack, hurried up reinforcements, and taking the tribes in the rear while yet the conflict raged in the camp, compelled them to fight their way out, with the result that a desperate encounter ensued in the gates of the camp. It was a critical position, and the natives, as speedily as possible, sought the protection of the woods and marshes, or "by this victory the war had been determined." 83 A.D.

No more within the Roman camps was now whispered even a suggestion of retreat, for every man became once again elated and resolute, and declared that "they must penetrate into the heart of Caledonia, and advance in a continual succession of battles, till they had at last found the utmost limits of Britain." Meanwhile, Agricola retired and made preparations for that campaign which was destined to be the most important of any. On their part the natives were by no means disheartened, but formed a strong confederacy of the tribes ratified by solemn sacrifices, and prepared with energy for the coming struggle. In every glen was heard the clang of the armourer's hammer; the chariots of war were mustered for the fight; and women and children were removed to places of safety.

Pausing for a moment in our recital of the march of events let us note what Tacitus has to tell us regarding the country and its peoples. Speaking of the inhabitants of Britain as a whole he says:—"In their looks and persons they vary; from whence arguments and inferences are formed. For the red hair of the Caledonians and their large limbs, testify their descent to be

84 A.D. from Germany. The swarthy complexion of the Silures, and their hair, which is generally curled, with their situation opposite to the coast of Spain, furnish ground to believe, that the ancient Iberians had arrived from thence here, and taken possession of the territory. They who live next to Gaul are also like the Gauls. . . . That their sacred rites are the same, you may learn from their being possessed with the same superstition of every sort. Their speech does not much vary." The question of Ethnology will be discussed in a later chapter. Our historian further notes that the principal force of the unconquered tribes consisted of foot; that some nations employed chariots, the more honourable person always driving; that they were formerly subject to kings, but were then swayed by several chiefs, and rent into factions; and that they felt not excessive cold. The raininess of the climate; the length of the days and the shortness of the night at the extremity of the country; the fertility of the soil; the variety of the fruits and grains it bore; the presence of gold and silver, and the pearl fisheries—all are carefully indicated by him.

That the want of cohesion among the tribes constituted their weakness, and availed the Romans much, is freely acknowledged by Tacitus. He says:—"Nor against nations thus powerful does aught so much avail us, as that they consult not in a body for the security of the whole." Ere the next campaign in North Britain, however, the Caledonians had learned, as he assures us, "that a general union was the best way to repel common danger." The patriotism of the fierce tribesmen was aroused; they had learned to stay their inter-tribal quarrels and jealousies when the independence of their common country was at stake, and they had thus learned a lesson which, in some degree at least, must have produced permanent effects. The campaign that was now approaching has been signalized by the great battle of Mons Grampius or Granpius, the latter being, it would appear, the proper form of the word.

86 A.D. With the approach of summer active operations were vigorously resumed. As in the previous campaign, so now, the first step taken by Agricola was to despatch his fleet northwards along the coast, with a view to harassing and devastating the coastward districts, and so alarming and terrifying the inhabitants. This done he set his army in motion, and again the tide of war rolled

onwards towards the barrier of the north, till they came face to face, on the slopes of the Mons Granpius of Tacitus, with the forces of the Caledonians, thirty thousand strong, under Galgacus, Scotland's first historic hero. It was evident that a struggle of a desperate nature was at hand, that the storm which had been gathering throughout the winter was about to burst. From western sea-board and from farthest north ; from sheltered glen, from far-extending strath, and from the margin of the lonely loch, the hardy sons of the north had rallied to the battle for freedom, every man of them eager to measure swords with the proud legionaries of Rome in defence of liberty's sacred cause. "Armed with very little targets and with swords of enormous size," the Caledonian "host was ranged upon the rising ground, at once for show and terror, in such sort that the first band stood upon the plain, and the rest rose successively upon the brows of the hills, one rank close above another, as if they had been linked together. Their cavalry and chariots of war filled the interjacent field with great tumult and boundings to and fro." What position is here meant by Tacitus it has been found difficult to determine. Skene identifies it with a site which was originally suggested by a writer in the "Old Statistical Account of the Parish of Bendochy," published in 1797, viz., the Blair Hill, or Mount of Battle, Blairgowrie, on which "are the remains of a large native encampment, called Buzzard Dykes, capable of containing upwards of 30,000 men." The army of Agricola numbered 26,000 men. Sir James Ramsay believes that the battle was fought at Delvine, a little below Dunkeld. 86 A.D.

In accordance with the fashion of the times Tacitus places in the mouth of the barbarian chief a speech which, for vigour of diction and loftiness of sentiment, will always command attention and awaken sympathy. It is one of the noblest, soul-stirring appeals on behalf of liberty that was ever penned. Whether or not the substance of the speech was actually enunciated by Galgacus, it may be taken as expressive of the feelings with which the conquered world viewed the devastating proceedings of the Romans, who, "when they make a wilderness, call it *Peace*," as well as indicative of the dissatisfaction with which many of the Romans themselves, though they durst not give expression to it in Rome, beheld the greed and conquering ambition of their insatiable rulers. Its tone and general character make it evident

86 A.D. that, in the estimation of Tacitus, Galgacus was very far from being a savage. The peroration may be taken as illustrative of the spirit that animates the whole :—"Here," he says, "you see a general, here an army : there you may behold tributes and the mines, with all the other train of calamities and curses ever pursuing men enslaved. Whether all these are to be forever imposed, or whether we forthwith avenge ourselves for the attempt, this very field must determine. As, therefore, you advance to battle, look back upon your ancestors, look forward to your posterity." The speech of the chief was received by the tribes with the greatest enthusiasm, their bands marched eagerly to the front, and the battle joined.

It is very evident from the record of Tacitus that in the early part of the onset, and while missiles were being interchanged, the Caledonians more than held their own, while the chariots struck terror into the hearts of the mailed legionaries. When they came into close quarters, however, the better discipline of the invaders, their superior weapons, and the effective protection of their armour and ample shields, neutralized the native bravery, and secured the victory to the arms of Rome. That it was a stubborn, a sanguinary, and a well-fought fight is very certain, while the retreat was so conducted that the Caledonians were enabled time after time to rally, thus threatening to turn again the tide of war, and in these efforts exhibiting, as the historian phrases it, "notable wrath and bravery." Though 10,000 of the army of Galgacus are said to have been slain, the battle of Mons Granpius was no unworthy opening to Scotland's long roll of honourable and distinguished warfare.

In estimating the recorded result of this battle and of the other campaigns of Agricola, we have not only to remember that the historian wrote for the Romans, but that he was the son-in-law of the Roman General. That the loss sustained by the Caledonians was great may be admitted, for it was a long and a bloody fight this first historic Scottish battle, but that it amounted to a third of the original army may well be doubted, when we find Tacitus himself acknowledging, that the native forces were able to retire in good order, while we do not read of Galgacus or any chief being killed, or falling into the hands of the victors. We are further justified in concluding that Agricola had received a decided check when we discover that no further effort was

made to reach the heart of Caledonia, or to attain to the extreme limit of the island, as his troops had, only the year before, proudly expressed their determination to do. It seems very evident that, for the time being, the Roman General had no desire to come again into contact with the warlike Caledonians, or to attempt to follow them into their fastnesses amid the inhospitable hills. He therefore, after a time, withdrew his forces, and lodged them in garrisons in the country of the "Horestians," or "Borestians" rather, south of the Tay, after which he ordered the Admiral of the fleet to sail round Britain. This voyage of exploration he safely accomplished, and returned in due time to Bodotria—the Firth of Forth. 86 A.D.

Ere another summer had arrived Agricola was recalled by the Emperor Domitian, and his opportunity of conquering Caledonia or subduing Ireland was gone forever. The net result of his several campaigns was that upon the tribes beyond the Tay the might of Rome failed to produce any lasting impression, and they retained their independence.

"They scorned to stoop the neck to wide imperial Rome,"

though she was then at her best and greatest. With the characteristic tenacity of mountaineers the hardy sons of the hills fondly clung to their rugged steeps and fertile glens, while the memory of the recent fight burned into their souls, steeling their character, strengthening their patriotism and love of liberty, banding them together as they had, probably, never been banded before, and inducing in them a spirit of ever increasing resistance to the conquering arm of Rome. Ere many years had passed Scotland, as a whole, became again entirely freed from the Roman yoke, and the Roman province was once more limited on the north by a line virtually represented by the present boundary of Scotland and England.

Writing about this period, Solinus thus refers to the government of the Hebrides:—"The isles of the Hebudæ are separated from one another by narrow sounds, and by reason of their contiguity are governed by one King. This monarch has no property. He is supported at the expense of the public. He is bound by established laws to rule according to the principle of equity. Lest he should be tempted by avarice to commit any acts of oppression, poverty confines him within the rules of justice. He has no personal interest to promote. He has no wife, that can with any propriety be called his own."

CHAPTER II.

Erection of Hadrian's wall as the northern boundary of the Province—Ptolemy's map of Britain—Configuration of the Highlands—The tribes of Scotland—Caledonian attack on the Province in 138—Erection of northern wall—Attempts upon the Province in 162 and 182—Details from Dion and Herodian—Northern tribes grouped into Caledonii and Mæatæ—Peace purchased by the Roman Governor—Campaigns of Severus—Reconstruction of the northern wall.

86-211 A.D.

During the period intervening between the recall of Agricola and the arrival upon our shores of the Emperor Hadrian in the year 120, little is known of the course of events in Britain. That at this time the Romans had no definite footing in Scotland is evident from the position chosen by Hadrian for the erection of that huge fortification stretching between the Solway and the Tyne which has since gone by his name, and which was designed by him as the northern boundary of the province. It was an enormous wall, occupying, it would seem, more than eighty years in its construction, such a wall as the Romans had never sought to set up elsewhere, and bears signal testimony to the valour of the northern tribes, and the wholesome dread in which they were held. Dr. Bruce estimates at from ten to fifteen thousand the strength of the permanent garrison holding its forts.

The position occupied by the Romans in Britain during the reign of Hadrian, and the importance attached to his deeds is shown by the fact that he it was who first bore the title "Britannicus," while his actions in Britain were commemorated in the coinage. It is interesting to speculate on the probability that the design on one of these coins—"Britannia—a draped female figure, seated holding a spear, and by her side a round shield with a spike projecting from its centre," is that from which the later copper coinage of the United Kingdom has been copied.

It was about the period with which we are now dealing that there was sketched by Ptolemy, the great geographer, what was

probably the first map of Britain ever constructed. The leading features in the configuration of the country—headlands, bays, estuaries, rivers, and not a few towns—are assigned positions with a wonderful degree of accuracy for that early time. His work, however, is vitiated by certain errors into which he fell, the principal of which was that he, as the result of some extraordinary misunderstanding, turned the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde towards the east instead of the north, thus placing it at right angles to its normal relationship. The east is thus made to look towards the south, and the north towards the east. The effect of this error upon the relative positions of many features can be readily imagined. c. 120 A.D.

Of more interest to us than the geographical features is the information Ptolemy is able to afford us of the tribes occupying Britain in his day, and as known to him. While it is evident we need not look for strict accuracy under the circumstances in which Ptolemy wrote, we may very well view what he gives us as approximately correct and accept it as such.

The relative positions of the several tribes of Scotland will be more readily understood if we first indicate the course of the boundary line between the Lowlands and the Highlands, and those leading mountain features of the north which have influenced the history of the country, both politically and socially, even to the present day. By Professor James Geikie the boundary has been thus defined:—"An approximately straight or gently undulating line taken from Stonehaven, in a south-west direction, along the northern outskirts of Strathmore to Glen Artney, and thence through the lower reaches of Loch Lomond to the Firth of Clyde at Kilcreggan, marks out with precision the southern limits of the Highland area and the northern boundary of the Central Lowlands." From the point of view of language, however, the dividing line between the Gaelic-speaking and the English-speaking districts during the clan period departs somewhat from this line as we approach the east at Ballater, where it strikes north to Craigellachie, and terminates at the mouth of the river Nairn, on whose right bank, at one time, lived an English-speaking population, and on its left a Gaelic-speaking people.

Controverting the popular notion that the mountains of Scotland in any proper sense constitute mountain-ranges—that is,

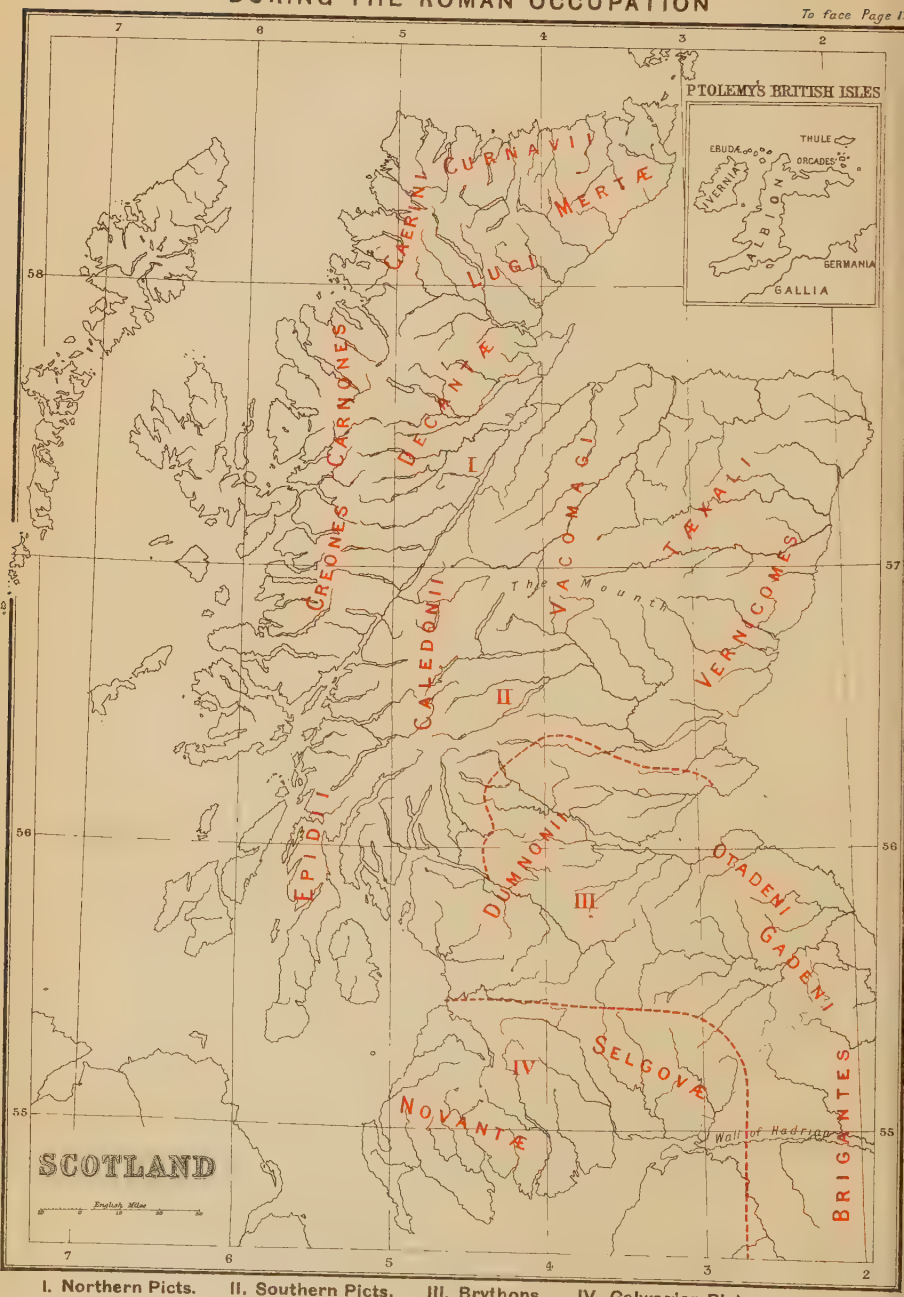
c. 120 A.D. belts of high-ground which have been ridged up by earth-movements—Geikie further says:—"our mountains are merely monuments of denudation; they are the relics of elevated plateaux which have been deeply furrowed and trenched by running water and other agents of erosion. . . . The old table-land, of which the Highlands and Islands are the denuded and unsubmerged relics, is of vast geological antiquity. . . . We see, in short, in the table-land of the Highlands one of the oldest elevated regions of Europe—a region which has been again and again submerged either in whole or in part, and covered with the deposits of ancient seas and lakes, only to be re-elevated, time after time, and thus to have those deposits in large measure swept away from its surface by the long-continued action of running-water and other agents of denudation." And thus it was, by nature's saws and chisels, that our Bens and Glens took shape, and our noble Highland scenery put on much of its wild romantic beauty.

The principal mountain-chains (as it is convenient to call them) are two in number, with minor chains proceeding from them. One of these, known by the old historic name of the "Mounth," extends east and west from the neighbourhood of Aberdeen to Fort William, where it terminates in the lofty Ben Nevis. About its centre it is dominated by the almost equally majestic Ben-Muich-Dhui. The venerable Bede, in the eighth century, writes of this chain as "the steep and rugged mountains which separate the provinces of the Southern Picts from those of the Northern Picts."

Crossing the range of the "Mounth" at right angles, and extending north and south from the neighbourhood of Loch Lomond to the Ord of Caithness, is the second great chain of mountains—that chain which figures in history as the "Dorsum Britanniæ" of the Latin writers, and the "Drumalban" of the Celts. It constitutes, as both the names imply, the back-bone of Scotland—the irregular ridge which separates the eastern from the western districts. The mountains of Drumalban present no individual Bens of equal altitude with the principal ones of the Mounth, but from their marked and varied contours, and their remarkable intersection by the beautiful sea lochs of the Western Highlands, they exhibit many picturesque features.

RELATIVE POSITION OF TRIBES DURING THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

To face Page I



I. Northern Picts. II. Southern Picts. III. Brythons. IV. Galwegian Picts.

> "These be thy ramparts, Scotland, these thy fence
> Which nature raised, to keep thy children free
> From the invading Roman, and the pride
> Of power aggressive."

What in reality was the "Mons Granpius" of Tacitus has been much in dispute. It is now generally considered to be represented by those numerous minor ridges which, terminating in the Highland line, extend from Loch Lomond to the eastern extremity of the Mounth, and which present to the invader a sufficiently inhospitable aspect. Unlike the Mounth and Drumalban, the name "Mons Granpius" does not appear in the records of British historians until the time of Hector Boece, who adopted it from Tacitus. Since that period the name has continued to be applied somewhat loosely, and much more comprehensively than was intended by the Roman historian.

The tribes of Scotland, as given by Ptolemy, may here be stated as a whole. Beginning at the south we find him indicating two tribes the "Otadeni" and the "Gadeni" as extending along the east coast from the wall of Hadrian to the Firth of Forth. Contiguous with these on the west were the "Selgovæ" or "Elgovæ," occupying pretty much the district of Dumfriesshire. Further westwards were the "Novantæ," who inhabited the counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. North of the Selgovæ and Novantæ, and occupying the very centre of Scotland as far north as the Tay, was the populous nation of the "Dumnonii." The eastern half of Fife and the counties of Forfar and Kincardine were possessed by the "Vernicomes." Further north along the east coast, and reaching from the Mounth to the Moray Firth, he places the "Taexali." Immediately to the west of these latter, on territory bordering upon the Highland line, and extending from the Moray Firth to the Tay, were located the tribe of the "Vacomagi." Definitely within the Highland line we find the following tribes. Beginning again in the south and proceeding steadily northwards we are shown the Epidii ranged along the west coast from Loch Long to Loch Linnhe. On the east side of Drumalban, and extending from Loch Long to the "Varar Aestuarium" or Beauly Firth, were situated the tribe of the "Caledonii." On the west of Drumalban, and ranging from the Linnhe Loch to Loch Carron, were the "Creones" or "Croenes," while the "Carnones" were placed further north, probably in the

western districts of Ross. The eastern district was occupied by the "Canteæ" or Decantæ. The "Lugi" and "Mertæ" were the possessors of Sutherland proper, while its western coast held the "Caerini," and away along the extreme north were found the "Curnavii."

After the death of Hadrian in the year 138, that portion of the nation of the Brigantes who lived to the north of the wall broke through that barrier huge though it was, invaded the territory of one of the southern tribes, and overran it to such a
139 A.D. degree as to necessitate the sending into Britain the following year of Lollius Urbicus, the lieutenant of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, who defeated and subdued them. As the result of this expedition, the frontier of the Roman province was once more extended to the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde—a boundary which virtually continued to mark the extremity of their possessions northward, notwithstanding their future efforts at further conquests.

Following the example set by Hadrian between the Solway and the Tyne, the Roman General, with a view to affording protection to the re-conquered territories, forthwith set about the construction of that great rampart between the Firths of Forth and Clyde which has since been known as the wall of Antoninus, and locally as Grahame's or Grime's dyke. The position chosen was that selected by Agricola some sixty years before for the line of forts set up by him, and it is not improbable that some of these forts were utilized in connection with the new structure.

Symbolic sculptures portraying Roman triumphs, such as the "Tablets found at Kilpatrick, representing Winged Victories in majestic attitudes of triumph and repose," have been unearthed in the neighbourhood of the wall, as also numerous inscribed stones, some of them having reference to that structure. One of these, a tablet of three panels, bears at one end a representation of a horseman careering over wounded and slain, and at the other end a sacrificial scene, while in the centre there is engraved a contracted inscription which has been thus interpreted:—"To the Emperor Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the Father of his country. The Second Legion, Augusta, has made 4652 paces." Another contracted inscription on a stone now treasured in the museum of the University of Glasgow, along

with some altars and other memorials of the wall, is read as follows:—"The second legion AUGUSTA set up this stone in honour of Quintus Lollius Urbicus, the Legate and Proprætor of the Emperor." It is considered improbable that the whole structure was completed under the supervision of Urbicus, and it is believed that the greater number of the forts were erected at a somewhat later date.

Few and slight are the traces of this great defensive work which still exist, but it is gratifying to find that steps are being now taken for the better preservation of what remains. Measuring some thirty-six miles in length, it extended across the country from Bridgeness, close by Carriden, on the Forth, to Chapel-Hill, near Old Kilpatrick, on the Clyde. Close to its northern side was a trench forty feet wide and twenty feet deep. The original height of the vallum is estimated at twenty feet, and its breadth at the base twenty-four feet, and existing remains show it to have been constructed not uniformly of hewn stone, like the southern wall, but of a foundation of stone surmounted by earth strengthened by sods of turf. For the protection of its defenders it was surmounted by a parapet, behind which was a level platform, and along its whole length, on the southern side, ran a paved military way twenty feet wide.

The original number of forts or stations connected with the wall of Antoninus would seem to have been nineteen, the principal ones being situated at the following places—Old Kilpatrick, Duntocher, Castle-hill, East Kilpatrick, Bemulie, Kirkintilloch, Auchindavy, Barhill, Westerwood, Castlecary, and Rough Castle. Some of these were connected with baths and more elaborate works. Besides the more important stations, small watch-towers were interspersed each in sight of its neighbour, from which intelligence could be signalled and the alarm given with the utmost expedition.

That the wall was effective for its purpose for a time seems certain, as Roman history speaks of no incursions till the year 162, when, on the death of Antoninus, what seemed to be a favourable opportunity was seized by the northern tribes to make an attempt upon the province. To meet the emergency, Calphurnius Agricola was specially commissioned to proceed into Britain, and he, ere long, succeeded in restoring peace. 162 A.D.

Twenty years later (182) patriotism again gathered force, and 182 A.D.

the liberty-loving men of the north scaled the barrier, slew the commander and numbers of the soldiery, and committed so much damage on the territory south of the wall that much alarm was felt at Rome, and Marcellus Ulpius was despatched to the rescue by the Emperor Commodus. Not till after two years of hard fighting did this general succeed in terminating the war.

In the beginning of the following century, as we gather from the historian Dion Cassius, the northern tribes had reached the stage of definite union into two peoples. It was an important step in the consolidation of the country, though not till many hundreds of years had passed was the process, then begun, completed. The following are Dion's words:—"Of the (northern) Britons there are two great nations called Caledonii and Mæatæ, for the rest are generally referred to these. The Mæatæ dwell near that wall which divides the island into two parts. The Caledonians inhabit beyond them. They both possess rugged and dry mountains, and desert plains full of marshes. They have neither castles nor towns, nor do they cultivate the ground, but live on their flocks and hunting and the fruits of some trees, not eating fish, though extremely plenteous. They live in tents, naked, and without buskins. Wives they have in common, and breed up their children in common. The general form of government is democratic. They are addicted to robbery, fight in cars, have small and swift horses. Their infantry are remarkable for speed in running, and for firmness in standing. Their armour consists of a shield and a short spear, in the lower end of which is a brazen apple, whose sound, when struck, may terrify the enemy; they have also daggers. Famine, cold, and all sorts of labour they can bear, for they will even stand in their marshes for many days to the neck in water, and in the woods will live on the bark and roots of trees. They prepare a certain kind of food on all occasions, of which, taking only a bit the size of a bean, they feel neither hunger nor thirst. . . Such are the inhabitants of that part which wars against the Romans." Herodian, another contemporary historian, writes in very much the same terms, and refers, in addition, to the habit which characterized them of painting their bodies with figures of animals, and of which they appeared to be extremely proud. More than a hundred years earlier, Solinus wrote that the inhabitants of the Ebudæ (Hebrides) lived on fish and milk only.

These early descriptions are not a little perplexing from their inconsistences, and in some respects they give evidence of credulousness, and of being largely founded on hearsay. Dion is known to have been specially credulous. To heighten the contrast between the Romans and the northern tribes, it is probable that the shadows are unduly darkly drawn, though it is not unlikely that the ideas recorded were those that were at the time current at Rome. In connection with the question of clothing, it is to be noted that Roman sculptured stones found at Cumbernauld, Dumbartonshire, Carriden, Linlithgowshire, and other places, represent the Britons, in contrast to themselves, as going naked. All that these representations can prove, however, is that the era of woven materials had not yet dawned among the tribes, or that cloth was not commonly used, for that they did wear skins at times is beyond doubt. Indeed, the winter climate of the British Isles would soon bring any race, however vigorous, to an abrupt ending, were the people not protected from its rigour by clothing of some sort. In the fight and in the hunt, and possibly during summer, however, such warm and cumbersome clothing as skins would be naturally discarded.

The statements as regards the relations of the sexes are markedly inconsistent with the remarks of Tacitus, by which he seems to have recognised a true family relationship, from the warmth by which Galgacus, in his address, is made to speak of wives, of children, of fathers and mothers—of wives to hearten and to stimulate their protectors to deeds of bravery, of fathers and mothers to upbraid them for flying. "Dearest to every man are his children and kindred, by the contrivance and designation of nature."

From all these early records what appears most evident is that the Romans were much impressed with the endurance, activity, and bravery of their northern foes.

It is to be remarked that Dion is the only historian who employs the term "Mæatæ." It is not definitely agreed who this people exactly were, but various considerations make it morally certain that they comprised those tribes nearest the wall on its *north* side, inhabiting thus the more level districts, while the "Caledonii" consisted of certain tribes beyond them. The name Mæatæ is possibly derived from the Celtic word *Magh*, meaning a plain. It enters into the name Vacomagi, which

represented a tribe on the Highland border, and to this day the lowlands of Scotland, and any low-lying ground by the sea-shore, are called in Gaelic "Machair." Professor Rhys considers it probable that the name "Mæatæ" is connected with the Welsh *meiddio,* to dare.

The nation of the Mæatæ first appear in history in the year
201 A.D. 201, when Virius Lupus was governor of the province. At the period in question they are represented as threatening hostilities, while the Caledonians were preparing to assist them, contrary, it would appear, to a promise they had made to a recent governor called Clodius Albinus. Lupus was not at the time in a position to encounter the confederacy with any hope of success, and he was driven to purchase peace, it would seem at a "great price."

Not long, however, did the peace thus purchased last, and again the stern patriots of the north streamed down from mountain, moor, and glen, and rushing upon the alien soldiery, overran the province, drove off booty, and laid the country waste. Alarmed by the reports received from his Prefect in Britain, the Emperor Severus, accompanied by his two sons, Geta and
208 A.D. Antoninus, prepared in the year 208 to place himself at the head of affairs. This he did, though aged and suffering from infirmity (gout, it would seem), which necessitated his being carried in a litter—a circumstance which may be taken as pointing to the critical position of things at the time. His was a most formidable expedition, for his purpose and intention was not only to repel the attacks of the tribes, but by carrying proceedings far into their country, as was attempted by Agricola, so to curb and to cripple them as to put an end, once for all, to invasions of the province. To this end he made great preparations, and concentrated a vast force drawn from many quarters.

The arrival of Severus, and the formidableness of his forces, so alarmed the hostile tribes that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace. Determined, however, to teach them a lesson, the Emperor let the ambassadors depart without giving them any definite answer, and meanwhile hastened the preparations for the advance. At length all was in readiness, and taking with him his son Antoninus, he set forward, passing "the fortresses and rivers which guarded the frontier and entered Caledonia," with a force larger than on any previous occasion had been sent against these nations.

Recognizing, as Severus did, that the natural obstacles of mountains, rivers, extensive marshes, and woods, constituted the great difficulty in conquering and holding a country such as that north of the wall, "He felled forests," as Dion tells us, "demolished high places, filled marshes with heaps of earth, and joined rivers by bridges." To the energy of Severus are also to be attributed all the Roman roads beyond the walls, numerous traces of which are still discoverable. One of these, stretching as far north as Aberdeenshire, is locally known as the *Lang Causeway*, the Roman roads being usually carefully paved. In the matter of improvements on the face of the country, it is very evident that the tribes had little to regret in the visit of the Emperor Severus.

Steadily, though slowly, advancing northwards, Severus reached the Tay, where, concentrating the major portion of his troops in the great camp at Battledykes, near Forfar, to protect his rear, he pushed forward with the remainder to a point called by the historian the extremity of the island, "where he examined the parallax and the length of the days and nights." Through Forfar, Kincardine, and Aberdeen his route is easily traceable by the remains of camps at Wardykes, near Keithock; Raedykes, near Stonehaven; Normandykes on the Dee, and Raedykes on the Ythan; but there is nothing to indicate how far he actually traversed. It is, however, surmised that he did not advance beyond Burghead on the Moray Firth, where, seeing the ocean spread out before him, he might well conclude he had indeed reached the most northern part of the island.

This campaign of Severus, though characterized by no historical battle, resulted in enormous loss to the Roman army. They had waged unprofitable warfare, and reaped nought but hardship, toil, and suffering. The enemy they could not find, for they hesitated to follow them where they might be found—among the mountain fastnesses. But the enemy found them when they wished, and, while realizing the utter hopelessness of entering successfully upon any regular fight with such an overwhelming army as they must meet, they carried on instead an incessant, irregular warfare, such a warfare as specially suited the people and the country. As the result of this guerilla warfare, and through wet, and cold, and other hardships Severus lost, it has been estimated, as many as fifty thousand men, while in return

for his wasted army he had neither waggons of spoil, nor trains of captives with which to gratify his expectant subjects of Rome —"to grace in captive bonds his chariot wheels."

The net result of this inglorious campaign was the conclusion of a peace, the principal term of which was that a portion of territory (almost certainly the district between the northern wall and the Tay) should remain in possession of the Roman troops. The conquest of the Caledonians was thus no nearer accomplishment than it had been in the time of Agricola, one hundred and twenty years before.

Peace having been thus concluded, Severus set about reconstructing the northern wall, strengthening it, erecting additional posts, and adding, it would appear, the large fosse or ditch.

The submission of the Mæatæ proved now, as on former occasions, to be short-lived. The galling shackles of Rome could not be suffered by these liberty-loving tribes, and once again they revolted. As before, they were joined by the Caledonians. On learning of the position of affairs the mortified Emperor, mad with rage, swore an oath that he would exterminate them, and was only prevented from attempting to carry out his threat by
211 A.D. his death in 211 at Eboracum (York), the then capital of the province. Antoninus, on his accession to imperial power, terminated the war and left the frontier, where during the previous two years he had been in command. Thus once again the northern tribes were, to all intents and purposes, free, and once again the "masters of the world" failed to make themselves masters of Scotland.

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CHAPTER III.

Earliest reference to the "Picts"—Constantius Chlorus passes beyond the northern wall—Civilizing influence of the Romans—Closer union of the independent tribes—Province invaded by Picts and Scots in 360—Invasion in 364 by Picts, Scots, Atacotts, and Saxons—Picts grouped into Dicalidonæ and Vecturiones—Campaigns of Theodosius the Elder—Frequent attacks upon the Province—Permanent withdrawal of the Romans—Influence of the occupation—Roman remains in Scotland—Introduction of Christianity.

211-449 A.D.

From the death of Severus a period of seventy-five years has come and gone ere the tribes of Caledonia appear again distinctively in the annals of Rome. Towards the close of the century, and for a term of ten years, the British province existed as an independent kingdom under the sway of two successive usurpers named Carausius and Allectus. When in 296 the army 296 A.D.
of the latter was defeated and himself slain by the forces of Constantius Chlorus, bodies of men drawn from the independent tribes were found in the army of the vanquished. It is in connection with this circumstance that we find occurring for the first time in literature, so far as is known, the use of the word Picts as applied to Caledonian tribes. He who employed it, on that occasion, was Eumenius, professor of Rhetoric in Autun, to whom, later in the same year, there had been entrusted the delivering of a triumphal address in honour of the victorious general, Constantius Chlorus, who had done this great service of recovering again the British province to the Empire.

In the year 305 Constantius Chlorus became Emperor of the West. The following year he passed beyond the northern wall 306 A.D.
and defeated some of the tribes, who were composed, Eumenius tells us, of "Caledones and other Picts." The "other Picts," we may conclude, were the Mæatæ of Dion.

That the civilizing influence of the Romans under the favouring circumstance of the comparatively peaceful times which had continued so long was having its due effect upon the prosperity of the province, is borne emphatic testimony to by Eumenius. Its possession had assumed, at this period, the greatest importance in the eyes of the Romans. Our author enlarges upon its wealth and productiveness; speaks of its fertile fields, its rich mines, its convenient harbours. From Zosimus we also gather that in the reign of Julian 800 pinnaces were built in order to supply Germany with corn from Britain—a fact which shows the progress that had been made in agricultural developments, and the extensive clearances which must have been effected during the Roman occupation.

Notwithstanding these facts, however, it is doubtless equally true that the influence of Roman civilisation was mainly felt in the walled towns, which were linked together by those splendid highways which we owe to the vigour and systematic method of the Romans. In them the Latin tongue was largely used, and Roman methods of government under municipal officers prevailed. The rural population, on the other hand, held by their native language, and continued to be, in large measure, under the governance of their native chiefs, with little love for their conquerors. Upon the independent tribes the presence of the stranger had, of course, still less influence.

The period of comparative quiet, which has been referred to, lasted till about the middle of the fourth century, when it was rudely interrupted by the beginning of those formidable incursions from the north into the province, which, as time sped on, were renewed again and again in the most determined fashion. There is distinct evidence that, during that resting time, the northern tribes were gradually, under the comprehensive name of the Picts, becoming more closely drawn together, and the idea of nationality was approaching realization. We can readily understand how the erection of the northern wall, by shutting them off from the tribes to the south, would conduce to greater neighbourliness among themselves, and tend to the results spoken of. The effects of that closer union, with the sense of greater power which it induced, are seen in the serious attack which
360 A.D. they made upon the province in the year 360. They were pro-

bably also manifested in still earlier attacks, for our authority for the period, Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary historian and soldier, in referring to the invasion in 360, remarks that "The affairs of Britain became troubled in consequence of the incursions of the savage nations of Picts and Scots, who, breaking the peace to which they had agreed, were plundering the districts on their borders, and keeping in constant alarm the provinces exhausted by former disasters." In this reference to the "Scots," which implies that they had been already allies of the Picts previous to the invasion of the province in 360, we find the first mention of that race from Ireland's northern shores which was fated to exercise in the future the greatest influence over the destinies of Scotland.

To arrest these devastating incursions, a distinguished soldier named Lupicinus was hurried across from Boulogne with a few legions, but, notwithstanding his efforts, the Romans sustained several severe defeats, and the invaders retained possession for four years. The district ravaged by the Picts, as we learn from the historian, extended as far to the south as Hadrian's wall, while the Scots held by the western parts, and occupied a portion of the mountainous region of Wales. Welsh legends agree in asserting the presence of the Scots in their country at an early date, while Nennius, who wrote his *Historia Britonum* in the ninth century, has several references to these early temporary settlements.

At the termination of this period of four years, a still more formidable invasion occurred, when the people of South Britain had not only to encounter renewed attacks of the Picts and Scots, but also of a people called by Marcellinus the "Atacotti," who had joined their forces to those of the Picts, as well as of the Saxons, who, even at an earlier date than this, had made their presence unpleasantly felt along the south-eastern coast. Who the Atacotti were has been matter of dispute. Founding upon an ambiguous statement by Bede, and upon the spurious work of Richard of Cirencester, Pinkerton, and others who have followed 364 A.D.
him, concluded that they were the residue of a colony of Scots who had settled as early as the year 258 on the north side of the Firth of Clyde. Skene, on the other hand, and with more probability, considers them to have consisted of some of the tribes between the walls, who had been set free from Roman subjection

by the Picts within the previous four years. He further concludes that in all probability they were the same people whom Ptolemy designates the Otadeni and Gadeni. The similarity of the names, Otadeni and Atacotti, may be taken as lending force to the surmise. Professor Rhys, however, considers it probable that they were the tribes who afterwards became known as the Picts of Galloway. Referring to the incursions of these several peoples, Marcellinus tell us that they "harassed the Britons with incessant invasions."

Attacked thus on three sides—the Saxons on the south-eastern shore, the Scots on the west, and the Picts and Atacotts on the north—the province came almost entirely into the hands of the invaders, and the inhabitants were harassed and plundered in all directions. It was during such critical times as those that it became specially evident what an enfeebling and debasing effect the presence of their Roman masters had upon the Romanized Britons. A brave people cannot be nurtured by repressive measures, and in this instance, with the crushing of local independence, local vigour fled, and "Men forgot how to fight for their country when they forgot how to govern it" (Green). In such circumstances as they now found themselves in, they were quite unable to defend themselves, with the result that they were continually imploring Rome for additional assistance. Becoming alarmed, the Emperor despatched to Britain commander after commander, and at last hurried forward his greatest general, Theodosius the Elder.

That his presence was urgently required is evident when we learn that by that time the invaders from the north had reached as far south as the immediate neighbourhood of London, and were practically, for the time, masters of the whole of Britain. Speaking of those who were actively engaged in the invasion in 368, Marcellinus says:—"However, it will suffice here to say that at that time the Picts were divided into two nations, the Dicalidonæ and Vecturiones, and in like manner the Attacotti, a warlike nation of men, and the Scots, by roving hither and thither, devastated much."* There is considerable room for conjecture

* Professor Rhys finds reason to conclude that the name Vecturiones should have been written Verturiones, and that it is the same word that appears later in Fortrenn. Agreeing that the learned author is probably correct as regards the spelling, and that the name means the men of the

here as to the proper interpretation of these several phrases and what they are meant to convey.

Theodosius arrived upon the scene in the year 368. Dividing his powerful army into several portions, so as to attack the different bodies of invaders, he defeated them in battle after battle, and entered London in triumph. The following year he advanced towards the north, entirely restoring the cities and 369 A.D. fortresses that had been demolished, establishing stations and outposts on the frontier, and so completely recovering "the province which had yielded submission to the enemy, that through his agency it was again brought under the authority of its legitimate ruler, and from that time forth was called Valentia, by desire of the emperor [Valens] as a memorial of his success." In the absence of definite indications as to the actual territory comprised in this province, Skene gives it as his opinion that "the true Valentia was that part of the province most exposed to the attacks of the Scots, and afterwards called Wales," and that it was formed with a view to the more effectively resisting these inroads by better organization.

That the "Scots" had no definite footing in Scotland at that time seems almost a certainty from the remark of the poet Claudian to the effect that Theodosius pursued them across the sea to the country from whence they proceeded—the island of Ierne. Further he says:—

> "The Orkney Isles were soaked with Saxon blood;
> Thule was warmed with that of the Picts:
> Icy Hibernia lamented the heaps of Scots (slain)."

By "Thule" (a poetical name) Caledonia must be understood.

Shortly after these events many of the Atacotts were formed into cohorts and constituted a part of the Roman army. A

towers or Fortresses, from *Fear*, a man, and *Tur*, a tower, we would venture the opinion that the men who were thus designated were not the men of Fortrenn, but those tribes who sheltered themselves in the Brochs, which Brochs are all, so far as has been hitherto discovered, with the exception of three, confined to the country north of the Caledonian valley. They would thus be the tribes who sought protection in towers, while the Dicaledonæ, or people of the two Caledonias—the Caledonians proper and the Mæatæ of Dion—sheltered themselves in woods. In the fact that the Gaels had no distinctly Celtic name for these towering structures, and that the word Tùr is Latin (*Turris*), we may find evidence that these Brochs date from Roman times.

similar enlistment, whether voluntary or forced cannot be known in either case, was made in the year 396, when the bodies then raised were designated "Honoriani," in honour of the then reigning Emperor Honorius. According to the Notitia Imperii four bodies of Atacotts were stationed at one time in Gaul, and St. Jerome refers to his having seen in that country the Atacotts, a British nation.

Notwithstanding the thoroughness with which these invasions had been repulsed by the great general, not many years elapsed ere the province was once more assailed by the Picts and Scots. The unsettled conditions which had prevailed for some time before this throughout the Roman Empire, and which, ere long, resulted in its falling to pieces, were largely favourable to the prosecution of such invasions. These incursions were repressed
384 A.D. in the year 384 by Clemens Maximus, a usurper, but he having in 387, in the prosecution of his personal designs, drained the territory of troops, as well as of very many of the young and active natives whom he led into Gaul, there to fight his battles, the Picts and Scots, with comparative immunity, renewed their inroads, spread like an inundation over the land, and harassed the provincial Britons for many years. Driven to desperation, the wail for help was again renewed, and a legion was sent to
400 A.D. their aid in the year 400 by Stilicho, the minister of the Emperor Honorius, with the result that the tribes were again driven back, the territory recovered, and the northern wall re garrisoned.

By the Roman historians few details are given regarding these events, nor do we receive much additional enlightenment from our earliest British historian Gildas, who was born early in the sixth century, nor from Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, though they now begin to supplement the knowledge which, up to this point, we derive from foreign sources alone. Their accounts have also the misfortune of being undated, and as regards the present occasion they only tell of the arrival of a legion to the assistance of the Britons.

Critical conditions nearer the heart of the empire demanded once again the recall of the Roman soldiers in the year 402, and again the Picts and Scots renewed their ravages. Fearing the complete loss of Britain to the empire, Stilicho made a specially
403 A.D. vigorous effort for its recovery, and in 406 despatched to our shores the second, the sixth, and the twentieth legions, thus

restoring the army of Britain to its usual numbers, viz., about eighteen thousand men. By this force the province was again freed from the invaders, and protected in its full extent to the Forth and Clyde frontier. More particularly the troops were located at the three special points of danger—along the southern wall, on the Welsh coast, and by the "Saxon shore," extending from the Wash to Portsmouth.

In the following year, however, the Roman legions were with- 407 A.D.
drawn, nevermore to return. Events had been thickening nearer the centre of imperial power, so that, although the prefects still, for a time, remained in Britain, and the Roman Government continued, the emperor was never afterwards in a position to send the needed aid to repel the renewed invasions of the Picts and Scots and Saxons. For it was now the turn of haughty Rome to experience the bitterness of conquest. Effeminacy and dissoluteness had already paved the way; degeneracy was apparent on every hand; and it was evident that new blood was required for the regeneration and progress of the world. Hitherto the stream of conquest had flowed in a northward direction; now it was to be reversed, and the North was to overwhelm the South.

The bond between Rome and its British province was further loosened when, in the year 410, Honorius wrote letters to the 410 A.D.
cities of Britain relaxing the Julian law against the carrying of weapons, and urging the inhabitants to look to their own safety. This being considered equivalent to an abandonment, the provincial Britons put forth a vigorous effort and repelled, for a time, the attacks of their assailants.

But it was only for a time. Again and again did the Picts and Scots return to the attack, and trampled them down, as Bede informs us, like ripe corn. Three times, from the depths of their misery, did the emasculated Britons implore the aid of Rome, and three times in vain. In the attacks of Attila and his Huns, the Romans found ample occupation for their legions, and the Britons were left to their fate.

Looking back after all these centuries, it is strange to think how little the future of even southern Britain was permanently influenced by an occupation which lasted for a period of well-nigh four hundred years. It is true that in many parts civilisation must have very considerably advanced; that Christianity was

introduced by them, as we shall see presently; that agriculture was promoted; that roads and bridges were made; that towns were built, and many impressions were bequeathed that could not wholly die; but it is also true that there has been no continuity of Roman life in Britain, and the natives showed a marked tendency to return to the methods characteristic of their race.

Except for the changes produced on the face of the country by the Emperor Severus, the territory beyond the northern wall was practically unaffected, and upon the people neither Roman laws nor customs had any definite influence. As might have been expected, almost no remains are found within the Highland line which point to any established settlement of Romans within its borders. These are, in fact, almost entirely found south of Antonine's wall. Apart from the forts in connection with the vallum, the remains of permanent camps seem to be limited to those at Birrens in Dumfriesshire; Cappuck, near Jedburgh; Newstead, near Melrose; Cramond and Inveresk on the Firth of Forth; Camelon, west of Falkirk; and Ardoch, north of Dunblane. This latter, General Roy estimated, would afford lodgment to an army of from 60,000 to 70,000. It is in the unconquered parts, however, that we find the chief evidences of contest, and temporary Roman camps have been traced all along the route of the direct highway in Strathallan, Strathearn, and Strathmore, and as far north as Aberdeenshire. Scotland as a whole shows traces of these camps very largely, and Burton remarks that "they are so numerous as to justify the belief that there are more known and recognized Roman camps in Scotland than in all the rest of the world." Than this we could have no better evidence that the struggle was oft repeated, and the conquests never of a lasting character, while the large size of some of the camps indicate very plainly the overwhelming forces with which it was sought to daunt and to subdue the hardy tribes of Caledonia.

Measured by the appliances of luxury and the works of art which have been discovered, many evidences exist of the refinement with which the natives of the Romanized province in Scotland were brought in contact. The vigorous efforts that had been made by Agricola to introduce among the higher classes the elegancies of Rome have been already noted. Among other

articles of Roman production, the following have been unearthed from time to time—fragments of fine pottery; pieces of sculpture; bronze vessels; altars and votive slabs; remains of Roman dwelling-houses with numerous baths; terra-cotta candelabra; inscription stamps for pottery to indicate the names of the makers; small glass vessels, probably lachrymatories; cooking utensils, generally of bronze; brooches; rings and coins. Some of the latter date as far back as the reign of Claudius.

Between the walls over thirty pieces of Roman sculpture of varying degrees of merit have been found. Some of them have been preserved by being introduced as architectural ornaments into modern buildings. Among these are two beautifully sculptured busts attired in Roman habits, which, until recently, adorned the walls of an old house in the Netherbow of Edinburgh, but which have now found a suitable lodgment in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society in that city. They are believed to represent the Emperor Severus and his Empress Julia, and to have been designed as a memorial of the visit of the former.

Some of the articles have been found in the most accidental way. Such was the case with a pure egg-shaped bronze flagon of second-century design, and the product of high art, which was found serving as a stepping stone across a burn in the parish of Lesmahagow! Of much interest is a stamp of trapstone, found near Tranent, which bears inscriptions on two of its sides. It originally belonged to one Lucius Vallatinus, who, it would appear, prepared proprietary medicines on the banks of the Esk, and, with such stamps, affixed to each case of medicines its appropriate name. To care for the soldier was a marked feature of Roman warfare, and such evidence as the above points to the fact that the legions were provided with an organized medical service.

Beyond the province an interesting coin has been found, which takes us back to one of the most important events in history—the taking of Jerusalem. "In 1843," says Stuart, in his *Caledonia Romana*, "a copper coin of the Emperor Titus was found near Sueno's Pillar in the vicinity of Forres. It bears the well-known reverse of a female mourning under a palm-tree, with the motto, 'Judea Capta.'" Several other Roman coins were also found under the pavement in the streets of Forres when they were

being repaired. The late Mr. George Petrie, in exploring the Broch of Lingrow at the head of the Bay of Scapa, near Kirkwall, also discovered six Roman silver coins of the period of the Roman occupation of Britain.

The supreme blessing conveyed by the Romans to the peoples of our island was the knowledge of the Christian religion. The sword had opened a path for the cross. When Julius Cæsar landed upon our shores, he found religious affairs controlled by a powerful priesthood, which he considered had much in common with that system of Druidism with which he was familiar in Gaul, and which he describes with considerable minuteness in his *Gallic War*. As regards Scotland, Tacitus, writing at the end of the following century, refers to the confederacy of the tribes as being "ratified by solemn sacrifices," and not a few general terms still in common use, names of places, and remaining customs, point to the probability that the religion of Scotland in pre-Christian times partook also of the nature of Druidism. By the early ecclesiastical historians, contests are often referred to as having taken place between the pagan Druadh or Magi and the early Christian teachers.

How early in the history of Christianity its missionaries found their way into these islands cannot by any means be definitely determined. Paul, we know, himself purposed visiting and evangelising in Spain, and his fellow-labourer, Clemens Romanus, writing in the year 96, says that the great Apostle of the Gentiles had passed to the "utmost bounds of the West." This phrase was often applied to Britain. Eusebius, writing in 320, says:—"Some of the Apostles crossed the ocean to the Isles called British." From these and other considerations, it is thought not improbable, by many well capable of judging, that the feet of the great Apostle once trod these shores, and that he proclaimed to the barbarians of our land the Gospel of Peace. Circumstances seem to point to the probability that at least as early as the time of Tacitus, the "foreign superstition," under which term Christianity would appear to have been referred to by him, had made some progress in our land, and the altars of the Druid were beginning to be forsaken. At any rate, it is absolutely certain that at a very early date many of the Roman soldiers who found a temporary home in Britain must have been disciples of the Nazarene. Whatever missionary efforts were

thus carried on, would be powerfully reinforced, we can readily believe, by the circumstance that so many natives of Britain were called upon to serve on the Continent, and to fight the battles of Rome in other lands. In some of these countries they would find an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the truths of the Christian religion, and on the return of the survivors to Britain, the influence of many of them would, doubtless, be actively upon the side of Christianity. In the same direction the influence of some of the traders from the Mediterranean seaboard may also have been exercised.

That Christianity had penetrated into Scotland as early as the end of the second century, and that to a point even beyond the bounds of the province, seems evident from the testimony of Tertullian, who, writing in 196, records that 'Those localities of the Britons hitherto inaccessible to the Romans had become subject to Christ. . . The kingdom and name of Christ have extended to places which defied the arms of Rome." An effective though unlooked for source of propagation northward may have been found in the fearful persecutions which, a century later, overtook the Christians of Britain in common with those of other countries of the Roman Empire, one result of which would probably be to impel many of the provincials to seek for shelter among the free-men beyond the northern walls, where they would, doubtless, seize the opportunity of communicating a knowledge of their faith to those who afforded them protection.

Better times arrived for the Christians of the province when, in 305, Constantius Chlorus assumed the government, and still better when, under his son Constantine the Great, the Roman Empire became nominally Christian. From the fires of persecution the Church sprang up stronger than ever, and by the year 314 the Church in Britain began to be represented by its bishops at Councils on the Continent. With the departure of the Romans, however, in 410, the Christianity of the province, there is reason to suppose, lost much of its vigour, while later, with the intrusion of the Anglo-Saxons, the greater part of the country, to all intents and purposes, relapsed into heathendom, and the religion of Woden and Thor triumphed over the religion of Jesus Christ.

In Scotland the continuity of Christianity was more effectively maintained. Early in the fifth century St Ninian, the first

native missionary of whom we have any record, not only Christianized the Picts of Galloway, but more definitely, as we learn from Bede, effected the extension of Christianity beyond the northern wall, and induced the Picts to the south of the Mounth, who had not previously come under the influence of the Gospel, or had apostatized, to forsake the errors of idolatry and embrace the truth. St. Ninian, or Ringan, as he is often called in Scotland, seems to have been a Strathclyde Briton—"A most reverend Bishop and holy man of the British nation," says Bede, who lived from 673 to 735. Ninian was born about the year 360, and trained at Rome, according to Aelred, his biographer. At Whithorn, on the northern shore of the Solway Firth, he founded, about the year 397, his church or great monastery of "Candida Casa." It was so called, it would seem, from the singularity of its having been built of white stone at a time when religious and other houses in Scotland were, as a rule, constructed of wicker-work and earth. Ninian was probably conforming to the types of structure he had seen in Rome and other continental cities, and the idea was inspired in him by St. Martin of Tours, the originator of the monastic system in Western Europe. By this friend he was furnished with masons for the work, and to him he dedicated his church, while he himself was its first bishop.

And just as it was a Strathclyde Briton who thus successfully disseminated Christianity among the Southern Picts, so also do we find that it was a native of the same district—St. Patrick, or "Patrick M'Alpain," as he was designated by the Highlanders—who was destined to become the great apostle to the people of Ireland—a service which was repaid a hundredfold in later years to the people of Scotland.

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CHAPTER IV.

Tha Early Races—The Stone Age and the Iberians—The Chambered Cairns and other relics of the Period—The Bronze Age and the Celt—Relics of the Period in Scotland—The Early Iron Age—The "Caledonians" of Tacitus—The Pictish Controversy.

THE record of Scotland's story, like that of other countries, has suffered grievously, till very recently, from the non-existence of the critical historian, and in conformity with the tendency among all nations to vie with each other in antiquity, our forefathers have not scrupled to attempt to trace their royal dynasty right back to Adam!

In the Genealogy of William the Lyon we find the earliest record of the Scottish genealogical fables. It was constructed about the year 1165, and in it we have that king's descent traced up to our first parents in the usual marvellous, but not over careful or critical fashion. The pretensions of King Edward I. of England to supremacy over Scotland served to lend emphasis and importance to these claims. And, indeed, it was not a time in which to make light of their supposed antiquity, for the foundation of the claims of the English king was hardly less preposterous, and in endeavouring to make evident to the Pope his right to the whole island he did not hesitate, in accordance with the legends of his country, to hie back to that Brutus who was said to have lived in the days of Eli and Samuel, and to have given his name to Britain. From this Brutus were said to have been descended three sons, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Cambrus. To Locrinus was apportioned all to the south of the Humber, except Wales, which was bestowed upon Cambrus; while to Albanactus there fell all north of the Humber, with a reservation in each case to Locrinus as the eldest son. On the death of Albanactus in battle a few years afterwards, Albany, or the territory of Albanactus, reverted to Locrinus. So said the English king, but the Scots combated such pretensions, and in turn

traced their royal pedigree through Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, up to Adam.

On legends such as these was founded much of the early history of Scotland as written by Fordun, Major, Boece, and Buchanan. And not only so, but such history continued to be taken as genuine till 1729, when Father Thomas Innes, as the result of patient research, published his *Critical Essay*, and succeeded in placing our story upon a more reliable, though a less pretentious, and less picturesque foundation. Of the early fables little more remains in evidence than the series of fearful and wonderful portraits of kings, thirty-eight in number, which still adorn the walls of Holyrood Palace.

What written information we possess of an approximately reliable nature, regarding the ancient inhabitants of Britain, is derived from the classical writers alone, and in the preceding chapters occasion has been taken to indicate what they relate, more particularly regarding the tribes of Scotland. Tacitus, Ptolemy, and others speak of the division into tribes; Tacitus refers to the "Caledonians;" Dion groups the northern tribes into the "Caledonii" and "Mæatæ;" Eumenius and others speak of the "Picts;" Ammianus Marcellinus shows us the Picts grouped into two nations, the "Dicaledones" and "Vecturiones," while the same writer announces the presence in Britain of the Scots from Ireland in the year 360.

Who then were these early peoples whose acquaintance we make, slight though it be, through these ancient writers?

Dealing with this question Professor Huxley, in Laing's *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, speaks as follows:—"The ethnological elements of the Hiberno-British Islands are identical with those of the nearest adjacent parts of the Continent of Europe, at the earliest period when a good observer [Cæsar is meant] noted the characters of their population." The same writer has enunciated two propositions in development of this statement, which he considers conclusive. The first is that, "Eighteen hundred years ago the population of Britain comprised two types of complexion, the one fair and the other dark. The dark people resembled the Aquitani and the Iberians; the fair were like the Belgic Gauls." The second proposition runs thus:—"The people termed Gauls, and those called Germans by the Romans, did not differ in any important physical characters." While this last

proposition bears upon the remark of Tacitus as to the red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians testifying their descent to be from Germany, the first goes to strengthen the surmise of the same writer as to the presence of a race of men in Britain of an Iberian type—men of long-headed skulls (Dolichocephalic), light frame, dark skin, and curly hair.

Archæology, which has proved so helpful in recent times in reconstructing the history of humanity, indicates such a race as this latter as probably the earliest possessors of the country—a race who found their way into Britain possibly ere yet it was separated by the waters from the Continent of Europe; who had arrived ere they had come to a knowledge of the metals; and whose weapons and tools were of stone and bone. England gives indications of having been inhabited during the earlier Stone Age (the palæolithic), but no such definite evidence has yet come to light as regards Scotland. Here the earliest assured relations are with the neolithic, or polished Stone Age. The most recent investigations, however, seem to point to a palæolithic occupancy in Scotland also.

In writing on the subject of race Sir William Wilde says:—"Dr. Thurnam was the first to recognize that the long skulls out of the long barrows of Britain and Ireland were of the Basque or Iberian type, and Professor Huxley holds that the river-bed skulls belong to the same race. We have, therefore, proof that an Iberian or Basque population spread over the whole of Britain and Ireland in the neolithic age, inhabiting caves, and burying their dead in caves and chambered tombs, just as in the Iberian peninsula also in the neolithic age." Professor Rolleston, in speaking of the wonderful burial cairns of this Age, contends that they must all have been built by one race of men, "and their geographical distribution shows with equal conclusiveness that of whatever stock that race may have been, they were a homogeneous people spread over the whole area of Britain."

In the great chambered cairns of Yarhouse, Ormiegill, Garrywhin, Camster, Bruan, Rhinavie, and Skelpic in Caithness; Achnacree (Benderloch), Largie (Kilmartin), and Kilchoan in Argyll; and Maeshow, Wideford Hill, Papa Westray, Quoyness, Quanterness, Burray, Bookan and Unstan in the Orkneys, we find the Scottish analogue of the long barrows of England and Ireland referred to above. These constitute probably the only

structural remains of that early time that continue with us, for no dwelling nor defensive work of the Stone Age, nor yet of the succeeding Age—that of Bronze—can be proved to be in existence at the present day. Within these cairns, and entirely unassociated with metallic weapons or tools, have been found finely moulded urns of a shape peculiar to the period, and similar ones have been discovered in other positions associated with *kistvaens* or stone cists, where they have been turned up by the plough. The other memorials of the Age that have been discovered consist of examples of the arms, implements and ornaments of the people. In flint they found a substance which, from its being so capable of being cleft or chipped into particular shapes, was peculiarly suitable for many purposes, while other stones revealed their fitness for special ends.

In connection with offence and defence, we find arrow-heads, or elfry heads, as they were superstitiously called by country people, some of them not more than half-an-inch in length, perfect in form, though only made by chipping, sharp as a lancet, and barbed; spear heads and battle-axes or kelts, the latter sometimes measuring twenty inches in length. Instruments of industry include axes, adzes, hammers, knives—sometimes a foot long and thin as a penknife—chisels, boring instruments, flaking tools, scrapers, and saws—saws with teeth both sharp and regular, and capable of performing effective work. Bone, horn, jet, seashells, and some of the finer stones, constituted the material for the manufacture of bracelets and necklaces for the beauties of the time.

That these old-world people who fashioned those weapons and instruments, and constructed those strange and impressive sepulchral cairns—one of them in Caithness extending to 240 feet in length—were not only energetic but capable of the highest culture, seems very evident. Dr. Joseph Anderson's estimate of the race is thus given in his learned and interesting work on the *Bronze and Stone Ages in Scotland*. Speaking of the chambered sepulchres, he says:—"It is apparent that the enormous magnitude of these peculiar structures is fitted to convey an instantaneous impression of energy and power, while the intention, so obvious in their construction as the 'houses of the dead,' instinctively challenges our respect for their builders" (p. 304). "Again, when we consider the aggregates of individuals in whom

this culture existed, we find them possessing social organisations sufficient for the construction of works of enormous magnitude. . . . In this man of the Stone Age, whose capacity, culture, and civilisation are thus made dimly visible to us by the relics of his life and the memorials of his dead; this maker of finely formed and admirably finished tools and implements in stone; this builder of great sepulchral monuments that are completely structural, we have reached the typical representative of primeval man in Scotland. There is no evidence of the existence within our area of any representative type of man of higher antiquity or of lower culture than this."

In the tin workers of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles; the Silures in South Wales; the people called the Firbolg or men of the leathern sacks, in the legendary history of Ireland, and certain of the Western Highlanders, we, in all probability, find historical representatives of the ancient Iberian race, while their descendants still exist in these and other regions. An old fort on the island of St. Kilda goes under the name of Dunfhirbolg. Their kindred on the continent of Europe are probably to be found in the Bretons of the north-west of France and the Basques of Northern Spain.

Upon this race was super-imposed in Britain and Ireland a people of somewhat different characteristics. They belonged to the Celtic branch of the great Aryan race, which had its original home in Bactria, at the base of the Hindu-Kush mountains. A recent writer on the evolution of the Aryans, Rudolph von Ihering, shows us one section of them finding a second home "between the Don, the Dnieper, and the Dniester, down to the Danube." From this centre they proceeded, wave on wave, westwards, and became the great races of Europe. Contrary to the usual view that, of the several branches, the Celt came first, he believes the true order was this—the Greek, the Latin, the Celt, the Teuton, while later, but very gradually, the Slavs spread towards the north and west.

The Celtic branch found a limit to its wanderings westward when, from time to time, bands of them secured a footing upon the British Isles, gradually driving to the confines or absorbing the race which they had found in possession. The earliest of these invasions occurred at a period when the polished Stone Age marked the limit of advancement in Britain. It was this race

that predominated in the days of Cæsar and Tacitus, and so closely by that time were those of the interior (the Goidels or Gaels probably) identified with the country, that they considered themselves the original inhabitants.

That the Iberian race had been reinforced by a people possessed of characteristics common to the Celtic race has been demonstrated by archæology no less than by history, and Dr. Thurnam, who has been already referred to, not only shows that the race of the long-headed skulls had become intermingled with a people possessed of broad skulls (Brachycephalic)—a type characteristic of the Celtic race—but his investigations bear out that, as the result of inter-marriages, an intermediate form, viz., the oval, was, at any rate at times, produced. But in this connection it is not to be forgotten, as Dr. Sayce reminds us, that mixture of blood does not produce a new race. "The characteristic features of the various races of mankind have been so indelibly impressed upon them before the dawn of history that the fusion of two races has never been known during the historic period to give birth to a new race. . . Though the small dark Iberian of the British Isles intermingled with the blond Aryan Kelt centuries ago, no new type has been originated. . . Mixture of blood results only in sterility or reversion to an ancestral type—atavism, as it is usually termed—not in a new race."

Successive immigrations of this people, we may suppose, introduced, in their due course, into Britain and Ireland the Bronze and Iron Ages. The former of these periods was characterized by the gradual substitution of bronze for stone in manufactures, and the overlapping of the two periods becomes very evident when we find, as we do, the more artistic and effective shapes of the Stone Age being reproduced in the Bronze era. Lucretius, the Latin poet, thus portrays, as regards weapons, the evolution of the succeeding Ages:—

> "Man's earliest arms were fingers, teeth, and nails,
> And stones, and fragments from the branching woods;
> Then copper next; and last, as later traced,
> The tyrant iron."

It was an enormous transition, that from stone to bronze, and the latter steadily won its way as the supply of metallic weapons, implements, etc., became sufficiently plentiful, and proved themselves more suitable for the purposes to be served. But in some

respects the Stone Age remains with us still, as in the use of the stone-whorl in spinning, and the old-world quern in grinding. These continue to commend themselves as adapted to the circumstances of their users, and they may be found in use along with many products of civilisation from other lands, and by people with superior mental powers.

In the matter of fighting, the introduction of bronze weapons must have produced a perfect revolution. In the hand of the warrior who lived under the new conditions, might now be found the sword, the axe, the spear, or the dagger, and easy victory must have been assured to him over the wielder of the ponderous stone axe, or the hurler of Nature's readiest missiles.

As in the earlier period many of the relics of the Bronze Age that have been discovered, are found associated with the disposal of the dead. Monumental cairns continued to be built, but now, when they have come to be associated through their contents (the "grave-goods"), with articles made of bronze, they are seen to be no longer elaborately structural, as were those of the earlier period, but to consist of huge masses of stones and boulders put together, for the most part, without any attempt at systematic structure. Such cairns, mounds or tumuli were constructed at a time when both kinds of burial, the burnt and unburnt, were practised.

In connection with the disposal of the dead and their commemoration in pre-historic times, there evolves the question of the purpose and intention of those monoliths, stone circles, and parallel settings of enormous upright stones which have for long been described as Druidical, and which constitute such familiar and such picturesque features in many parts of our country. Of these venerable memorials the most remarkable in Scotland are those of Callernish in Lewis, and Stennis in Orkney, and their contemplation is fitted to excite feelings of wonder and admiration at the skill which made it possible with the resources which were at command of those early peoples, to set up these massive columns. Since first their tall forms were upreared they have, in their rugged strength and majesty, weathered the storms of thousands of years, silent witnesses they of the strife of armies, the overthrow of dynasties, the introduction of a new religion, and the springing up of new arts.

So frequently, when investigated, have these monoliths been

found associated with sepulchral remains, that no doubt now exists that one of the purposes they served, if not the only one, was to commemorate the dead; while the relics that have come to light in connection with the burials prove them to be "stones of remembrance" of our Pagan predecessors of the Age of Bronze. Here king and priest, warrior and bard, mingle their dust; but many sepulchral cists and urns of this Age are found singly or in groups quite unmarked, so far as present appearances show, by any tumulus, cairn, monolith, or other surface indication.

The special distinguishing mark of Pagan burials was their association with urns and "grave-goods." Urns enclosed in stone cists and of a highly ornamented type were especially characteristic of the Bronze period, and it is not uncommon to find associated with these burials the bones of dogs and horses that had been interred along with the warrior or huntsman, doubtless with the idea that he should find himself attended by his favourites in the other world. The same idea of provision for a future life, there can be little doubt, prompted the interring with the dead of such articles as deers' horns, weapons, ornaments, bread, meat, intoxicating drink, fruit, odoriferous herbs and other things. The bronze relics discovered are usually specimens of beautiful workmanship, well designed, finely proportioned, and serviceable; and numerous examples have been found within the Highland line. Many of them are associated with warfare. Among these are small double-edged swords, beautiful in their symmetry; axes of varying sizes and shapes; dagger blades; knife blades; halberds; spear heads; trumpets; helmets, and round shields, the latter usually richly decorated with numerous concentric circles, and of the most accurate construction. Within recent years there was turned up by the plough in the low-lying ground which stretches from Campbeltown Loch to Machrihanish Bay, a bundle of these beautiful leaf-shaped swords which had lain undiscovered in the moss for probably two thousand years. Domestic and other articles of bronze are represented by pins, needles, awls, arm-rings, bracelets, finger-rings, chisels, gouges, fish-hooks, sickles, anvils, and caldrons. Than the workmanship exhibited in the manufacture of the caldrons nothing finer of its kind has ever, it is said, been produced by the hammer.

From Cæsar we learn that in his time the bronze used in

Britain was imported. It was, however, brought to our island in the raw state, and no doubt exists that the articles referred to were mainly native productions. This conviction is strengthened by the fact that the moulds employed are sometimes found in the soil in which the objects are discovered, and that some of the designs are peculiar to Scotland. Both in Campbeltown, and in Strathconan, Ross-shire stone matrices have been found deeply buried in the soil.

With the introduction of bronze, civilisation, we can understand, would progress in many directions. Agriculture would be made easier, clearing processes would go on with more expedition, and domestic utensils of effective types became available; while with the progress of the arts corresponding refinement would follow, and man's love of the beautiful would be stimulated. Feminine love of ornament became increasingly capable of gratification, and for such purposes amber, jet, and gold, as well as bronze, were put in requisition. At this early period, at a time when the use of iron and of silver was unknown in our land, there existed in Scotland an abundance of gold ornaments of native manufacture greatly in excess of what we might have anticipated.

Where the precious metal came from, whether from native sources or introduced by commerce, cannot be known.* In any case its presence, and the use that was made of it, implies organisation and civilisation. In these matters, as in others which have been noted—in their burial customs, their dedication of costly articles as "grave-goods," their finely ornamented urns, the magnitude of the work involved in placing in position the enormous standing stones, the skill and taste displayed in their weapons, instruments, and ornaments, we see the manifestation of piety, of conscious power, and of artistic feelings. With such evidences before us of a real and advancing civilisation it is a grievous mistake to designate such people "rude savages." Primitive they were in many respects, but they were skilled, and cultured, and civilised to a degree that we would never gather did we trust alone to the writings of the proud disdainful Romans.

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* Strabo tells us that in his day gold, silver, and iron were exported from Britain.

The period characterized by the over-lapping of the Bronze Age into the Age of Iron was associated with marked progress in the artistic manipulation of bronze. The more elaborate specimens have been recognised as plainly related to that Celtic school of art which attained to such artistic perfection in early Christian times, and which will claim our attention later. During the period with which we are now dealing, enamelling, a process apparently at that time unknown beyond the British Isles, enters into the ornamentation. Its limited production and the method employed are thus referred to by Philostratus, a Greek of the time of Severus:—"They say that the barbarians who live in the Ocean" (probably the inhabitants of these islands), "pour such colours on heated brass, and that they adhere to it, become as hard as stone, and thus preserve the designs that are made in them." Personal ornaments, mirrors, arms, harness and horse-trappings, sometimes associated with articles of iron and sometimes not, represent the evidences that remain to us of the workmanship of that transition time.

With the definite introduction of the use of iron in the arts of our country, many important developments would result, and in the fight greater effectiveness would be secured, but it is not our purpose to dwell upon these matters. As regards Pagan burials in Scotland during the early period of the Iron Age, observation has hitherto failed to disclose what were their special characteristics. At a later time, with the introduction of Christianity, the Pagan practice of cremation was energetically discountenanced by the Christian fathers, with the further result that gradually, though very gradually, from the great difficulty there has always been experienced in changing the burial usages of a people, the associated custom of depositing "grave-goods" with the dead was discontinued, and the more distinctive Christian customs were substituted.

History and archæology alike testify, as we have seen, to the presence of (1) an Iberian race, and (2), of a Celtic people throughout Britain generally during those early ages. The remark of Tacitus, already quoted, as to the red hair of the Caledonians and their large limbs, testifying their descent to be from Germany, led, in days gone by, to the discussion of the question as to whether this implied that the territory beyond the Firths of Forth and Clyde was occupied, in whole or in part,

during the early Roman period by a people of yet another race. Such was the origin of the great Pictish controversy. It is unnecessary at this time of day to enter minutely into this question, but alongside of the statement of Tacitus may be placed the second proposition of Huxley, also already quoted, viz., that "The people termed Gauls (or Celts) and those called Germans by the Romans, did not differ in any important physical characters." That many tribes of the early Celtic peoples of France, Britain, and Ireland were characterized generally by large frames and fair or reddish hair, is beyond doubt. The Gaul of the classical age in France was a tall, broad-shouldered man with blue eyes and yellow hair. The race of the Tuatha De Dannan of Ireland is represented by Professor Sullivan as "a high-statured, golden-coloured or red-haired, fair skinned, and blue or gray-blue eyed race," and they have never been suspected of being other than Celtic. In Wales the easily distinguished Kymric race is characterized by being blond, and thickly built, and doubtless in the Caledonian of Tacitus we find the Scottish counterpart of all these. The so-called Gaedil or Goidil stock—the stormy people—which represents a large proportion of the Celtic population, more especially in Scotland and Ireland, is however, characterized by dark hair and deep dark-blue eyes, but the idea that the Caledonians were of Teutonic extraction is now entirely departed from.

Among the disputants in the Pictish controversy, there was perfect agreement that when the term "Pict" began to be employed, it included those whom Tacitus denominated Caledonians. Its particular application to the peoples north of the wall of Antoninus dates, as we have seen, from the year 296, but it is to be remembered that at a much earlier date it was applied by Martial to the inhabitants of South Britain. That by the "Picts" are meant a painted people there can be no doubt, and when Martial applied the name to the people of South Britain, the custom of adorning the body with pictures was common among them. Robertson, indeed, in his *Scotland Under Her Early Kings*, indicates his belief that the practice of painting probably gave to Britain its name. He says:—"*Brith*, 'coloured, painted,' is apparently at the root of Bryth-yn, Bryth-on, Latinized Britannia, Brito. It was a descriptive name; no more a name of race than Pict or Scot. It is singular

to remark the close connection in Welsh between *Brith* and *Breith*—paint and privilege. Amongst the Thracians, the highest privileged classes were the highest painted." When, towards the close of the third century, the term Pict was used to designate the Caledonians, the intention evidently was to employ a convenient distinctive Latin name which should be applicable to all those tribes who had resisted the influence of Rome, and pursued still the practice of painting their persons. From this time forward, references to the Picts in the imperial authorities are common, and in time the country north of the Firths comes to be known as Pictland.

But the name Pict was by no means limited to the occupiers of this territory. According to Gildas, a colony of Picts in his time—the sixth century—occupied the Lothians in its extended sense, and it is surmised that a record of this occupation is found in the name of the Pentland hills, corrupted from Petland or Pictland. The north-western part of this district went under the name of Manaw or Mannan—a name which we find surviving in Sliobhmanann, now Slamannan, which probably was the headquarters of these Picts.* The name was also borne by the inhabitants of Galloway, and they continued to be designated Picts on into the twelfth century—into a time, in fact, later than the name was applied to the inhabitants of the northern parts. Ireland also had its Picts, though they were known there as "Cruithnigh"—a name which we find occurring in Scotland as well, in several place-names in the Highlands. Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, writing in the seventh century, frequently refers to those of Ireland, and early references elsewhere are common alike to the "Cruithnigh of Alban" and the "Cruithnigh of Erin." By the latter, Ulster as a whole was at one time peopled, though eventually they were confined to the County of Down and the southern half of Antrim.

In connection with this question of race, it is significant to find that in the older Welsh records the Picts are not claimed as being allied to the people of Wales; but they closely associate the Irish and the Picts of Alban under the name of Gwyddyl, the latter being usually designated Gwyddyl Ffichti or the Gaelic

* This Pictish settlement probably represents an invasion from the north after the withdrawal of the Romans.

Picts. We also find that in the Pictish Chronicle of the tenth century, which is the earliest native record from which we derive any information regarding the Picts, there is given a legend which asserts that thirty Brudes reigned over Albania and Hibernia for a period of 150 years. An Irish legend of the Picts of Dalaraidhe (Ulster) tells very much the same tale :—"There were thirty kings of the Cruithnigh over Alban, and Erin, that is the Dalaraidhe. . . . Seven kings of the Cruithnigh of Alban governed Erin at Tara." Circumstances such as these place it almost beyond doubt that a close generic relationship existed between the Picts of Scotland and the people of Ireland, though it is probable that the political relationships were limited, on the part of Scotland, to the Picts of Lothian and Galloway.

As regards the language of the Picts of Alban, Skene, after a close examination of the place-names, and an enquiry into the theories propounded by recent writers, shows that within the Pictish area the early topography of the permanent features of the country are not only Celtic, but that "the generic terms do not show the existence of a Cymric language in the districts occupied by the Picts." They are, in fact, almost entirely Gaelic, and where, as in some parts of Sutherlandshire and the greater portion of Caithness the topography is not Celtic but Scandinavian, such place-names are of much later date. Skene further contends in this connection that examination of the list of Pictish kings shows "that the earliest part of that list is purely Irish or Gaelic in its forms." Later names indicate a Brythonic element. That element he considers Cornish and not Welsh, and he accounts for this circumstance by the fact that the large tribe of the Dumnonii were common both to Cornwall and to that district of Scotland immediately to the north and south of the wall of Antoninus. In that sphere the Cornish dialect would consequently be spoken. The portion of this tribe that inhabited north of the wall is frequently referred to in early history as the Men of Fortrenn. Principal Rhys also considers the northern Dumnonii were Brythons, *i.e.*, they belonged to the later Celtic invasion. He, however, believes the Dumnonii of Cornwall were Goidels.

That the dialect of Gaelic spoken by the Picts of Scotland differed somewhat from that of the Irish is very certain, and Adamnan in his *Life of St. Columba* shows us that while the saint

had little difficulty, it would appear, in conversing with the Picts of Caledonia, he could only, it would seem, preach to them through an interpreter. But it is very much the same till the present day, and still we have the dialects of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. "Gaelic, Irish, and Manks," says J. F. Campbell, "vary from each other about as much as Norse, Swedish and Danish. Welsh and Breton vary from the rest about as much as German and Dutch do from the Scandinavian languages." The only difference between then and now is that previous to the time of a fixed standard resulting from the reduction of the language to writing, the varieties would only be limited by the number of independent tribes, for in the absence of writing the tendency of a language is towards corruption and decay.[1]

The Scots we will refer to in a subsequent chapter.

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[1] In connection with this question of language it should be noted that Principal Rhys, in his *Revised Account of the Inscriptions of the Northern Picts*, adheres to an earlier contention of his, that the Picts did not speak, as their native language, a Celtic dialect either like Goidelic or Brythonic, and he continues to regard the Pictish language as not Celtic, not Aryan. He, however, allows that he has failed to prove that it was related to Basque, as he had formerly suggested. His examination of the inscriptions leads him to the conclusion that the first Celts to exercise an influence on the Picts were Brythonic.

CHAPTER V.

The Brochs, their Character and Use—Crannogs or Lake Dwellings—Hill Forts—Vitrified Forts—Underground Houses.

In addition to the remains of the handiwork of our early fathers to which reference has already been made, we have fortunately still existing in our land not a few others of those unwritten records of our country which are so fitted to instruct could we but interpret their speech aright. Archæology has done much in the past by careful examination of the relics of other days to shed a flood of light upon the bygone history of humanity. It is calculated to do even more in the future were the sympathies of the general public enlisted through the popularizing of knowledge already available, and an intelligent interest thus aroused in what is at once a patriotic and an intensely interesting pursuit. Unthinking destruction of what remains of our antiquities would, in such a case, be less likely to occur in the future than has unfortunately been witnessed in the past, and increased knowledge with deepened interest would doubtless lead to the more frequent discovery of interesting relics.

An architectural feature which, during the last half century, has attracted much attention, is represented by that class of buildings which goes under the local northern name of Brochs. They are the more interesting from the fact that they are not only Celtic in character, but peculiar to Scotland. At any rate, no structures of any other country show all the characteristics blended together that are exhibited in these.

The distinctive features of such an edifice "are (1) that it is a circular tower of dry-built masonry, wide and lofty, and enclosing within it a central area open to the sky; (2) that all its apertures, except the external opening of the entrance to the central area, look into this enclosed interior court; and (3) that its chambers, stair and galleries are contained within the thickness of this enclosing wall" (Joseph Anderson in *The Iron Age*, p. 186).

More particularly, this type of structure is thus described by the same author:—"It is a hollow circular tower of dry-built masonry, rarely more than 70 or less than 40 feet in its total diameter, and occasionally at least 50 feet high. Its circular wall, which may be from 9 to 20 feet thick, is carried up solid for about 10 feet, except where it is pierced by the entrance, or partially hollowed by the construction within its thickness of oblong chambers with rudely-vaulted roofs. Above this height the wall is carried up with a vacancy of about 3 feet wide between its exterior and interior portions. At every 5 or 6 feet of its height this vacancy is crossed by horizontal ranges of slabs inserted as ties between the outer and inner shells of the wall, so that their upper surfaces form a floor to the space above, and their under surfaces become a roof to the space below. These spaces thus form horizontal galleries about 6 feet high and 3 feet wide, separated from each other vertically by the slabs of their floors and roofs. They run completely round the tower except that they are crossed successively by the stair which gives access to them. They are lighted by ranges of peculiarly-constructed windows placed vertically over each other, and all looking into the central area enclosed by the wall of the tower. This area or court varies from 20 to 45 feet in diameter. At various points of its interior circumference are placed the openings which give access to the chambers on the ground floor within the wall, and to the stair which ascends to the galleries. The only aperture on the outside of the tower is the doorway formed by the external opening of the tunnel-like passage through the wall which gives access to the central court. It is always on the ground level, square-headed, usually with slightly inclined sides, 5 to 6 feet high, and rarely more than 3 feet wide, passing straight through the thickness of the wall, and thus varying from 9 to 18 feet in length. Some 4 feet or thereby within the outer end of the passage there is a rebate of the masonry faced with strong slabs inserted edgewise in the wall, and forming checks for a door, behind which are the bar-holes, and behind them the opening of a guard-chamber built in the thickness of the wall" (p. 201).

South of the Caledonian valley only three of these peculiar structures have been as yet discovered. It is very different, however, to the north of that point, over three hundred being known to be in existence in the five northern counties.

That the purpose of these strongholds was defensive there can be no doubt. They were meant, in all probability, to afford temporary shelter in troublous times to the women and children and infirm people of a limited area. Within the central court could be stored cattle, agricultural produce, etc. Not unfrequently the buildings are seen to be provided with a drain leading to the outside, while sometimes within the enclosed area, and sometimes without, wells are found, frequently deep, their sides stone-built, and with steps down to the water.

Besides being placed, as a rule, in positions of great natural strength, they are occasionally found to be protected, on their less secure sides, by deep water-ditches and high ramparts of earth or stone. Altogether, they are wonderfully suitable for the purpose in view, and exhibit both skill and judgment in their construction. The narrow door-way, with the door (probably of stone), well within the passage; the windows looking towards the interior of the edifice, and so placed that they could be most effectively used as loop-holes for offensive purposes in the event of the enemy gaining the court; the height of the wall, from which huge stones could be hurled down upon its assailants, and which made it at the same time impossible for these latter to cast projectiles into the inside, all point to the possession of wisdom and adaptive skill, on the part of the builders, of no mean order. "The concentration of effort," says Dr. Anderson, "towards the two main objects of space for shelter and complete security was never more strikingly exhibited, and no more admirable adaptation of materials so simple and common as undressed and uncemented stone for this double purpose has ever been discovered or suggested" (*Ib.*, p. 204).

We have one record, and one only, of the actual efficiency of a Broch as a place of shelter, and it well illustrates how difficult such structures were to take by assault, or to reduce by siege. The *Orkneyinga Saga* tells us that, about the year 1155, Margaret, the beautiful widow of Maddad, Earl of Athole, was carried off by her nephew, Erlend, and taken by him to the Broch of Mousa in Shetland. Here they were besieged by her son Harald, Earl of Orkney, but the Broch "was difficult to take by assault," and the siege failed, because "Erlend had made great preparation." Eventually Harald was forced to consent to the marriage of the amorous pair, and we do not read that their previous relationship

constituted any barrier. According to the Saga of Egil Skalagrimson, this same Broch had been resorted to about 250 years earlier by a runaway couple from Norway, who had the misfortune to be ship-wrecked on Mousa. Landing their cargo, they took up their abode in the Broch for the winter, celebrated their marriage, and afterwards sailed for Iceland.

That the people who built and utilized these structures were very considerably advanced in culture, civilisation, and organization, is inferred from the relics which have been obtained by the systematic excavation of many of the Brochs. Among these relics are numerous articles of native industry and native art made of stone, bone, bronze, and iron, while occasionally jet, silver, brass and lead were employed in their manufactures. That they had passed the purely hunting and pastoral phases of civilisation, and had reached the agricultural, is inferred by the discovery of many querns; that they spun, by their use of stone spindle-whorls; and that they fished, by the finding of stone sinks. Bone and horn were made use of in the manufacture of needles, pins, buttons, bodkins, combs of various shapes, spindle-whorls, cups, and playing dice. Of bronze were made brooches with Celtic ornamentation, rings, bracelets, pins, and tweezers, while crucibles of the same material, for manufacturing purposes, have been brought to light. Of iron manufacture they produced swords, spears, dirks, knives, axes, and chisels. Pottery was made by them, both plain and ornamented, and for varied purposes.

That their diet was sufficiently varied is testified to by the presence of such food remains as show that it included beef, mutton, lamb, pork, veal, venison, birds, fish, and shell-fish. Along with these relics have been found also the remains of the horse, dog, goat, fox, wild cat, reindeer, whale, and seal. The conclusion usually deduced from the presence within these Brochs of such a group of relics and food remains as is here outlined, is that these extremely interesting structures belong to post-Roman times; while both Brochs and relics illustrate "a peculiar phase of the early Celtic or Iron Age culture and civilisation of our country which, until recently, was absolutely unknown" (*Ibid.*, p. 259). We have already, however, indicated our opinion that they were used by the Verturiones during the later Roman occupation.

A not uncommon practice among these early peoples was to erect forts or temporary dwelling places, more or less of the Broch type, upon islands situated in lochs. But they carried the isolation principle still further, for, so highly did they value the very considerable measure of security which surrounding water afforded them, that, in the absence of natural islands, they frequently had recourse to the construction of artificial islands in convenient positions in lochs. Upon these they erected houses to which they might retire in times of stress and strain. Such structures go under the name of Lake Dwellings. In Celtic countries they are also known as Crannogs from their being wholly or partially built of wood, the Gaelic word *Crann* meaning a pole or beam. Their unique situations, and the large use made of wood in their construction, render them objects of the greatest interest, and antiquarians have not been slow to investigate them.

Herodotus, as far back as the year 450 B.C., refers to lake dwellings on Lake Prasias in Thrace. He speaks of their being constructed of piles and planks; of their having a bridge communicating with the shore; of the great quantity of fish secured by simply letting down a basket into the lake, and of the custom in force for the repair and extension of the dwellings. "They live in the following manner: every man has a hut on the planks, in which he dwells, with a trap-door closely fitted in the planks, and leading down to the lake. They tie the young children with a cord round the foot fearing lest they should fall into the lake beneath" (Book V., cap. xvi.) As showing how even the most unlikely people may assist towards highly important archæological discoveries, it may be mentioned that what first led in modern times to the discovery of Lake Dwellings was the operations of a few peasants while collecting mud on the shore of Lake Zurich, for the purpose of increasing their little vineyard plots.

Many of these dwellings have been discovered within the Highland line and throughout Scotland generally, as well as in England, Ireland, and on the Continent of Europe. As was to have been expected from the perishable nature of the material, not a trace usually remains of any of the structure which originally stood above the water, and which constituted the actual dwelling. Portions of the platform represented by piles, and beams, and brush-wood, and masses of fern and heather re-

main *in situ* in larger or smaller quantities to show, with more or less definiteness, the character and dimensions of the old-time edifice. Occasionally a hearth stone with ashes, and charcoal, and food refuse is found testifying to the level of the floor, and telling of cooking and of comfort, while a raised roadway, leading from the nearest bank, indicates the point of access to the dwelling. In the Loch of Dowalton, Wigtonshire, one of these structures measures as much as twenty-three yards in diameter. In different parts of the loch, and close by the Crannogs, were found three large canoes, each of them hollowed out of a single tree. The largest measured twenty-four feet in length, and fifty inches in breadth. In the autumn of 1898 there was unearthed from the neighbourhood of a crannog (?) at Dumbuck a similar canoe, thirty-three feet long, forty-eight inches wide at the stern and three inches thick in the shell.

Among the latest examples in the Highlands to be brought to the notice of the antiquary are two occupying a portion of the site of a now drained loch called Lochan Dughaill, on the estate of Balinakill, nine miles from Tarbert, Kintyre. One of these has been carefully investigated by Dr. Robert Munro, the leading authority on Lake Dwellings in Scotland. Regarding it he says:—"In concluding this notice, let me say that the Lochan Dughaill crannog is unique, inasmuch as it is the first in Scotland which has yielded clear evidence as to the kind of dwelling-house erected by the crannog builders. Here it was a large, circular, tent-like structure, 32 feet in diameter, constructed of wood, and supported by one central and some twenty surrounding uprights."[1] Another peculiarity of this structure noted by Dr. Munro was the remains of what seems to have been a partition, and which was so placed that it would have divided the internal circular area into two compartments of nearly equal size.

The general character of the relics found in connection with these dwellings shows great affinity to those associated with the brochs. The bulk of them are of Iron Age types, as in the latter, and it is generally agreed that they and the brochs date from about the same period. Abundant evidence, however, exists that both in Ireland and Scotland the crannogs were made use of till well

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* March 13th, 1893, p. 221.

down into historic times. Brass vessels have been discovered in several of the Scottish crannog sites of such a form as was in use from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and later, while as recently as 1608 "Angus M'Coneill of Dunnyvaig" and "Hector M'Clayne of Dowart," were called upon in the following terms to deliver up those in their possession :—"That the haill houses of defence, strongholdis, and cranokis in the Ylis perteining to thame and their forsaidis sall be delyverit to His Majestie" (*Register of the Privy Council*, 14th April, 1608). In the *Irish Annals*, also, frequent mention is made of the taking of crannogs.

No class of ancient remains in Scotland has received less attention at the hands of the scientific archæologist than that class known as Hill-Forts. That they were numerous and widely distributed in earlier days is borne abundant witness to by the topography of the country. The generic *dun*, *caer* or *kier* (Irish, *cahir*), *cashel*, *barr*, and *rath*, all alike tell of their crowning, in days of old, many a commanding height, or guarding many a strategical position, where no trace of their presence now remains. As a rule they are simple structures, depending for their efficiency as defensive works on their strong natural positions, rather than on the character of the buildings or ramparts.

Naturally, they divide themselves into two groups—(1) those constructed of earth, and (2) those built of stone. The former are not so highly placed as the latter. They consist of a varying number of low embankments arranged concentrically in the shape of an irregular circle or oval round the summit of a minor eminence. One of these on Midhill Head, Midlothian, encloses an area measuring 410 feet by 284 feet.

Similarly placed round the slopes of more prominent hills are those great stone structures which constitute the principal examples of the second class. Sometimes they are found to consist of one wall, it may be fourteen feet or more in breadth, and containing a couple of chambers in the thickness of the wall, as in that remarkable one at Garrywhoine, in Caithness, which measures 200 paces long by sixty-five in breadth ; or it may be as in that known as the White Caterthun, in Forfarshire, which is constituted of three concentric walls drawn round the upper portion of the conical hill at short distances apart. In this instance the inner wall is enormous in its massiveness, and

encloses a long oval area measuring 450 feet by 200 feet. A somewhat similar, though a smaller one, is found crowning the spur of Ben Ledi, which overlooks the ford at Coilantogle. What ample accommodation such defences afforded for large bodies of fighting men needs only to be indicated. Somewhat analogous structures to these great Hill-Forts are the smaller ones which are so commonly found occupying the very tops of commanding conical hills. Of these little can be said any more than of the others, as practically nothing has been hitherto done to determine specialties of construction under varying circumstances, or to ascertain the character of the associated relics.

More attention has been bestowed upon another variety of Hill-Forts, owing to peculiarities which their structure presents. These are known as Vitrified, from the fused or scorified appearance of more or less of the walls, produced by the action of fire upon masses of loose stones. Attention was first directed to those interesting structures in the year 1777 in a series of letters by Mr. John Williams, mineral engineer. None such are known to exist in England, but their presence has been ascertained in Ireland, in France, and in Bohemia. Many of them are found in Scotland, but, as in the case of the other hill-forts, little has been hitherto done to investigate their typical relations, their special phenomena, or their real character, though not a little energy has been expended in endeavouring to determine the method by which the vitrifaction has been effected, and the purposes it was meant to subserve. The question as to whether the vitrifaction was designedly produced or was accidental has not yet been determined. The prevailing opinion seems to favour design. That it would admirably serve, in the absence of mortar, a most useful purpose in binding together irregularly shaped stones there can be no doubt, and while it would seem as if it was never employed throughout the building as a whole, we can see how effectively it could be used here and there to give stability to the structure generally, or to strengthen it in particular parts against the stormy blasts of prevailing winds, as has been suggested by the Rev. J. King Hewison in *Bute in the Olden Times.* In the absence of good material for road-making in the neighbourhood of Barnsley, in Yorkshire, a process is had recourse to there with the material available (sandstone), which shows practically and effec-

tively how vitrifaction may be produced. It is thus described by the late Mr. Ramsay, Director of the Geological Survey, in the *Pro. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, Vol. VIII., p. 150 :—"The stone being quarried in small slabs and fragments, is built in a pile about thirty feet square and twelve or fourteen feet high, somewhat loosely ; and, while the building is in progress, brushwood is mingled with the stones, but not in any great quantity. Two thin layers of coal, about three inches thick, at equal distances, are interstratified with the sandstones, and a third layer is strewn over the top. At the bottom, facing the prevalent wind, an opening about two feet high is left, something like the mouth of an oven. Into this brushwood and a little coal is put, and lighted. The fire slowly spreads through the whole pile, and continues burning for about six weeks. After cooling, the stack is pulled down, and the stones are found to be vitrified. I examined them carefully. Slabs, originally flat, had become bent and contorted, and stones, originally separate, glazed together in the process of vitrifaction."

The possibility of the vitrifaction of the forts being accidental is, however, clearly to be kept in view. In a fort at Burghead, in Morayshire, as well as in some Celtic forts and ramparts discovered in France, strong oaken beams, disposed as "headers" and "binders," are found entering into the structure of the walls with a view to strengthening them. It is just possible that our vitrified forts were constructed after the same manner, and that, as a result of burning them down when taken, which, as we know from our early annals, was a common way of reducing such defensive works, vitrifaction resulted.

The most important examples in Scotland are those of Knockfarril, in Ross-shire ; Craig Phadrig, near Inverness, at which St. Columba is understood to have visited the King of the Picts ; Finhaven in Forfarshire, and Dun-Mac-Uisneachain in Loch Etive. In some of these not one only, but sometimes two and three concentric walls, have been found partaking, in greater or lesser degree, of the vitrified character. That on Loch Etive is very extensive, and encloses an area of about 250 yards long, by 50 yards broad. In 1873-74 it was carefully investigated by Dr. Angus Smith. In this case, as in some others, it was ascertained that portions of vitrified material over-lay parts that were built in the ordinary manner. Within the fort he also brought to

light rectangular dry-built walls about two feet thick, which he considered were the remains of dwellings. Near them was found a large heap of food remains, and in the course of the excavations stone, bronze, and iron relics were unearthed. Dun-Mac-Uisneachain, or the fort of the sons of Uisneach, is the so-called Beregonium of Hector Boece, and the older Selma, the music-haunted Selma, the "Hall of Swords" of Ossian. In an old Irish tale, one of the "Three Sorrowful Stories of Erin," it occupies a prominent place, and there we find the story rehearsed of the three sons of Uisneach, Picts of Ulster, and their association with the territory in Scotland stretching from Loch Linnhe to Loch Long. The events therein recorded are supposed to have occurred at the very commencement of the Christian era, and however mythical it may be, we may take the tale as evidencing the very close relations which existed between the Picts of Ireland and those of Scotland at a very early period.

Other interesting examples of vitrified forts are to be found, among other places, at Dunsinnane, Dunadeer, Dundardghill in Glen Nevis, Arisaig, Ardnamurchan, Achterawe in Glengarry, Skye, Islay, Galloway, Dunagoil in Bute, Eilean Buidhe in the Kyles of Bute, Rhufresan, Ardmarnock (on Loch Fyne), and on the picturesque isolated crag of Dunskeig on the Kintyre shore of West Loch Tarbert. Dunskeig, which rises almost sheer up from the edge of the water to a height of 300 feet, and looks out upon the western sea, is specially interesting as presenting, almost side by side with the Vitrified Fort, an example of an ordinary stone Hill-Fort with walls 14 feet thick, while within a mile and a half of it are to be seen the remains of the two crannogs of Lochan Dughaill already referred to.

Dunsinnane, as a Hill Fort, is unique, inasmuch as it is the only example in Scotland associated with under-ground chambers, of which it has two. In this respect it might be viewed as a connecting link, for it combines the idea of defence with a form of under-ground structure which has now to be spoken of, and which is common in Scotland, but is wholly unconnected with any defensive works. These structures are known as Eard or Earth houses, Picts' houses or Weems.

The special peculiarity of such houses is that they are entirely subterranean. Indeed, in most places there is sufficient depth of

soil above them to permit of cultivation. They are characteristically and exclusively Celtic, and the typical form found in Scotland is peculiar to it alone. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that in no country outside of the British Isles have these peculiar excavated chambers been discovered. In Scotland they are very widely distributed, ranging from Berwickshire to Shetland, and more especially do they occur throughout the eastern counties. Spread over a space measuring a mile or two in diameter in the parishes of Auchindoir and Kildrummy, Aberdeenshire, is a group of some forty or fifty, while in other parts of the same county, and in neighbouring counties, many large and important groups have been brought to light. In the neighbourhood of Eriboll, Sutherlandshire, similar structures, though of comparatively small dimensions, are not rare, and they are known by a Gaelic name which signifies hiding-beds.

With certain variations the special features which characterize these houses are that they are long subterranean galleries, always curved, sometimes greatly, sometimes doubly, with low, narrow, contracted entrances, widening and increasing in height inwards, built with converging walls in what is known as bee-hive fashion —the stones overlapping one another—and roofod in with heavy flat lintels. Occasionally they are found branching off into two chambers at the extreme end, while one example that has been discovered is characterized by the presence of a narrow passage leading off the main structure, and terminating in a circular chamber. The material of construction is always undressed stone, bnt occasionally the stones employed are markedly cubical, while in other instances flagstones alone are used, set on end or edge. Where convenient and suitable the floor is formed of the solid rock; where not so it is usually paved. A drain is sometimes seen leading out through the wall, and examples have been found having a well-built smoke-hole in the roof. The lintels, not unfrequently, are over a ton in weight. The largest of these structures yet investigated is one at Tealing, which measures 80 feet long, by 8 feet wide, and 6 feet high.

In addition to large quantities of ashes, which are a constant part of the contents, fragments of bone, deers' horns, rudely hollowed stone vessels, querns, wooden combs, bronze, lead, and iron instruments, wheel-made pottery, and ware of the kind known as Samian, and which tells of Roman influences, have been discovered within them from time to time.

Besides its size the large one at Tealing is distinguished by certain of the boulders which form the walls having graven on them those curious cup markings and concentric rings, the significance of which is as yet a mystery, and examples of which are found engraved on boulders, rock surfaces, and standing stones, not only in Britain, but over a wide area of Western Europe.

In close association with these underground chambers there have sometimes been found roughly paved circular areas, which are usually taken as indicating the sites of overground habitations. These were, doubtless, of a much less permanent character than the underground structures, and, indeed, Diodorus tells us that the ancient Britons dwelt in mean cottages, covered for the most part with reeds or sticks (Book v., cap. ii.). Groups of stone-lined graves are also occasionally found in close proximity to them. From these graves have sometimes been recovered enamelled bronze relics exhibiting artistic feeling and workmanship of a very high order, and illustrating the earlier development of the art of the Celtic Christian time. The manner of burial, however, shows no indications of Christian influence.

Whatever may have been the exact purpose of these underground chambers—whether they were used to shelter from cold in the winter, or to retire to, out of sight of an invader—they were evidently used for purposes of every day life, while the large size of some of them, and the many querns which they are found to contain, sometimes as many as ten, point to their occupancy by considerable numbers of people. Tacitus noted that the Germans lived under ground in winter, but with them the habitations were only burrows, and consequently no evidence of them remains.

When we enquire at what period these dwellings were constructed, we find that it was probably at a time when grain was cultivated, when iron and lead were used in the arts, and wheel-made pottery was manufactured. While there are no indications of Christianity associated with them, and the ornamentation of bronze relics belongs to pre-Christian times, the fact that in some of them the walls have been partly built of stones presenting distinctly Roman ornamentation, and evidently taken from some Roman structure in the neighbourhood, shows undoubtedly that underground dwellings continued to be built well into the time of the Roman occupation, if not till even a later date.

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CHAPTER VI.

The Kingdom of Bernicia founded by the Saxons—The British Kingdom of Strathclyde—Early Pictish Kings—The Kingdom of Dalriada founded by the Scots—Contemporary Christianity in Scotland—Arrival of St. Columba—The Celtic Monasteries.

449-563 A.D.

WITH the departure of the Romans from Britain its affairs fade entirely out of contemporary continental records, and not till several generations had come and gone did any native writer arise to hold aloft again the torch that had fallen from Greek and Roman hands. Our knowledge of the events of the period is consequently most meagre. What we do know is that for many years after the Roman evacuation, Southern Britain continued to be harassed and plundered by Pict, and Scot, and Saxon. At length realizing the hopelessness of the triple struggle, the Britons, in the year 449, by promises of land and pay, turned, for a time, the Saxons into allies. By the combined effort of Saxon and Briton, the Picts and Scots were driven out after a great battle, and thus the English pirates, "those sea-wolves who live on the pillage of the world," as the Roman poet sang of them, "a race hateful alike to God and man," according to Gildas, first gained a permanent footing in that country which they so soon made their own, and called by their name.

How these Jutes, and Saxons, and Angles turned upon their quondam allies, and subdued and slaughtered and enslaved them throughout the greater part of the country, need not be dwelt on here. A large proportion was exterminated, but, doubtless, a considerable substratum of the population of England continued to be Celtic. Indeed, there are probably no pure Anglo-Saxons in England. Though it was not the privilege of the Saxons to bring with them any superior civilisation, it was theirs to enact in England the counterpart of that which was taking place contemporaneously throughout the Roman Empire generally, where

the tempests of Gothic invasion were overturning civilisation, that a new and better order of things might be ultimately upreared. It was the beginning of a new dawn.

Gradually, but surely, the Saxons fought their way northward. When we think of the struggle, we call to mind the doughty deeds of King Arthur, the original of whom was probably the greatest native leader. In the year 547, that is ten years after the death of Arthur, according to Nennius, the Angles had reached the Forth under Ida, the son of Eobba, and formed the territory between the Tees and the Forth into a kingdom which they called Bernicia, from the word *Bryneich*, "the country of the braes." Of this kingdom Bamborough became the capital, and there Ida erected a fort. With the Saxons the Picts of Galloway were in close alliance, if, indeed, they were not actually subdued by them.

This partial conquest of the country south of Antonine's wall and in the north of England, left to their freedom, in the west, a considerable number of small tribes with their princes. These tribes extended as far north as the Firth of Clyde, and were known as the Northern Cumbrians. For a time Carlisle was their principal town, but in an inter-tribal battle fought in 573 one of their princes named Rhydderch was victorious, and he fixed his headquarters at Dunbarton or Alcluith—the Rock on the Clyde—as it was then also called. Thus was founded the kingdom of Strathclyde.

451 A.D. In the first half of the fifth century, the most prominent leader of the Picts was Drust, the son of Erp, who died in the year 451. This we learn from the Pictish Chronicle, which is the earliest record emanating from the country of the Picts. It bears evidence of having been compiled in the tenth century, and the two Latin copies extant, one of which seems to have come from the monastery of Brechin, and the other from that of Abernethy, show by internal evidence that they are translations from a Gaelic original. Much of this important Chronicle is of course traditional, and the early part, which contains a list of kings who were supposed to have reigned over them from a very early period, is entirely mythical, but that which refers to later times is of the greatest value. By the Irish Annalists Drust is also referred to, and they honour him with the title of *Drust of the hundred battles.*

Notwithstanding the prowess of this king or leader, we know little of him, and the history of his immediate successors is equally obscure. Indeed, what little we do hear of them is difficult to unravel and to definitely arrange, from the fact that sometimes, at anyrate, more than one so-called king reigned contemporaneously in different parts of Pictland, and there is often nothing of a distinctive character to indicate the sphere of any particular ruler. Another circumstance also adds to the difficulty. A peculiarity of the Pictish law of succession had for one of its results that in the whole list of kings who are believed to have been genuine rulers—forty-three in number from Drust onwards—no single instance occurs in which a son is found to have fully and directly succeeded his father. The succession seems to have been consistently in right of the mother and not of the father—a custom which has been fruitful of many traditions, and the subject of much curious enquiry from the time of Bede downwards.

After the death of Talore, the successor of Drust, the son of Erp, we come upon the name of Nectan Morbet, who appears to have reigned from the year 457 to 481. The Pictish Chronicle 457 A.D.
associates this ruler with the building of the church of Abernethy, and his name, it is surmised, survives him in the name of Dunnichen in Forfarshire, the old designation of which was Dun-Nechtan. At any rate, there is a tale in the Acts of Saint Boethius or Buitte, whose death is recorded under date 521, which appears to connect him with that part of the country. It is to the effect that this Saint Buitte is said, on returning from Italy with sixty holy men and two virgins, to have landed in the territories of the Picts, and to have found that Nechtan, the king of that country, had just died, upon which he restores him to life, and the grateful monarch bestows upon him the fort or camp in which the miracle had been performed, that he might found a church there.

After the death of Nectan the next half-dozen Pictish kings 481 A.D.
flit before us on the page of history as little more than passing shadows, till in the beginning of the latter half of the sixth century we reach the period of that King Bridei, or Brude, the son of Mailcu, with whom we become acquainted in the pages of Adamnan and Bede. By the latter he is spoken of as Bridius, son of Meilochon, a most powerful king reigning over the Picts.

Ere the era of Bridei had come, however, there reappears upon the arena of Scottish history that race of Dalriadic Scots, whose attacks upon the Romans and Romanized Britons in earlier centuries have been referred to in a previous chapter. The origin of the name "Scot" has been the subject of considerable discussion. The probability is that it was applied to them first by the Romans, though Irish legends represent, among other equally fanciful notions, that they received it through Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who was the wife of Milesius, their leader. It would seem rather to be related to *Scyth*, the Romans latinizing Scythæ into Scotti, in the same way as Gethi became Gothi. Nennius in the ninth century employed the two terms Scythæ and Scotti promiscuously, thus indicating probably that in his days they were recognized as transmutable. In the German tongue also the term *Scutten* is applied to both Scythians and Scots.[1] Whether or not this implies that the Scots had come from Scythia into Ireland can only form a subject of conjecture. According to tradition, they reached Ireland through Spain, and it is just possible that, journeying *via* Spain, they constituted the first wave of that later exodus from the territories north of the Rhine and the Danube which subsequently overwhelmed Southern Europe as with a flood. If such was the case, the period of invasion would most likely be during the early centuries of the Roman occupation of Britain.

In the fifth century the Scots occupied a very prominent position in Ireland, and in the oldest piece of writing composed in Ireland, so far as known to us,—the "Confession" of St. Patrick —they are referred to as the nobles, in contradistinction to the others who were the commonalty, the sons of the soil. The tradition regarding their distinguishing characteristics, as given by O'Curry, in his lectures on manuscript materials, further illustrates the esteem in which, as a race, they were held in the days of old:—"Every one who is white [of skin], brown [of hair], bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth, and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat, they are the descendants of the sons of Miledh in Erinn."

It is as the race of Milesius that the Scots are represented in

[1] Prof. Rhys derives the name from a Brythonic word meaning to sculpture or to paint, and he identifies them with the Irish Cruithnigh or Picts.

the legendary history of Ireland. As to their extraction, no doubt exists that they were Celts. They formed a powerful branch of the Celtic family of Ireland. In one of the native legends the Picts are traced to a common fountain-head with the Scots, and are asserted to be the descendants of Ir, one of the sons of Milesius, a descendant of that Gaethal Glas of remote antiquity, from whom the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland were supposed to have received the name.

An evidence of the increasing power of the Scots in Ireland during the early centuries of the Christian era is to be found in the fact that by and by the whole country was named after them. Historical references to "Scotia" previous to the tenth century must always, it is to be remembered, be taken as referring to Ireland and not to North Britain.

The tribe of Scots that became intimately associated with Scotland went under the name of Dalriads. According to the Irish historians, the founder of this tribe was Cairbre Riada (Ruighe-fhada, or Long-arm), son of Conare, son of Mogalama, chief of a tribe of Munster Scots called the Degads, who became King of Ireland in the year 158. By Cairbre Riada a contingent of these Scots was led into Ulster where they settled, and to the territory occupied by them in the north-east, and which is situated right opposite to the peninsula of Kintyre, was given the name of Dalriada, after the name of its founder.

The venerable Bede has the following reference to the settlement of this people in North Britain:—"In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by fair means or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander they are to this day called Dalrudins; for in their language Dal signifies a part." The point of settlement is thus also indicated by Bede:—"There is a very large gulf of the sea [the Clyde estuary] which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons, which gulf runs from the west very far into the land, where to this day stands the strong city of the Britons, called Alcluith [Dunbarton]. The Scots arriving on the north side of this bay settled themselves there."

Following Bede literally in his statement as to the actual pre-

sence of Reuda as their commander, Pinkerton fixes on the year 258 as the date of the first coming of the Scots, and of their founding a colony in our land. In this he agrees with O'Connor, who wrote in 1776, and who asserts, but gives no authority for the statement, that Riada invaded Albany in 258, and that the Scots whom he led settled there, and there remained till, while under the leadership of Eochad Munrevar, the father of Erc, the father of Loarn, Angus, and Fergus, they were driven out by the Picts after six generations.

That there was any such lasting settlement as is here indicated either at this time, or even at the time when, a century later, they are first referred to by the Romans, seems doubtful. We can hardly imagine it probable that the Scots could be present in any considerable numbers, and for well nigh a century, in such a part of the country as is indicated by Bede, where they would be in touch with the Romans and the Britons, and yet during all that time not be referred to by any Roman writer; while the fact that, towards the close of the fourth century, Claudian, as we have seen, speaks of them as having been driven across the sea to Ireland, makes it equally improbable that there was, even then, any considerable colony of them in Britain. While it is not improbable, however, that at a somewhat later period grants of territory may have been given by the Picts to the Scots in recognition of their services against the Romanized Britons, it seems possible that Bede's reference is to the more permanent settlement of them in our land towards the close of the fifth century, and of which we have now to speak. Writing, as Bede did, more than two hundred years after that date, he may have, from imperfect knowledge, applied to their leader that name which, for many centuries, had been the patronymic of the tribe. The fact also that Bede states that they "secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess," points in the same direction, for we have no reason to believe that the territory indicated by him was continuously occupied by them from the third to the eighth century, nor even from the middle of the fourth till that time.

Whatever may have been the duration of earlier visits, or whether indeed these Scots had continued to come and go spasmodically from the middle of the fourth century onwards, in their coming at this time they came to stay; and not only to stay

but ere long to assert themselves, like the Picts, the Strathclyde Britons, and the Saxons, as claimants to the mastery of Scotland. Under the three sons of Erc—Loarn, Angus and Fergus—founders of "the three powerfuls of Dalriada," they landed upon the western shores in sufficient numbers to enable them to set up, under the over-lordship, it would seem, of the king of Ireland, a State known afterwards as the Scottish Dalriada. How this was actually effected, whether entirely peacefully or after a series of struggles with the Picts, we know not, but in any case we are assured that within the next sixty years they had spread themselves over a considerable extent of territory, the descendants of the three brothers and their respective friends and dependants occupying their respective districts as separate tribes, though acting under one paramount authority, and that apparently from the earliest period.

As it is the immediate descendants of the youngest of the three brothers, Fergus Mor, who enjoyed the succession to the Scottish or Dalriadic throne, it is he, and not one of the older brothers, who is looked upon as the founder of the dynasty. With regard to the lengths of the reigns of successive kings, many discrepancies exist not only between the old Irish Lists as given in the Albanic Duan, a poem of the eleventh century, and the Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach of the same century, but also between them and the Latin Lists which emerged from Scottish monasteries at a somewhat later time, and all that can be done is to give approximate dates. In this, however, we are aided by the Annals of Tighernac, who was Abbot of Clonmacnois in the eleventh century, and the Annals of Ulster compiled in the fifteenth century, in both of which we find occasional definite dates which afford us helpful starting points.

By Tighernac, by whom we will be guided when possible, the death of Fergus is recorded under the year 501. He was succeeded by his son Domangart, who reigned five years, while he in turn was followed by his son Comgal, who seems to have reigned for a period of thirty-three years. Comgal's successor was his brother Gabhran. From the period of Gabhran the Scots are represented as being made up of three main tribes—the Cinel Gabhran, the Cinel Loarn, and the Cinel Angus. With the Cinel Gabhran were incorporated the Cinel Comgal, who occupied the district of Cowal, and bestowed upon it their name. 501 A.D.

Their principal stronghold would probably be Dunoon. The territory of the Cinel Gabhran proper consisted of Kintyre, Bute and Arran, and the smaller islands off the coast of Knapdale. As regards the term "Kintyre," however, it is to be remembered that at that time the name was applied to the whole district extending from the Mull of Kintyre to the river Add—the Abhuinn Fhada of the Highlander, and its equivalent the Longus Fluvius of Ptolemy—which flows into the bay of Crinan. In the extended moss of Crinan, through which this river flows, there rises abruptly an isolated rocky hill known both as Dunadd and Dunmonaidh, the latter meaning the fortified hill in the moss. Upon the summit of this hill there still stand the remains of strong fortifications, and it is not improbable that here was located for many a year the capital of Dalriada. A still earlier seat of the capital was also, it is probable, in the neighbourhood of Loch Sween on the west coast of Knapdale, while during the last century of the Dalriadic kingdom the chief seat, there is reason to suppose, was at Dunstaffnage.

Northward of the great moss of Crinan, called in Gaelic the Monadhmor, were situated the possessions of the Cinel Loarn. One of their chief strongholds occupied the site of the picturesquely situated Dunolly Castle at the entrance to the bay of Oban. How far north the authority of this tribe extended has not been satisfactorily determined. "The districts," says Skene, "between Lorn and the promontory of Ardnamurchan, *i.e.*, the island of Mull, the district of Morven, Ardgour, and probably part of Lochaber, seemed to have formed a sort of debateable ground, the population of which was Pictish, while the Scots had settlements among them."

The Cinel Angus took possession of the islands of Islay and Jura. In the old Tract "Of the History of the men of Alban," they are said to have consisted of 480 houses, each house, it would appear, being made up of a group of twenty houses. From the same source we also learn that the Cinel Gabhran consisted of 560 houses, and the Cinel Loarn of 420.

From what has been said it will be seen that while the territory of the Dalriads was indefinite in its extent towards the north, and probably varied with the exigencies of war, it was bounded on the south by the Firth of Clyde, while on the east it was separated from the land of the Picts by the mountains of

MAP OF THE FOUR KINGDOMS AND THE SEVEN PROVINCES OF PICTAVIA

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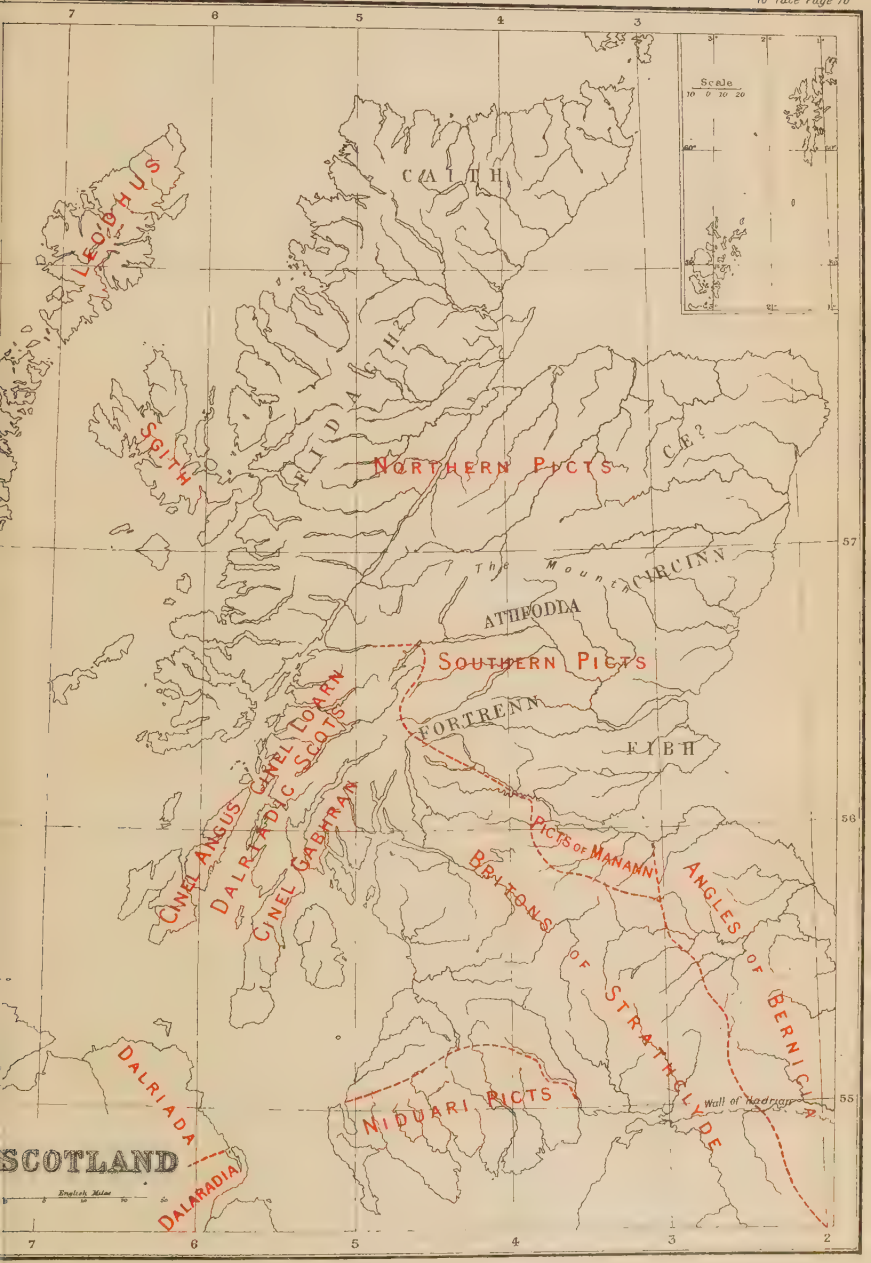

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Drumalban, which practically constitute now the dividing line between the counties of Argyll and Perth.

The apparently peaceful occupation of the Dalriadic territories by the Scots continued till the year 560, when, as Tighernac 560 A.D.
tells us, their king Gabhran was killed, and they fled before the on-coming of Brude, the vigorous king of the Picts. The point of attack is unnoted, and the extent of territory recovered by the Picts is unrecorded, but Skene and others infer that the Scots were driven into Kintyre, that is, to the south of the river Add.

In accordance with the Irish law of Tanistry the succession to the Dalriadic crown now devolved upon Conall, son of Comgal. His is a reign that will be ever memorable as witnessing in the year 563 the arrival upon our western shores of the great 563 A.D.
missionary St. Columba, with his company of twelve, upon his mission of love and endeavour to his kindred of Alban. Humble and unpretentious as this event was in its inception, it is impossible to over-estimate its significance in the religious and intellectual history of our country, and from time to time as we proceed the position and work of the Celtic Church in Scotland, as now founded, will claim our attention. In our review of the subject we shall see that the cause of religion and civilisation, not only in Scotland, but in England and many parts of the Continent, owes more to the Scot than he has yet got sufficient credit for.

The position occupied by Christianity in the various divisions of Scotland in the period immediately preceding the coming of St. Columba into Scotland, and during his early years in Iona, may be shortly stated thus. Strathclyde, which towards the termination of the life of St. Patrick had well-nigh entirely relapsed into apostasy, was once again returning to the faith under the ministrations of Kentigern or St. Mungo, and under the protection and patronage of Rhydderch Hael or Roderick the bountiful, their king. (The legends of St. Monenna, who was said to have been consecrated as a virgin by St. Patrick, connect her closely with Strathclyde, in which she is credited with founding several churches, one at Dundonald in Ayrshire, another at Dunbarton rock, and yet another at Stirling). Among the Picts of Galloway the impulse which Christianity had received from the preaching of St. Ninian and the planting of his

great monastery in their country had by no means failed entirely, though the light was ever becoming more dim. To Candida Casa many Irish churchmen resorted during the earlier portion of this interval, and it constituted one of the channels through which the Irish Church had received a knowledge of that monasticism which had been introduced to Western Europe by St. Martin of Tours, to whom the church at Whithern had been dedicated. As regards the Picts to the south of the Mounth, the Christianizing work which had been done by Ninian and his fellow labourers, was in a large measure undone. The work had been accomplished too quickly to be lasting. Under the inspiration, however, of several missionaries from the Irish Church, the flickering light had been kept from being extinguished, and the foundation of several old churches in their territory—Abernethy, Aberdour, Inchmahome in the Lake of Menteith—is traced to this period. On the east coast St. Palladius and his disciples St. Servanus or Serf, and St. Ternan, are believed to have kept the light burning at this time. Not yet, apparently, had the Picts beyond the Mounth come definitely under the influences of Christianity. They still awaited their emancipation, and to Columba was the effecting of this reserved. When we turn to Bernicia we find that under the baneful influence of the heathen Angles its Christianity, like that of the greater part of southern Britain, had become eclipsed, and southern Scotland afresh required to be Christianized. Here also the work fell to be accomplished by the zealous missionaries from Iona's holy isle.

That the Dalriadic Scots at the founding of their little kingdom brought with them a knowledge of the Christian religion there can be no doubt, while there is reason to believe that even before the advent of Columba Iona was the seat of a Christian establishment of that collegiate type peculiar to the Irish Church; and there were buried, as recorded in the old chronicles, the three sons of Erc, Fergus, Loarn, and Angus, who had been dead some sixty years before the arrival of Columba. The numerous dedications in the Western Highlands and islands to St. Bridget or Bride, who died in 525, and to Oran or Odhran, a Scot, whose death is recorded in 548, and whose memory is perpetuated in the name of the cemetery in Iona known as Reilig Odhrain, are conjectured to belong to this early period in Dalriadic history. To this time also belongs Ciaran Mac an t-saoir (MacIntyre, *the son of*

the artificer), whose name is associated with Kilkerran in Kintyre, Kilkerran in Ayrshire, and other sites of early churches in Scotland, as well as with the celebrated monastery of Clonmacnois in King's County, Ireland, which was founded by him in 548. A year or two before the death of Oran, St. Brendan had undertaken his so-called seven years voyage in search of the land of promise of the saints. That this voyage, which was doubtless but a missionary journey, comprehended within its compass the Western Islands is rendered probable by the fact that St. Brendan's name is associated with several of them—Bute, Tiree, Seil, and possibly others.

A few years later, viz., in 563, Columba, as we have seen, 563 A.D.
landed upon our shores. Various causes are assigned for the taking of this step, and political events seem to have had their influence, but the old *Irish Life*, which probably dates from the tenth century, is likely to be correct in the main when it puts it thus :—"His native country was left by the illustrious saint and illustrious sage, and son chosen of God for the love and favour of Christ." Adamnan, his biographer, attributes his mission to love of Christ, and Bede sets it down to his desire to preach the Word of God. In his coming, Columba was doubtless actuated not only by a desire to promote the instruction and spiritual advancement of his former fellow-countrymen, who were now in danger of retrograding, through their contact with the heathen Picts, but was also animated with the hope that, from Dalriada as a centre, it might be his to introduce the Christian religion among these Picts, as well as to further the cause throughout Scotland generally.

It is interesting to note how frequently in those early days the offices of bishop and abbot were filled by men of royal race. It was so in the case of Columba, who was connected with two royal houses, the house of the northern Hy Niell, the reigning family of Leinster, and with the kings of Dalriada—circumstances which make us conclude him to have been very favourably placed for carrying on successfully the work he had set his hand to. He was a prince, but he chose to be a missionary, and it is of no little interest to remember that from his race is descended our illustrious Queen, the ruler of the British Empire.

In these early centuries of the Christian era, Ireland was particularly favourably situated for the propagation of religion,

and there, as in a congenial soil, it throve and speedily overspread the land. Hers was an isolation that was fruitful. Learning and the arts of peace were enthusiastically fostered, and, being little under the influence of Rome, the religious teachers of Ireland and also of Iona were enabled to consolidate themselves upon the simpler and earlier systems and doctrines, and to adapt their methods to the circumstances and genius of the people. That simplicity finds its reflex in the simplicity which still characterizes the worship of the Scottish people.

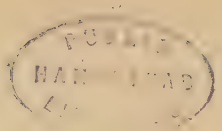
Columba, like Brendan, was one of a noble band known as the Twelve Apostles, who issued from the great monastery of St. Finnian at Clonard, and made themselves famous by the success with which they founded churches and monasteries not only in Ireland, but in other lands also. The methods of these early teachers were evangelical and simple. In their monastery they set themselves to the practice of self-denial, charity, purity, and practical holiness, and from it, as a convenient base, they spread themselves over the surrounding district, and by example and teaching, shed Gospel light and holy influences all around. Their preaching, like the Highland preaching of to-day, was emotional, spiritual, and mystical, and their unwearying zeal is a noble example for all times. Many of these monasteries became celebrated as schools of learning both sacred and profane, and to those, of Ireland in particular, students flocked—students of all ranks and from all quarters, even from Rome itself at those times when affairs on the Continent of Europe were in a disturbed condition.

The Celtic idea of a monastery was perhaps the best model that could possibly be devised for any early religious community, for in addition to its being eminently evangelistic, it was educational and industrial as well. Such monasteries, it is evident, were large mission institutes rather than what we know as the more modern monasteries. There was trained the chaplain who found his sphere of labour in the territory of some distant clan, and thence issued the missionary who went forth on his evangelizing errand, "everywhere preaching the Word." Over the whole community the abbot bore rule in simple patriarchal fashion, thus giving to the institution a sort of apostolic character.

The simple materials of which the early missionaries con-

structed their monasteries immensely favoured their multiplicity, and once they secured the favour of the king or chief, and received a grant of land, which we often find was the site of a rath or fort, a very short time and very little expense sufficed to erect their buildings, and place them in a position for vigorously carrying on their work. For the most part a monastery consisted of a collection of huts made of wattles. Hence we find the church was called *Duirthech* or *Dairthech*, a house of oak, as distinguished from an edifice of stone, which was known as *Damhliag*. In the case of the wattle-house, the method of erection was to set up substantial uprights and to connect them by interlacing branches and twigs in basket-making fashion. At a short distance within this outer stratum a second fabric of the same character was constructed, and the space between was filled with turf or clay, thus producing a fairly substantial wall. When roofed in with thatch, a not uncomfortable dwelling was the result. Even now, in some of the north-west islands, though stone is used instead of wattles, you may find houses constructed of a double wall of uncemented stone, with a packing of peat some three feet in thickness.

Associated with the Duirthech was to be found, as a rule, the *Erdam* or sacristy, the *Proinntigh* or refectory, the *Coitchenn* or kitchen, the *Muilinn* or mill, the *Buaile* or byre, the *Sabhal* or barn, the *Tighaoidheadh* for the reception of guests, the abbot's house, the monks' cells, and the stone kiln for drying the corn. Round the whole was usually set up for their protection a circumvallation constructed of stone, earth, or a combination of both. To what dimensions these institutions sometimes developed may be inferred from the fact that the large ones, like that at Clonard, afforded accommodation for 3000 monks and scholars.



CHAPTER VII.

Columba receives gift of Iona from King Conall—Evangelization of northern Pictland—The paganism of early Scotland—Political influence of Columba—Anointing of Aidan by Columba—Aidan's vigorous reign—Death of Columba.

563-606 A.D.

COLUMBA shared in large measure the missionary spirit which so markedly characterized in his time the Church in Ireland. His heart yearned within him for the redemption of the race, and, turning his back upon his native land, after he had founded in it many monasteries, he entered upon his more memorable work in the land of his adoption. His was indeed a commanding personality, and his sterling virtues found ample scope in the work to which he was called. Particulars of the man and his work we are especially fortunate in having conveyed to us by men who were almost his contemporaries—Cumin the Fair, who was Abbot of Iona from 657 to 669, and Adamnan, who occupied the same position from 679 to 704; while from Bede, who wrote about 735, we also glean many interesting notes.

563 A.D. "In those days," says Cumin, his earliest biographer, "the Saint, with twelve disciples, his fellow-soldiers, sailed across to Britain." King Connal's residence at that time would seem to have been in the neighbourhood of Loch Caolisport, on the west coast of Knapdale, and to that residence Columba wended his way. "The curious cave chapel," says Skene, "at Cove, on Loch Caolisport, which tradition says was Columba's first church in Scotland before he sailed to Iona, is probably connected with his residence with King Connal." From the Dalriadic king, Columba, as Tighernac records, obtained a grant of Iona, that island on which he found his home for four-and-thirty years, and there he speedily erected that simple monastery of earth and wattles in which was to centre for many years so much power over the spiritual affairs of Scotland. By Bede the gift of Iona is ascribed to Brude, king of the Picts. This he seems to have

done from his imagining that Columba did not arrive till 565, and from his associating the mission of the Saint primarily with the Picts, whereas he had been in possession of Iona two years previously to his meeting with King Brude. It is possible, however, that the island may have been a disputed possession as regards the two kings, and that Brude in 565 confirmed the grant to Columba.

Than Iona, no position could have been more favourable for the conveniently influencing the two nations, and the choice was an eminently wise one. As the result of some friendly arrangement, the island was relinquished to Columba by two nameless bishops or presbyters, representatives of the older collegiate church, whom he found in possession, and the Saint ere long gathered around him his *familia* to the number of 150, consisting of seniors, working brothers, and alumni or pupils, with whose help he was enabled, in so short a time, to accomplish so much. Columba thus became the first abbot of his much-loved Iona, and the little island of the West is for the first time brought out of the darkness of immemorial night, and made visible to the world.

Columba's feelings with regard to Iona, during a period of absence from it, are supposed to be expressed in a poem which is attributed to him from its bearing the words, *Columcille fecit*—Columba made it. After dwelling delightedly upon the beauties of nature with which he would be surrounded were he there, he speaks of other privileges that would be his :—

" That I might bewail my evils all,
Though it were difficult to compute them ;
That I might bless the Lord
Who conserves all,
Heaven with his countless bright orders,
Land, strand, and flood ;
That I might search the book all,
That would be good for my soul ;
At times kneeling to beloved heaven ;
At times at psalm-singing,
At times contemplating the King of Heaven,
Holy the chief ;
At times at work without compulsion ;
This would be delightful.
At times plucking duilisc fro n the rocks ;
At times at fishing,

At times giving food to the poor ;
At times in a *carcair* [solitary cell].
The best advice in the presence of God
To me has been vouchsafed.
The King, whose servant I am, will not let
Anything deceive me."

During the first two years of his residence in Iona, Columba would appear to have confined his efforts at evangelizing to the neighbouring islands and the adjacent mainland. Three times we find him in Ardnamurchan, and twice in Lochaber among the
565 A.D. Picts and Scots of that borderland. In 565 he crossed Drumalban, bearing in his hands the light of heaven, and found his way to the royal seat of King Brude upon the banks of the river Ness. On this momentous journey Columba was accompanied by two of the most distinguished missionaries of the period, men like himself of apostolic ambition. These were Comgall of Bangor, and Cainnech of Achaboe, both of them of the race of Irish Picts.

The initial difficulties which had to be overcome at the court of King Brude seem to have been very considerable, but ere long success attended their efforts, the story of the Cross prevailed, and the knell of Druidism was rung out. It was indeed a fruitful mission. That very year the head of the nation was converted and baptized, and immediately the torch-bearers of the truth gained entrance to the darkened land. By securing the favour of the king, success was at once assured, for no subject would have dreamt of differing in religion from his prince. Very speedily troop after troop of warm-hearted missionaries from the seminary in Iona's Isle took possession of the country ; monasteries were planted in convenient situations, from which Christian influences radiated and permeated the community, and ere long Pictland, in the greater part of its extent, was snatched from the darkness of paganism, and won for Christ.

What the exact character of the paganism was from which Christianity delivered the people of Scotland we have little to teach us. Neither idol nor graven image—no god of wood or stone—has ever been discovered in these islands among the relics of the past. That their religion was largely a form of nature-worship, in which its powers were personified, there can be no doubt. It was what has been designated animism ; and crude,

childish faith though it was, it bears evidence to the fact that the primitive philosophy of nature was spiritualistic, and not materialistic, as might have been expected. They found in spirit the ultimate explanation of the universe, just as our greatest philosophers are once again constrained to do. Lucan, fifty years after Christ, addressing those hitherto under the pressure of Rome, but now left by the Roman civil war to their own devices, brings before us some instructive particulars of their beliefs in an interesting fashion. After referring to the bards, he says:—"And ye, ye Druids, now that the sword was removed, began once more your barbaric rites and weird solemnities. To you only is given knowledge or ignorance (whichever it be), of the gods and the powers of heaven; your dwelling is in the lone heart of the forest. From you we learn that the bourne of man's ghost is not the senseless grave, not the pale realm of the monarch below; in another world his spirit survives still—death, if your lore be true, is but the passage to enduring life."

> "In all faiths there is something true,
> Even when bowing to stock and stone—
> Something that keeps the Unseen in view
> Beyond the stars and beyond the blue,
> And notes His gifts with the worship due."

To the personified powers to which the phenomena of nature were attributed by our forefathers, were given the names of Sidhe and Aes Sidhe. They found them dwelling, these mysterious, malignant beings, in the sun, and the moon, the clouds, the sea, the river, the fountain, the dew, the mountain, the valley, the tree and the green hillock, and the earnest desire of each individual was to propitiate them, and to secure their favour.

Associated with this paganism was a class of persons termed Magi or Druadh (the names are used synonymously), who had enormous influence among the people. When the Caledonian tribes agreed to unite for the purpose of opposing Agricola, they ratified their confederacy, as we have seen from Tacitus, by solemn sacrifices. In such functions the Druadh would doubtless be all-important; but their great influence was derived from the belief that the Sidhe or gods of the earth could be invoked by them, either to injure or to benefit, and by the aid of these spirits they were credited with being able to practise incantations and to work spells. They believed in oracles, divinations and

charms. There is a poem, attributed to Columba, which brings out some characteristics of the system as he found it existing. He says:—

> "It is not with the *sreod* [sneezing] our destiny is,
> Nor with the bird on the top of the twig,
> Nor with the trunk of a knotty tree,
> Nor with a *sordan* hand in hand [noise of clapping hands].
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I adore not the voice of birds,
> Nor a *sreod*, nor a destiny on the earthly world,
> Nor a son, nor chance, nor woman;
> My *Drui* is Christ the Son of God."

The reality of the powers of the Druids, the Christians of Columba's time, and even of a later day, did not get the length of denying. The old gods they continued to view as demons or spirits of evil, and to their agency they attributed such powers as they believed the Druids to possess. In the biographies of both St. Patrick and St. Columba many contests between them and the Druids are recorded. In a hymn which has been attributed to St. Patrick, he prays to be protected

> "Against snares of demons,
> Against black laws of heathenry,
> Against spells of women, smiths, and *Druadh*."

One of these Druids or Magi with whom Columba came into intimate relations at the Court of Brude was Broichan, who occupied the post of tutor to the king. Again and again we are shown Broichan with his magical arts worsted by the Saint, till ultimately Columba becomes all-powerful at Court, and the Christian Church is established throughout the land.

In *Beallteine*, or "the first day of summer," the literal meaning of which is supposed to be the fire of Baal or Bel, the sun god, we find a lasting evidence of the old fire worship. "There are places in Scotland," says Dr. T. MacLauchlan, "where within the memory of living men the *teine eigin* or 'forced fire' was lighted once every year by the rubbing of two pieces of wood together, while every fire in the neighbourhood was extinguished in order that they might be lighted anew from this sacred source." In the belief in fairies and in charms which yet, in a measure, exists, not only in Scotland, but in many other civilized countries, we find still other remains of the old nature-worship of our heathen

forefathers, and many other similar old-world beliefs still linger among us. That this should be so is probably to a certain extent due to the methods of the early missionaries who were instructed, as they were also throughout the whole Roman Empire, to disturb pagan practices as little as possible. And so we find that standing stones of the pagan period were sometimes engraved with a rude cross, and used as Christian memorials; heathen festivals, such as May-day and All-hallow E'en, were converted into Christian holidays; fountains became holy-wells after having been blessed by a saint; the temples, as we learn from Bede, were cleansed with holy water, and hallowed for Christian worship; and in justification of this proceeding he adds:—"You cannot cut off everything at once from rude natures—he who would climb a height must ascend step by step, and not by leaps and bounds." But the results of such a policy were very mixed.

From what we know of the proceedings of Columba, it is very evident that the Saint soon came to be recognized as a political force no less than a spiritual force in the land of his adoption, and it is surmised that his influence both on Conall, the Dalriadic king, and on Brude, the king of the Picts, was such as to determine an amicable settlement of the question of boundaries between them, and to ensure peace for a series of years.

Under date 574 Tighernac records the death of King Conall in the thirteenth year of his reign. Following upon this intimation is a reference to a battle which was fought at a place called Delgon in Kintyre, in which Duncan, son of Conall, was slain, together with "many others of the tribe of Gabhran." It does not appear with whom this battle was fought, but the probability is that the enemy was the Picts. Nor is it very evident where Delgon or Telocho, as it is called in the *Annals of Ulster*, was located. (As between *d* and *t* the latter is the sharp and more primitive consonant). It may be suggested that it was at a place still called Ardteligan, which is situated on the shore of Loch Fyne, at a point five miles from Ardrishaig, and six from Tarbert. From the head of Loch Caolisport, in the neighbourhood of which King Conall, as we have seen, would appear to have had his residence, it is distant about eight miles. The Gaelic word *Dealgan*, which is almost certainly the same word as we 574 A.D.

have in Delgon and in the second portion of the name Ardteligan, signifies thorns, so that Ardteligan would mean a thorny height. Later we find Delgon appearing in the *Annals* in the form of *Cindelgen*—a name which would probably be applied to a headland in the immediate neighbourhood now called *Strondoire*, which bears exactly the same interpretation—the thorny headland. *Tigh-an-droighnein*, the house in the thicket, and *Stronchullin*, the holly-covered headland, both of which are located close by Ardteligan, also testify to the woody and difficult character of the ground, and make it probable that the interpretation suggested is the correct one, and that Delgon is now represented by Ardteligan.

On the death of Conall, the succession reverted to the descendants of Gabhran, and two claimants appeared for the crown—Eoganan and Aidan—the former, apparently, being the older of the brothers. Aidan, however, seemed to have already played a part in the affairs of Britain, and to have been for some years ruler of the Pictish district of Manann, on the shores of the Forth. Such rights he may have inherited through his mother, Lleian, the daughter of that Brachan of South Wales, who gave his name to Brecknock, and was the son of Aulach, son of Cormac, King of Ireland. In Welsh traditions, Aidan is said to have borne a prominent part at the battle of Arderryd in 573, as the result of which struggle his ally, Rydderch Hael, was enabled to consolidate the Cymric tribes into the kingdom of Strathclyde.

Several picturesque incidents are associated with the life of Aidan. According to Adamnan, Columba's preference was towards Eoganan, but he had a vision which determined events otherwise. In that vision an angel appeared to the Saint and showed him the *Liber vitreus*, the crystal book (the cover is supposed to have been encrusted with crystal), in which was written the name of Aidan as the predestined successor. Columba, nevertheless, was obstinate, and declined to act upon this instruction, and it was only after he had been struck a blow on the side by the angel, which left a lasting cicatrix to remind him of his obstinacy, and was three times visited by the heavenly messenger, that he yielded, and, summoning Aidan to Iona, solemnly ordained and inaugurated him as king of Dalriada. In this anointing at the hands of the great missionary, we have

brought before us the first consecration of a Christian king in Britain.

That Columba was fully alive to the qualifications of Aidan for his high office is very evident from the tenor of the remarks which he addressed to the king during the inauguration ceremony. Knowing his talents, and fearing his ambition, he was suspicious that he might be tempted to attack the overlords of Dalriada, the Hy Nial or principal rulers of Ireland, to whom Columba was closely related, and so he took the opportunity of assuring him that he and his posterity would remain invincible so long as they did justice to the Saint and his race, but he solemnly warned him that swift destruction would certainly overtake his house should they lift a hand against that royal race of Erin.

Aidan was not long in proving himself to be indeed a vigorous and successful ruler. In the eleventh century he is spoken of as "King of many divisions." Soon after his accession he, in association with Baedan, son of Cairell, who at that time ruled over the Irish Cruithnigh, and called himself king of Ulster, attacked the Saxons and drove them out of Manann.

That the vigorous Aidan could not well brook holding his kingdom as a tributary to any other State is shown by the important step which he speedily took, aided by Columba, for freeing Dalriada from the over-lordship of the kings of Ireland. With that end in view, a great council was held at Drumceat in 575, which was attended by Aedh Mac Ainmore, King of Ireland, Aidan, and St. Columba. After much discussion, it was arranged that the Scots of Alban should no longer pay certain rents and tributes known as *cain* and *cobach*, to the kings of Ireland, "but they were to join in expeditions and hostings when called upon, with the exception of the sea gathering or maritime expeditions." Aidan thus became the first monarch of Dalriada as an entirely independent kingdom. Columba's retinue on this important occasion is thus described by the poet Dallan Forgaill, who was the chief *ollamh*, or chief of all the poets of Erin at that time :— 575 A.D.

"Forty priests was their number,
Twenty bishops, noble, worthy,
For singing psalms, a practice without blame,
Fifty deacons, thirty students."

We would imagine that the fact that Aidan was able to effect the independence of his kingdom the very year after he ascended the throne, together with the further fact of his consistent vigorous career from the beginning of his reign, goes far to prove that during the previous reign Dalriada was not so circumscribed in its territory as some writers endeavour to show, and that it was well able to look to itself.

The powerful personality of Columba we find again asserting itself in connection with the nomination of a successor to Aidan. Summoning the king and his younger sons to Iona—the elder need not come, for they would fall in battle—he decreed, apparently unquestioned, the succession of Eocha Buidhe, or the yellow-haired, and he and his descendants were pronounced the future kings of Dalriada.

580 A.D. Aidan went far afield, and in the year 580 we find him undertaking an expedition to Orkney. During succeeding years he was engaged in a series of battles against Picts and Britons and Saxons, and it seems probable that during his reign the kingdom of Dalriada was more powerful and more capable of combined aggressive action than it ever was in its after history. In 583 Aidan was victor over the Saxons of Bernicia at the battle of Manand. At this point, and in connection with Aidan's association with the territory on the south bank of the Firth of Forth, a surmise may be hazarded as to the derivation of "Dunedin," the old Celtic name of Edinburgh. The earlier English form of Dunedin was Maidenburgh, but the M in maiden may be merely the "Celtic honorific prefix," which we find so often employed at that period, and its elision leaves the Aiden, which is probably the name found in the Celtic Dunedin and the Teutonic Edinburgh. It has been sought to associate the name with an early female missionary who bore the name of M-Edana, Monenna, Monynne, or Modwenna, by whom, or her disciples, establishments for the education of girls were founded at several fortified places in Scotland, but it seems more reasonable to connect the name of a prominent fortified place with a warrior king like Aidan, whose name exactly accords with the desiderated name, and who had close associations with the district, rather than with a female missionary—a messenger of peace.[1]

[1] Yet another possible derivation is suggested. According to Professor Max Müller, the place-name, "Maiden" or "Maidens," which is so

In the year 590 Aidan fought the battle of Leithreid (the broad plain), by which may be indicated a place of the same name in Sutherlandshire. In 596 he entered upon a campaign of a considerably extended character, which we will endeavour to trace from the slight indications given as to the sites of the different battles. At this time the celebrated Marnoch was his chaplain. Starting apparently from the district of Manann as a centre, he engaged in the battle of Ratho in Druadh—the village or fort of the Druids—which is probably the ancient village of Ratho situated about eight miles west-south-west of Edinburgh. Thence he proceeded to a place called Ardsendoin, or Ardsendain (the heights in or by the depth), where he also fought a battle, and in which, or in a later one, he lost four of his sons. We suspect that it is this battle that is referred to by Adamnan under the name of "the battle of the Miathi," a name which probably points to the district where it was fought. In speaking of this battle the biographer of St. Columba tells us how that the Saint while in Iona "suddenly said to his minister, Diormit, 'Ring the bell.' The brethren, startled at the sound, proceeded quickly to the church, with the holy prelate himself at their head. There he began on bended knees to say to them, 'Let us pray now earnestly to the Lord for this people and king Aidan, for they are engaging in battle at this moment.' Then after a short time he went out of the oratory, and looking up to heaven, said, 'The barbarians are fleeing now, and to Aidan is given the victory—a sad one though it be,' and the blessed man in his prophecy declared the number of the slain in Aidan's army to be three hundred and three men." In endeavouring to connect the battle of Ardsendoin of the Annalists with the battle of the Miathi of 590 A.D. 596 A.D.

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common in British topography, would be a common corruption in modern Cornish of the word *mên*, meaning a stone or rock. The original corrupted form would be *mêdn*, and this the Saxons, he contends, would have mistaken for their own *maiden*. If this is so, "Edinburgh" might mean the burgh on the rock. It is not plain, however, that *mêdn* is either an obsolete or corrupted form of the word *mên*, and it is difficult to explain the wide distribution of the place-name "Maiden" throughout Scotland by assigning it a Cornish source. As regards "Edinburgh," it may, with considerable probability, be contended that the Gaelic name—Etin or Dunedin—is more likely to be an older form of the name than Maidenburgh, which has borrowed from the Teutonic.

Adamnan, and to fix the site, we would remark that the parish of Inverarity in the Sidlaw district of Forfarshire, comprehends the ancient parishes of Inverarity and Meathi. The latter word, as has been already indicated, signifies a "plain." "A valley or small strath," says the *Ordnance Gazetteer*, "extends along the greater part of the Arity's course, and sinking to less than three hundred feet above sea level, is encinctured by an amphitheatre of wooded hills." The encircling hills rise to a height of eight and nine hundred feet, and it seems not improbable that in this plain, with its surrounding heights in the ancient parish of Meathi, we find the scene of the "battle of the Miathi" and the battle of "Ardsendoin." In his reference to the battle of the Miathi Adamnan says that Artur and Eochoid Find, two of Aidan's sons, were killed, but Tighernac records that these and two others of Aidan's sons were slain in the battle of Chirchind, in which Aidan was defeated. If this was yet another battle (it is not referred to in either the *Annals of Ulster* or those of *Inisfallen*), it must have been fought in the same neighbourhood, as its location was evidently in the old Pictish province of Circinn, which included the present counties of Forfar and Kincardine.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Aidan at the battle of Chirchind, his advance does not seem to have been checked, for we find him once more encountering the Picts in the battle of Corainn, which we may venture to identify with Corrennie, a long hill ridge on the mutual border of Tough, Cluny, and Kincardine O'Neil parishes in Aberdeenshire.

603 A.D. In the year 603 this adventurous king, at the head of an army composed of Scots, Irish Picts, and possibly Britons, entered the territories of Aedilfrid, king of Bernicia. He was encountered by the Saxon king at a place called by Bede Degsastane (Dawstone), and so completely defeated, according to this historian, that up to the time in which he wrote (731) none of the kings of the Scots ventured to come in battle against the nation of the Angles. That the battle was not entirely one-sided, however, is evident by the fact recorded by Tighernac, who speaks of the battle under the name of Cath Saxonum, that the Saxon king's brother was slain by Maeluma, the son of Baedan, king of Ulster, and the body of men he led into battle cut off.

Meanwhile Brude, the friend of St. Columba, and king of the northern Picts, died in the year 584, after a reign of thirty years.

He was succeeded by a series of kings, many of whom, while they contrived to hold their own in the many contests for supremacy, have not written their names prominently in the history of our country.

But ere the close of the sixth century a greater than any Pictish king had entered into his rest, for on Sunday, the 9th June, 597, Saint Columba passed away in the seventy-seventh year of his age. During his latter years the aged saint was venerated alike in Ireland and in Scotland with a profound veneration, and he has left behind him an imperishable memory. On his endowments and capabilities his biographers dwell with fond regard. They show him to have been a strong man, naturally passionate, perhaps, but full of zeal and devotion—a man of statesman-like sagacity. They dwell upon his unwearied labours, his kindness to the helpless and the poor, his love of animals, his powers, his ability as a scribe, and his wonderful sonorous voice—a voice which could be heard at a distance of 1,500 paces. Of it the old *Irish Life* says :— 597 A.D.

> "Sweet above the voice of clerics
> Was Columba's voice to hear,
> Over thrice five hundred paces,
> Vast the distance—it rang clear."

By Adamnan his character is thus tenderly portrayed :— "From his boyhood he had been brought up in Christian training, in the study of wisdom, and by the grace of God had so preserved the integrity of his body and the purity of his soul, that, though dwelling on earth, he appeared to live like the saints in heaven. For he was angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order and consummate prudence ; he lived during thirty-four years an island soldier. He never could spend the space even of one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. So incessantly was he engaged night and day in the unwearied exercise of fasting and watching, that the burden of each of these austerities would seem beyond the power of all human endurance. And still, in all these, he was beloved by all; for a holy joy ever beaming on his face revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Spirit filled his inmost soul."

The pleasant relations which existed between him and his island community are happily pictured for us in the touching,

living record of the closing scenes of his life. As his days become few, we find him borne on his car across the island to the Machar, that he may visit the working brethren, and, as he breaks gently to them the news of his early demise, he confers upon the island and its inhabitants his benediction; we see him a week before his death celebrating the eucharist, his face the while beaming with rapture as he beholds, in vision, an angel sent to bear away his soul; we are shown him on the day preceding his death blessing their bounteous storehouse, and solemnly addressing Diormet, his faithful servant, and telling him that ere that night had passed, he would have entered into his rest; anon we behold him ascending the little hill overlooking the monastery —the Torr-Abb or Abbot's knoll, as it is still called—from which, with uplifted hands, he blesses the monastery and prophesies its future glory; we follow him into his cell for the last time, where he engages in the transcription of the psalter, and lays down his pen, never more to take it up, when he had written the words "They that seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good;" we listen to his farewell counsel to the brethren that they should live in unfeigned charity and mutual peace; and, with a feeling of awe, we look upon him rising at the sound of the midnight bell and hastening to the unlit church, where, with his head pillowed on the bosom of Diormet, and surrounded by a crowd of weeping monks, on whom he bestows his silent benediction, he breathes away his soul on the steps of the altar. And there, by his sorrowing brethren of the lonely isle, he was laid to his last sleep, "to rise again with lustrous and eternal brightness." It is thus Professor John Stuart Blackie worthily sang of him:—

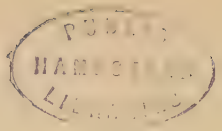
"True glory he reaped with his saintly band,
Who fled from pomp of courts and flash of spears,
To win lost souls on this storm-battered strand,
With loving venture, prayers, and precious tears.
No herald shrill'd sharp fear his path before,
No wasteful fire made deserts where he came,
No trail of victories signed his march with gore,
No dinsome triumph peal'd his dreaded name;
But shod with peace, and wing'd with fervour, he
Unlock'd all hearts; for love gave him the key."

Such was the simplicity and universality of the doctrine of the great abbot, that all branches of the Christian Church continue to venerate his memory, and on the thirteenth centennial

anniversary of his death (June, 1897), Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, each in their own way, held commemorative services upon the holy isle, and bore striking, eloquent, and affectionate testimony to the veneration in which he is held.

Columba was succeeded as abbot by his cousin Baithean, one of the original band who had accompanied him to Iona. During a long series of years, indeed till the death of Adamnan, the ninth Abbot, the succession devolved upon members of the tribe to which Columba had belonged—the tribe of Conall Gulban. This was strictly in accordance with the law of the period regulating such successions, and in all fifteen abbots of Iona are said to have been descended from the royal Gulban.

In the year 606, King Aidan of Dalriada died, aged seventy- 606 A.D.
four. According to Fordun, his death occurred in Kintyre, and he was buried at Kilkerran (Campbeltown), but Bishop Leslie asserts that he found a last resting-place, like his predecessors and so many of his successors, in the royal sepulchre in Iona. Certain circumstances have led the author of *Bute in the Olden Times* to the conclusion that the remains of Aidan were interred at a place in Bute, still called Reilig-Aedhain, the burial-place of Aidan. The site is a little above Ardbeg point, and in 1858 there were taken from a large cairn there as many as eighteen cists.



CHAPTER VIII.

Confusions in Dalriadic History—Rivalry of the Eochadh Buidhe and the Conaing branches of the Cinel Gabhran—The Celtic Church in Northumbria—Disorganization of Dalriada—Events in Pictavia—Battle of Duin-Nechtain and its results—Political influence of Adamnan—Life in Iona.

606-688 A.D.

On the death of Aidan, his son, Eochadh Buidhe, was forthwith installed as king. By all the authorities, Irish and native alike, Eochadh Buidhe is said to have reigned for sixteen years—a term which brings us down to the year 622. His death, however, is not recorded till the year 629, in which year he is stated by Tighernac to have been victor in a battle, while in the *Annals of Ulster* he is said to have died in that year king of the Picts. There is nothing definite to indicate who these Picts were among whom he seems to have passed the latter years of his life. Skene thinks they were probably the Galloway Picts, over whom he may have become ruler through marriage, but we may venture to suggest that they were the Picts of Manann, over whom, as we know, his father, Aidan, exercised a form of sovereignty. This supposition is made the more probable from the fact that in Tighernac, under the year 629, there is a very confused note which seems to indicate a battle between Eochadh and Oiseric mac Albruit, future king of the Saxons, in which the former was victor, and a great slaughter was made of the Saxons.

And now the question arises as to who was king of the Dalriads during the interval of seven years that has been referred to, viz., between the withdrawal of Eochadh Buidhe from Dalriada and his death in 629 as king of the Picts. The name that appears in all the lists immediately after the name of Eochadh Buidhe is that of his son, Conadh Cerr. They all equally agree, however, in asserting that he reigned only for three months, while Tighernac records that he was killed in 629 at the battle of

Faedhaeoin in the first year of his reign. We are thus, practically, still left with the seven years interval to account for.

In the several lists the name of Conadh Cerr is followed by that of Ferchar, the son of Conaing, the son of Aidan. Ferchar was thus a nephew of Eochadh Buidhe, the former king, and to him is given a reign of sixteen years. By Fordun, however, Ferchar's name is placed before that of Conadh Cerr, and in so doing he is, as we believe, justified by the fact that Ferchar reigned before Conadh as well as after him. Just about the time of the withdrawal or expulsion of Eochadh Buidhe from the throne of Dalriada, the kingdom, it would seem, was in a disturbed condition through the family of Eochadh being in conflict with the family of Conaing, the father of Ferchar. At the best, the further history of Dalriada is not a little confused, and a comparatively satisfactory view of it can only be attained by keeping ever before us a fact that has not been sufficiently attended to by historians, viz., that from the time of Eochadh Buidhe, right on till the reign of Kenneth Mac Alpin, the kingdom, only at intervals, existed as an organic whole. The failure to recognize with sufficient definiteness this all-important fundamental fact has made confusion worse confounded, whereas with this kept clearly in view, it is possible, in many instances, to reconcile ancient authorities that have been considered irreconcilable, and to place the history of the period in clearer and more definite outline.

In the *Annals* of Tighernac, under date 621, we are afforded 621 A.D.
evidence of the condition of civil war in Dalriada just spoken of. In that year Conall mac Suibne, with whom was associated Domnal Breac, the son of Eochadh Buidhe, met in battle Conaing, son of Aidan, at Cindelgthen, the location of which we will probably be correct in fixing at a point on the shore of Loch Fyne, a little to the north of the scene of the battle of Delgon, fought in the previous century. In the battle Conaing was drowned.

It was probably as a result of the death of Conaing that his son Ferchar came to the front. Whether Eochadh Buidhe's withdrawal was voluntary or compulsory, or whether it had been effected in connection with these events, we know not, but that it was at this time that Ferchar attained to the sovereignty seems very evident from the course of events.

The name of Conadh Cerr first appears in Tighernac and the

627 A.D *Annals of Ulster* under date 627. In that year he fought the battle of Ardacorain in Dalriada, and killed Fiachna mac Demain, king of the Cruithnigh of Dalaradia in Ireland. As Conadh seems by this time to have established himself as the ruler of Kintyre, it is probable that this battle was fought in that peninsula. Two years later his position so far improved that he was
629 A.D. acknowledged as king for a period of three months, but his career was cut short at the battle of Faedhaeoin. The site of this fight has not been identified, but it was probably within the Scottish Dalriada, and the fact that Conadh was opposed by Rigullan, the brother of Ferchar, makes it evident that it was an event in civil war. In the combat the party of Ferchar was assisted by Mailcaith mac Scandail, king of the Cruithnigh of Ulster, and Dicuil mac Eachach, also ruler of a tribe of Cruithnigh, while Conadh was aided by his brother Failbe. Conadh, Rigullan, Failbe, and Dicuil were all slain.

On the death of Conadh Cerr in 629, the aspirant to the throne of Dalriada, from among the surviving sons of Eochadh Buidhe, was Domnall Breac, whom we found fighting against Conaing, the father of the future king, Ferchar, at the battle of Cindelgthen in 621. Domnall Breac's reign, which ended in the year 642, is evidently reckoned by the majority of the authorities as beginning with the death of his brother Conadh. In Flann and the Duan he is stated to have reigned fourteen years, and in several of our Latin chronicles he is given the same term, but till the year 638, when Ferchar's reign came to an end, he must have reigned concurrently with the latter.

Domnall Breac was a vigorous but unfortunate ruler. In the
637 A.D. year 637, in defiance of the warning of St. Columba, and in contravention of the arrangement come to by Aidan and the race of Hy Niell at Drumceat, he associated himself with Congal Claen, king of the Cruithnigh of Ulster, and with a large contingent of Dalriadic Scots and Strathclyde Britons, fought against Domnal, son of Aed, King of Ireland, the then representative of the Hy Niell. The combatants met at Magh Rath or Moyra, where a decisive battle was fought, and Domnall Breac and his allies were disastrously defeated. Much importance was attached to this combat both in Ireland and in Scotland, and by both Cumin the Fair and Adamnan, the biographers of St. Columba, it was considered highly significant in view of the warning prophecy uttered

by the Saint. To this action of Donald Breac they attribute the misfortunes which now for many years overtook the Scots of Dalriada. Adamnan was thirteen years of age when the battle of Moyra was fought, and, writing between the years 690 and 700, he says:—"Now this prophecy hath been fulfilled in our own times in the battle of Roth [Magh Rath], in which Domnall Breac, the grandson of Aidan, ravaged without the slightest provocation the territory of Domnall, the grandson of Ainmureg; and from that day to this they have been trodden down by strangers."

Ill-fortune continued to dog the steps of Donald Breac. In the battle of Glenmairison or Glenmureson he was defeated by the Angles in 638 in an attempt to wrest from them that territory between the Avon and the Pentlands (Manann), which had belonged to his grandfather, Aidan, and his father, Eochadh Buidhe, and which had been seized by the Angles on the death of the latter. In the close of the sentence in which Tighernac notes this battle he refers to the siege of Etin, evidently Edinburgh. In a battle fought in Strathcarron in 642 against his former allies, the Britons of Strathclyde, under Oan or Eugein, their king, his career was terminated by his death, and his destruction is thus referred to in the Welsh poem of the Gododin:— 638 A.D. 642 A.D.

"I saw the array that came from Pentir [Kintyre];
It was as victims for the sacrifice they descended.
I saw the two out of their town they did fall,
And the men of Nwython brought destruction;
I saw the men beaten or wounded who came with the dawn,
And the head of Dyvnwal Vrych [Domnal Breac] ravens devoured it."

After the death of Columba the community of Iona continued to grow in power and influence. Fortunately the abbots who succeeded the Saint were well fitted to carry on the work that had been bequeathed to them. They "were distinguished," says Bede, "for their great charity, divine love, and strict attention to the rules of discipline." Not only was Iona during this period, and till many years later, the head of the monasteries and churches which were founded in Scotland by Columba, and his coadjutors, and successors, but also of those important institutions which had been founded by the Saint in Ireland. Already also the Celtic Church in Scotland carried on an active propaganda in many countries, and ere long its mission-field was Christendom.

How very largely its influence was increased when in 634 it obtained a footing in Bernicia can readily be imagined.

At the period in question the king of Bernicia was Osuald, the son of Aidilfrid. At a somewhat earlier date this Osuald, with several of his friends, had been compelled, from stress of political circumstances, to fly his country. For a period of seventeen years the Saxon prince found shelter within the monastery of Iona, and "when in banishment received the sacraments of baptism among the seniors of the Scots." Bede, who records this fact, also informs us that he became "perfectly skilled in their language," by which is doubtless meant the Gaelic tongue.

A few years prior to the coming into Bernicia of the Scottish missionaries, Christianity had been introduced among its Saxon population by Paulinus, but Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, zealous for his ancestral gods, overran the country, and swept the infant church away. No sooner, however, had Osuald established himself upon the throne of his fathers, on the death in battle of his brother Edwin in 633, than he set about restoring the Christian Church, and, turning naturally to that monastery which had for so long a period given him needed shelter, he requested of the Abbot Segine that he should send into his dominions a fitting missionary. It was therefore not in vain that Osuald had been fated to sit for seventeen years at the feet of the elders of Iona.

Corman, the first missionary from Iona to Northumbria, proved, however, a dismal failure. The people were stubborn and barbarous, and the missionary was too severe, but the right man was found in Aidan, who immediately succeeded him—"a man," says Bede, "of singular meekness, piety, and moderation," one who "taught no otherwise than as he and his followers had lived." In the king, Aidan found an active fellow-labourer, and in their intercourse with the peasants of Yorkshire and Northumbria his royal companion acted as interpreter. To the monastery which he founded on Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, as it afterwards was called, Aidan was followed by many of his countrymen, and the work went on apace. The efficiency of the institution during a period of thirty years, both as a missionary church and as an educational centre, is thus borne testimony to by Bede :—"From that time many from the region of the Scots came daily into Britain, and with great devotion

preached the word of faith to those provinces of the Angles over which King Osuald reigned; and those among them that had received priest's orders administered to the believers the grace of baptism. Churches were built in several places; the people joyfully flocked together to hear the Word; possessions and lands were given of the king's bounty to build monasteries; the younger Angles were by their Scottish masters instructed; and greater care and attention were bestowed upon the rules and observances of regular discipline." And thus it was that the Abbot of Iona became the first metropolitan of the Church in the North of England. Ere the Celtic Church, now founded by Aidan, "the Apostle of England," came to an end in 664, its influence had extended among the Saxons from the Forth to the Thames, and so from Iona's isle, and not from Rome, there proceeded the effective human agency which raised the greater part of England out of the depths of heathendom, and banished forever from these regions the worship of Odin and Thor.

The disorganization of the kingdom of Dalriada which began, as we have seen, at the close of the reign of Eochadh Buidhe, became accentuated on the death of Donald Breac. After their victory at Strathcarron, the Britons of Strathclyde continued to harass the Scots, and eventually brought certain parts of their territory under their sway. Matters were not improved for the Scots when, as the result of an unexpected victory of King Osuiu of Northumbria in 654 over the hitherto victorious Penda, king of Mercia, who had as allies the Strathclyde Britons, these latter, and with them, it would appear, the Scots became tributary to the Angles of Northumbria—a state of affairs which was fated to last for the next thirty years.

From the scanty information which we possess regarding the rulers of Dalriada during the forty years succeeding the death of Donald Breac, it is difficult to arrive at any definite or satisfactory chronology. In several of our native chronicles the name of Donald Breac is followed directly by that of Mailduin. In the two oldest of these chronicles, however, this king's name is omitted, and in them the first name to appear is that of Fearchar Fada, or Fearchar the tall, who, as we shall see, attained to power immediately after Mailduin. Mailduin's name not only appears in the Duan and the Synchronisms of Flann, but is preceded in

these by the names of three rulers, viz., Conall Crandamna, Duncan or Dungall, and Domnall Donn. Of these three latter, Conall was brother to Donald Breac, and Donald Donn was the son of Conall. Duncan was probably a son of Conaing, and brother of King Ferchar, whose reign, we have seen, came to an end in 638. At any rate, from the *Tract on the Scots of Dalriada* we learn that Ferchar had a brother of that name, and "Duncan Mac Conaing" was a personage of sufficient importance to have his death recorded by Tighernac. In the Duan the names of Conall Crandamna and of Duncan are bracketed together as having reigned more or less concurrently during a period of ten years—a circumstance which we take it points to the continued rivalry of the houses of Conaing and Eochadh Buidhe. In the absence of anything definite to guide us during this obscure, unsettled period, we can only surmise, but with a very considerable degree of probability, that the chronology was as follows. That chronology, it may be said, fits in exactly with the first definite date we are furnished with—the death of Fearchar Fada, which, according to Tighernac and the *Annals of Ulster*, occurred in 697. We put it thus.

638 A.D. On the death of Ferchar, the son of Conaing, in 638, he was succeeded by his brother Duncan, who reigned concurrently with Donald Breac, till the latter was slain in 642. Donald Breac was succeeded in his government (probably in Kintyre) by his brother Conall Crandamna, and he and Duncan mac Conaing continued to reign concurrently in their respective spheres till, 648 A.D. at the end of the ten years attributed to them (648), both of them were displaced by Domnall Donn, the son of Conall. That the displaced rulers were not slain at this time is made evident by Tighernac, who tells us that Duncan mac Conaing was slain in 654 when fighting against the Picts at the battle of Srathra Ethairt, while he records the death of Conall Crandamna under 660 A.D. date 660. Domnall Donn reigned for a period of thirteen years, by which time we arrive at this same date 660 or 661. His successor was Mailduin, who seems to have displaced Domnall Donn in 660 or 661, as the latter's death is recorded under 696, when he was slain. Mailduin, who now reigned for a period of sixteen years, is variously described as being the brother and the son of Domnall, his immediate predecessor.

Up to this point in the history of Dalriada the rulers had been

drawn from the descendants of one of the sons of Erc alone, viz., those of Fergus. We now reach a time, however, when something in the nature of a revolution occurred, a revolution which resulted in Fearchar Fada of the Cinel Loarn, and the then chief of one of its sub-tribes, the Cinel Baedan, assuming the sovereignty, such as it then was, in the year 676. That Fearchar's accession to power was preceded by the deposition of Mailduin and not by his death, is evidenced by the fact that although Fearchar died in 697 after a reign of twenty-one years, Mailduin's death did not take place till 689, that is only eight years before the career of Fearchar was terminated. 676 A.D.

During these years important changes were also occurring in the kingdom of the Picts. In the middle of the century these latter had for king Talorcan, who was of Anglic descent on the father's side, and who was cousin to king Osuiu of Northumbria. On the death of Talorcan in 657, Osuiu laid claim to the allegiance of the Picts, probably as heir on the paternal side, and enforced his claims at the point of the sword. In the prosecution of his claims he seems to have been so far successful as to have, nominally at least, included within his sway all the territory of the southern Picts. Their northern brethren were ruled by Gartnaidh, the son of Domhnaill.

After the death of Osuiu and the accession of Ecgfrid as king of Northumbria, the southern Picts, under a leader called Bernaeth, made a vigorous effort in 672 to secure their independence. Though supported by Drost, the successor of Gartnaidh, the effort ended in failure, and the Picts were defeated with so great a slaughter, according to Eddi, a contemporary writer, that two rivers were almost filled with their dead bodies. 672 A.D.

Apparently in disgust at this failure, the northern Picts, in the same year, expelled Drost, their king, and raised to the throne Bridei, the son of Bile, whose mother was a daughter of Talorcan, and who was also, on the father's side, related to the royal house of Alclyde. He had therefore in his veins the blood of the Pict, the Briton and the Saxon. Bridei justified his selection by the vigour and success of his reign. After successfully besieging Dunbeath, in Caithness, and Dunottar near Stonehaven, he laid waste in 682 the Orkney Islands. Then working his way south-

683 A.D. ward he occupied, in 683, a strong position among the southern Picts in the province of Fortrenn.

But the Picts were not alone at this time in their efforts to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. Five years earlier (678) under their king, Fearchar Fada, the Scots engaged in battle with the Britons, but were defeated at a place called in the *Annals of Ulster* "Tirinn." Under the same year are recorded other three battles—Duinlocho, Liaccmaelain, and Doiradeilinn (the island of Jura)—but no indications are given as to who were the combatants, while the scene of only the latter fight can be located. The fact that that one was in Jura makes it probable that the combatants were again the Scots and the Britons, though it is possible that the combats may have been inter-tribal.

The year 683 saw King Fearchar actively engaged in the siege of Dunadd, which fort was evidently at that time in possession of the Britons. In this endeavour he may have been acting in concert with King Bridei, who, we have seen, was in arms in the north, and was now engaged in the siege of Dunduirn, a strongly fortified position at the east end of Loch Earn.

This activity on the part of Pict and Scot induced King
685 A.D. Ecgfrid to actively take the field in 685. To all concerned the campaign now entered upon was indeed a notable one, and not least to Ecgfrid and his people. On the 20th day of June the rival armies approached each other, when, incautiously following the army of the Picts who, as Bede informs us, feigned a retreat, Ecgfrid was led into the straits of inaccessible mountains, and slain with the flower of his nobles and the greatest part of his forces. To Northumbria the downfall was great, occurring as it did when that kingdom had reached its highest pitch of power, and never again did it recover the position it now lost.

By Tighernac the scene of the battle is called Duin Nechtain. Simeon of Durham, who also refers to it, denominates it Nechtan's Mere or loch. Both of these names have been identified with Dunnichen, Forfarshire, and its immediate neighbourhood. In earlier days the identification was more evident than now, for close by the hill, which is crowned with the remains of a small fort, there formerly existed a small lake, now drained, which went under the name of the Mire of Dunnichen. In connection with this campaign, Tula Aman, at the mouth of the river

Almond, and Dunolly, on the coast of Lorn, were consumed by fire. Ecgfrid was buried in Iona.

The result on Dalriada and on Pictland of the defeat of Ecgfrid was to set these kingdoms, once again, entirely free. Of the Angles who had been resident in Pictland, many were slain and many were enslaved, while others succeeded in escaping by flight. By Bede, the disasters which had overtaken the southern army were looked upon as a judgment upon Ecgfrid for his having organised in the previous year a raid on the harmless people of Ireland, and having wasted even their churches and monasteries. By the same historian, the more lasting effects on the several interested nations are thus stated: "From that time the hopes and strength of the Anglic kingdom began to fluctuate and to retrograde, for the Picts recovered the territory belonging to them which the Angles had held, and the Scots who were in Britain, and a certain part of the Britons, regained their liberty, which they have now enjoyed for about forty-six years."

In connection with the raid of Berct, the general of King Ecgfrid, into Ireland, we are shown, in the *Irish Life*, an interesting glimpse of Adamnan, the biographer of Columba, and the then abbot of Iona. The Saxon general had not only on that occasion committed serious depredations, but had carried off as prisoners a large number of men and women. Aldfrid, the son of Ecgfrid, was now king of Northumbria, and it so happened that he was familiarly known to Adamnan, for he had been long an exile in Ireland. Being aware of this acquaintanceship, the men of Erin besought Adamnan that he should proceed to Saxonland and endeavour to secure the release of the prisoners. The good abbot acceded to the request, sailed in his curragh to the Solway Firth, where he landed, and eventually happily succeeded in bringing sixty of the forlorn captives back to their homes.

On this and on several other occasions Adamnan showed himself to be possessed of statesmanlike qualities, like his great predecessor Columba. In 688 he was sent as ambassador by his nation to the court of King Aldfrid, and there he remained for some considerable time. Again in 697, accompanied, it would seem, by Brude, son of Derile, king of the Picts, he proceeded to Ireland on a political mission which had been initiated by himself, and which had reference to the exemption of women from attendance on hostings and expeditions—a savage demoralising

688 A.D.

duty which, up to that time, had been incumbent upon them. In this effort he was, fortunately, successful.

From Adamnan's *Life of Saint Columba*, we gather a few notes which afford us a glimpse of the social economy of the community of Iona, and the conditions under which Christianity was propagated in those early times. When we consider the reception which was given to Christianity in its early days by the cultured, civilized people of Rome, we may well marvel at the astonishing absence of deeds of bloodshed in connection with its propagation among the so-called barbarians of Scotland. Only one outburst is recorded, and its rarity has made it memorable. It occurred on the island of Eigg on the 17th of April, 617, when St. Donnan and fifty of his disciples were slain by the queen or female chief of the island. At the beginning of the last century, Martin, on his visit, found a church there dedicated to the martyred saint, and he tells us that "St. Donnan's Well, which is in the south-west end, is in great esteem among the natives, for St. Donnan is the celebrated tutelar of this island."

Occasionally we stumble on an incident which keeps before us the fact that these western nations were not so isolated or so much removed from continental influences as we are sometimes apt to imagine. On one occasion, as his biographer tells us, Columba was proceeding to Kintyre, accompanied by his friend, Lugbeus Mocumin, when he fell in with a French bark. From the crew he learned of an historical event of the period—the overthrow, by a great earthquake, of an Italian city in Istria, now called Citta Nuova. The presence of a French ship in these waters should probably be taken as evidence that commerce between France and the west coast of Scotland was engaged in even at that early period. Wine, among other French commodities, would probably constitute a part of the cargo.

At other times, however, foreign ships were driven on these coasts by stress of weather. Such a circumstance it was that drove to the island of Iona in Adamnan's time one who was indeed a very welcome visitor. This was Arculfus, a French bishop, who was returning home after a visit to the Holy Land and many others of the holy places of the East. By Adamnan and his brethren the stranger was hospitably entertained after his rude buffetting by the storms, and on Iona he passed the winter. Arculfus proved himself an acquisition, and for the

instruction and entertainment of these untravelled sons of the prophets, to whom it was of intense interest, he detailed, throughout the long winter evenings, the story of all he had seen upon his travels. The substance of that description was committed to writing by Adamnan, and the work, which is entitled *De locis Sanctis*, is still extant. It is strange to think that this book, written in far Iona, is probably the first book ever written on the Geography of the Holy Land, and it is still much valued as being an early record of the position of religious affairs at the centre of Christendom.

It was no idle life the monks of Iona led. The daily religious service claimed the first place, and reading, writing, teaching, almsgiving, preparing for the ministry, and meditation received their due meed of attention. Other indoor labours included the daily domestic duties, while out of doors the work was multifarious, for there were cattle and sheep to be tended, and farming operations generally to engage the attention of many. At the present day, as we learn from the Duke of Argyll's *Iona*, the island carries 200 cows and heifers, 140 younger "beasts," about 600 sheep and lambs, 25 horses, and some threescore pigs, while it grows also a considerable quantity of grain. Besides Iona the community had also in possession the very fertile island of Tiree —the Terra Ethica, the land of corn of the monks—which from its fertility was called in later days MacDonald's Girnell. In Columba's time they had at least one horse and cart for agricultural purposes. They had a barn for the storage of grain, a mill for its grinding, and a smithy for the necessary iron-work. Their food consisted of milk, eggs, flesh, fish, and bread. Their baker was a Saxon named Genarus, probably a captive. Another official is one who is called "Pincerna" or *butler*, and a third "Hortulanus" or *gardener*. The milk they carried home on horse-back, sometimes in wooden, sometimes in leathern vessels. Their clothing consisted of a coarse upper garment of the natural colour of the wool, and a tunic of a finer make, while their shoes were of hide, and these they removed before sitting down to food. In old writings from the Celtic monastery of St. Gall the Celtic monks are spoken of as travelling in companies on the Continent, and they tell of their rough garments, their flowing hair, their leathern wallets, their water bottles, their long walking sticks.

The brethren of Iona were possessed of two kinds of boats

which they themselves constructed—one for transport purposes built of plank, and fitted with masts and sails, the other known as curraghs, made of wicker-work covered with hides, and laced with thongs. Cæsar noted the use of this latter type of boat in his day, and had similar ones constructed for employment in the civil war in Spain. It was in such a frail bark that St. Cormac during Columba's time ventured forth upon his long journey, when he is said to have sailed before a south wind for fourteen days into the northern sea ere making land. It is surmised that the land he then reached was Iceland, which is known to have been at an early period visited by the Scottish missionaries. Little boats of this type were in use on the Spey up till the end of the last century, while in Ireland they were largely employed in some parts up to the middle of the present century. In the latter country they were considered very safe, and sometimes as many as six short oars were made use of in rowing them, one man pulling a pair. In Wales coracles of the same type, but with a tarred canvas covering instead of hides, are still in use on the lakes and rivers. These are so light that they are carried from place to place on the back of a man, suspended by straps passing over the shoulders and under the armpits.

CHAPTER IX.

Continuation of Dalriadic History—Continuation of Pictish History—King Nechtan decrees conformity to Roman usages—Columban clergy driven out of Pictland—The Culdees—Early stone churches and bee-hive dwellings—Revolution in Pictland—Dalriadic affairs.

688-741 A.D.

THERE is nothing to indicate that during the greater part of the reign of Fearchar Fada the people of Dalriada were other than practically a united people. Towards the close of his reign, however, the Cinel Gabhran, under the leadership of Eocho Rianambail (curved nosed), son of Domangart, and grandson of Donald Breac, reasserted themselves, and during a period of two or three years Eocho had secured sufficiently extended influence to gain for him a place in both the Irish and the native lists. He was slain in 696, possibly by some member of the Conaing branch of the Cinel Gabhran, who, as we have seen, disputed the supremacy in earlier days with the Eochadh Buidhe branch, and whom we find shortly after this time at the head of affairs in Kintyre.

Fearchar Fada died the following year (697), after a reign of twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Ainbhceallach, who had only reigned one year, when, after the burning of Dunolly, he was defeated by his brother Selbach, and sent bound to Ireland. This usurpation of Selbach was by no means pleasing either to many in his own tribe or in the Cinel Gabhran, and his authority was actively disputed. So much was he considered a usurper that he is not accorded a place either in the Duan or the native lists. His name, however, occurs in the Synchronisms of Flann, and he occupies a prominent place in the Irish Annals. 697 A.D.

The hand of Selbach seems to have been against every man. In 701 he again burnt Dunolly, and slaughtered the Cinel Cathbath, a rival branch of the house of Loarn. Three years later the Dalriads (under whose leadership is not mentioned) were defeated at a place called "Valle Limnæ," by which is probably meant the Vale of Leven in Dunbartonshire. In such a case their opponents 701 A.D.

707 A.D. would have been the Britons. The year 707 is marked by the slaughter of Becc, the grandson of king Duncan, son of Conaing, and it is possible that he was slain in revenge for the death of Eocho Rianamhail. Becc's son Duncadh is referred to by Tighernac under the year 721, as king of Kintyre, thus showing that the Conaing branch still held a prominent position.

711 A.D. In 711 the Scots turned the tables on the Britons by defeating them at Loirg eclat or Loch Arklet, and the following year Selbach attacked the Cinel Gabhran, and besieged Aberto or Dunaverty, their principal stronghold in south Kintyre. Under the same year, and probably in connection with this same incursion, the burning of "Tairpirt Boetter" is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*, by which is probably meant that Selbach had set on fire a fort at Tarbert in north Kintyre.[1] Two years later, however, things were not going smoothly for Selbach nearer home, for in 714, after he had rebuilt Dunolly, it was again destroyed by his own daughter Ailen; but in an encounter with

717 A.D. the Britons in 717 in the neighbourhood of a stone, called by the annalists Minvircc, the Dalriads were once more victorious. Minvircc is understood to be represented by *Cluch na Braetan*, or the stone of the Britons, in Glenfalloch, which at that time marked the northern boundary of the Britons.

719 A.D. In the year 719, Ainbhceallach, the dethroned son of Fearchar Fada, and brother of Selbach, returned from Ireland, and, with the aid of those who had remained his friends, made an effort to recover his rightful position. He was, however, defeated and slain in a battle which was fought at Finglen, near Loch Anich. The scene of the battle still bears the name of *Blar-nam-Braithrean*, or the battle-field of the brothers. But the victorious career of Selbach received a check the same year in a naval battle off "Ardeaneisbi," when he was defeated and several of his chief men slain by the Cinel Gabhran, under their leader, Duncadh, the son of Becc, of the Conaing branch, who is styled by the

723 A.D. annalists king of Kintyre. Resigning his crown in 723 to his son Dungal, Selbach brought his secular life to an end, for a time, by becoming a cleric and entering a monastery.

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[1] 712 . . . . Combustio Tairpirt Boetter. . . . *An. of Ulster.* "Boetter" is derived from the same source as is the old English word *bote*, a live fagot.

During the early years of this eighth century important domestic events were occurring amongst the Picts. King Bredie of Fortrenn, as he is called by Tighernac, survived for seven years his momentous and decisive victory over the Angles, and died in the year 693. From the Irish life of Adamnan we learn 693 A.D. that he was buried in Iona, where Adamnan was Abbot at that time. His successor Taran, after a troublous reign of four years, was driven from the throne, and replaced by Bridei, the son of Dereli, whose reign was marked by a victory over the Angles in 698, in which Brechtraig, a royal Northumbrian commander, was 698 A.D. slain, and his attempt to bring again the southern Picts under Anglic influence defeated. Bridei died in 706, and was suc- 706 A.D. ceeded by his brother Nechtan.

This king had not reigned many years ere we find him engaged in a transaction connected with the Church which was calculated to produce not a little friction in the future. At this time, and indeed for a long time previously, there were certain points, such as the proper time for the celebration of Easter, the form and manner of the clerical tonsure, etc., which were stirring the ecclesiastical world to its depths. Already in 664 the Church in Northumbria had conformed to the Roman customs in these respects, with the result that Colman, who was at that time at the head of that Church, retired from it rather than submit to the new and alien modes, and returned to the monastery on Iona. At a still earlier date the Celtic missionaries on the Continent had also found it necessary to withstand Rome on several points, and by that Church they were disowned. Their influence and usefulness, and that of the Celtic Church as a whole, were not, however, in the least lessened on that account, and "for a time," as Green says, "it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed . . . as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West."

The conservatism of the Celtic Church is sought to be accounted for in the following manner by Bede. He says, "for dwelling far without the habitable globe, and, consequently beyond the reach of the decrees of synods . . . they could learn only those things contained in the writings of the prophets, the evangelists, and the apostles; while they diligently observed the works of piety and love." In other respects this is a most

instructive deliverance, for it not only proves that the Bible was the only rule of faith of the Columban Church, but it makes manifest that that Church was entirely free from Roman influences in the eighth century. As regards their supposed want of knowledge of the decrees, the probability is that they were not ignorant of them, for, as we know, intercourse between Iona and the outer world was by no means infrequent, and besides, Celtic missionaries, as we have seen, were holding aloft the lamp of evangelical truth on the Continent, and establishing training institutions throughout great districts of Europe. We may rest assured that their conservatism was not due to ignorance of decrees, but that inspired by zeal for the purity of their worship, they deliberately refused to have anything to do with the upsetting injunctions that issued from Rome. Like Columbanus on the Continent, their desire was that their faith should be in "all things indubitably grounded on the divine Scriptures." In other matters, such as the relative position of their bishops, the Celtic Church held to the more primitive practices. Among them the bishops would seem to have been comparatively obscure men, and we rarely hear of them except in connection with their special function, the ordination of presbyters. Two early references give us to understand the character of the government of the early Celtic Church. Under the year 565 the Saxon Chronicle notes that "there ought to be always in Ii (Iona) an abbot, but no bishop; and to him ought all the Scottish bishops to be subject, for the reason that Columba was an abbot, and not a bishop." Bede is also explicit when he says: "That island (Iona) is always wont to have for its governor a presbyter-abbot, to whose authority both the whole province, and even the bishops themselves, contrary to the usual methods, are subject, after the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk."

Towards the end of the seventh Century the Church in Iona came under Roman influences through its Abbot Adamnan who, in 688, had lived for a time at the Court of King Aldfrid of Northumbria, where he became a convert to the new order of things. The Columban Church in Scotland, however, resisted the innovations for yet a time, and to their adherence to the old ways was due the revolutionary step taken by King Nechtan which we have now to record.

Early in the eighth century the Pictish king had come under the influences of the Abbot of Jarrow, in whose monastery Bede was at the time a monk, and of a zealous missionary from that portion of the Irish Church which had conformed to the Roman customs spoken of. The result was that in 710 Nechtan convened an assembly—one of those Moots which we hear of in later times—at which, Bede tells us, he was surrounded by his nobles and learned men. At that assembly he determined that they should depart, in the matters referred to, from the practices which had hitherto been observed by the Columban Church, and decreed conformity to the Church of Rome. It was a decree, however, with which the Columban clergy were by no means inclined to comply, and as they thought of the honour of Iona, and the founder of their Church, they determined to adhere to the earlier practices, with the result that in 717 persecution was resorted to, and they were dispossessed of all their church foundations, and driven out of Pictland and across Drumalban. And thus we find the Church in Scotland already a Protesting Church. The event is full of significance, for it indicates that these men were inclined to think for themselves, that conscience was active, and that their religion must have been vigorous when it led to the making of such sacrifices.

710 A.D.

717 A.D.

Thus terminated the supremacy of the monastery of Iona over the churches of Pictland. The places of the Columban clergy were, however, still filled, in large measure, by Celtic clergy, but they were drawn from the branch of the church in Ireland, which had, ere this, conformed to the innovations of Rome. Certain others were introduced from Northumbria. To thus replace a native by an alien clergy must have been a risky proceeding, and almost certain to be productive of evil consequences to the nation at large.

After the death of Abbot Adamnan in 704 great dissension reigned on the same subjects, even in Iona itself, as the result of the seed that he had sowed. And so we find that, with short intervals, during a considerable number of years two rival abbots ruled in Iona. Not, indeed, till 772, when Breasal became abbot, did this condition of things come entirely to an end, by which time the family of Iona would seem to have agreed to conform, in the matters in dispute, to the Church of Rome.

It was during the earlier part of this eighth century that there

began to appear in literature a name which has been of much interest in Scottish Church history, the name of *Culdee*. At a very early period after the introduction of monasticism many men began to cultivate a greater asceticism, and to seek for greater solitariness than could be secured among the brethren in a monastery. Such men sought the solitude of the desert cell, or the cave by the lonely sea, in the belief that such an existence represented a higher form of life—that there, as living with God alone, they might, by worship and self-mortification, the better purify their thoughts, and cleanse their way. Such men were known as Anchorites or Hermits.

After a time these solitary brethren came to be considered, in the more particular sense, God-worshippers or God-fearing, and hence were given the name of *Deicolæ*, as contrasted with the term *Christicolæ*, which was applied specially to the ordinary monks. In Ireland the Latin term *Deicolæ* took the Gaelic form of *Ceile De*, and in Scotland that of *Keleidei*, both of which evolved in course of time into the familiar name *Culdee*. It is in the eastern districts that we find these Culdees first making their appearance in Scotland, and the period is very soon after the Columban monks had been expelled from the kingdom of the Picts. It was at a time, also, when certain serious abuses were creeping into the Churches of those parts. Among both monks and clergy the genuine Celtic spirit of unworldly devotion and simplicity was losing much of its vigour and freshness as a result of the new Roman influences. By and bye secular clergy were introduced as already in England; abbacies were held by laymen; the church offices came to be hereditary, and the Church was despoiled of her property. Soon the Culdees, who were unable to stem the changes, degenerated also, and they and the secular clergy were ultimately brought under the canonical rule.

Though, undoubtedly, as we have seen, wood and wattles entered very largely into the construction of churches and ecclesiastical establishments associated with the early Celtic Church, sufficient primitive remains still exist to show us that at a very early date stone was also made use of. Indeed, so primitive are these latter structures, that it is probable their erection may have been contemporaneous with those of the less durable material. If we turn to Ireland, from which must have

been derived most of the characteristics associated with our early religious history, we find still existing on lonely islands where the hand of the improver has been withheld, specimens of the earliest type of stone ecclesiastical structures. These remains show them to have been possessed of very simple characteristics indeed. Surrounded by a cashel or dry-built rampart, there existed one or more small churches, sometimes dry-built, sometimes lime-built. Associated with these were groups of dry-built monastic dwellings of the type known as bee-hive houses—structures which rise vertically to a certain height and then converge, by means of overlapping stones, to form a dome-shaped roof. A low doorway, with inclining instead of perpendicular sides—an early and marked characteristic of Celtic buildings—a small window, and one or more square recesses, or ambries, in the wall, constituted the structural equipments of such a dwelling. The church was equally primitive in its earliest manifestations, and consisted of one chamber, with one door and one window, all of the smallest. The building was always four-sided, had its door on the western aspect, and its window, right over the altar, on the eastern end. On an average they measured twenty-one feet by twelve feet, and were always roofed with stone.

In Scotland there are indications that monastic groups of this primitive type were not uncommon in other days, and on several islands remains of them still exist. On what had been an island on the site of the now drained Loch Columcille in Skye; on Eilean na Naomh (the island of the saints), lying between Scarba and Mull; and on the Brough of Deerness in Orkney, such buildings may be found, though in a very ruinous condition. As regards those on Loch Columcille, Dr. Petrie speaks of them as "the most undoubted remains of a monastic establishment of St. Columba's time." Those at Deerness may have been constructed in connection with a visit of St. Cormac, one of the contemporaries and friends of St. Columba, who, as we learn from Adamnan's *Life*, visited the Orkneys in his quest after a suitable desert in the ocean. Whether or not any of these date from that early period, they are at anyrate structures of the earliest known type. It was undoubtedly to buildings of this primitive character that the anchorites retired in their desire for solitude, and examples of their small sanctuaries have been found in the

most inaccessible and the most barren of the Western Isles. One such, though built with lime, and otherwise not so absolutely primitive in structure, exists on the east coast, viz., on Inchcolm. To it a special interest attaches from the fact that for three days it afforded shelter in 1123 to King Alexander the First, who had been storm-stayed there, and was hospitably entertained by the hermit. In fulfilment of a vow then made in the little cell of the anchorite, the king erected a monastery upon the island, and Bower, one of its abbots, tells the tale in his continuation of Fordun.

Naturally springing out of the simple single-chambered church took origin the more complex form with nave and chancel—the older church sometimes, as in the case of Teampull Columcille, in Benbecula, being transformed, by an unbonded addition, into the more developed form. Still they retained the oblong rectangular form with square ends and high-pitched roofs of stone, and still they were built of rude, unhewn, undecorated stone, but never without mortar. Through different stages they may be traced, until at length that stage is reached where the chancel arch is fully developed, and they come into touch with the Norman type, characteristic of the twelfth century.

Rude and destitute of architectural grace these old-world buildings are, yet to the archæologist, the historian, and him who would learn something of the conditions associated with the propagation of Christianity in our land, they are full of interest. Such as they are, the most primitive of them represent the oldest ecclesiastical remains in Northern Europe. They may well, therefore, be rude. It would be a mistake, however, to judge of the culture of the Columban Church by this architectural standard, for, as we shall see later, art-culture in other respects had reached in their midst a very high standard indeed. Besides, it is surmised that the simplicity and uniformity of their buildings was not due to defective inventive or constructive power, but to choice, or, as Petrie remarks, to "a veneration of some model given them by their first teachers."

Speaking of the continuance of bee-hive dwellings into the present day, Sir Arthur Mitchell in *The Past in the Present*, says: ". . . the bee-hive house certainly belongs to the man without a [written] story, though the man with a story is found still clinging to it." Till well on in the present century, such build-

ings might be found in the Outer Hebrides in regular occupation as dwelling-houses. Now-a-days their use is limited to summer-shealings, and they are spoken of under their Gaelic name, *bothan*.

Remains still exist which go to prove that at that early period, when houses of this primitive type were in general use as dwellings, and when they were, as a consequence, in highest esteem, their construction had reached a considerable degree of complexity. These give no little evidence of mental power and ingenuity on the part of the builders. One such, which may have been the abode or reception-hall of the head-man of a tribe, is to be seen at Meall-na-Uamh, in South Uist. Internally it is perfectly circular, and has a diameter of twenty-eight feet, while its dome-shaped roof is supported by ten piers or pillars of dry masonry. Attached to it is a subterranean gallery, fourteen feet long, terminating in an underground bee-hive chamber of considerable size. As with many other primitive things that remain with us, these more complex and better finished examples are probably the older ones, for we have to remember that as particular forms of structure became less esteemed, they degraded by a process of "descending progression," and tended towards the simple form out of which the more complex ones had been evolved.

Resuming the thread of our story as relating to the Pictish king, Nechtan, we find him in 724 entering a monastery, as Selbach of Dalriada had done the previous year. It is not improbable that he had gone there as to a sanctuary on account of unpopularity resulting from his expulsion of the Columban clergy. At any rate, his retiral seems to have followed on a revolution, for the accession of Druxst, his successor, was resisted, as we infer from the fact that in the following year, Simul, the son of Druxst, was captured and put in chains. Next year (726), as if in retaliation, Nechtan was taken from his monastery by Druxst and consigned to a similar fate. But that same year Druxst was driven from his throne, and succeeded by Elphin or Alpin mac Eachach, who, there is good reason to believe, was great-grandson of Donald Breac of Dalriada, and brother of a certain Eochach mac Eachach, whom Tighernac, as we shall see, calls king of Dalriada. 724 A.D. 726 A.D.

Alpin's accession was but the prelude to a great struggle for

the Pictish throne—a struggle which was shared in by no fewer than four aspirants. Two of these were former occupants—Druxst, the immediate predecessor of Alpin, and Nechtan, son of Dereli, who was again free. Another was Angus, son of Fergus, whom we should probably consider as the founder of a new family. In connection with disputable matters that will emerge later, it is important to note this the first appearance of the two names "Angus" and "Fergus" in Pictish records—names which are closely associated, at a much earlier period, with Dalriadic history. In connection with Alpin's claim to the throne of the Picts, we consider it almost a certainty that he was, though a Scot by the father's side, of royal Pictish extraction by the mother's side, and we venture to surmise that Angus was of similar extraction, and that his claims rested on similar grounds.[1]

728 A.D. The first to attack the reigning King Alpin was Angus, and for three years a complicated civil war raged. In the year 728 the forces of Alpin and Angus met at *Monaigh Craebi* or Moncrieffe, close by the junction of the Earn with the Tay, when victory declared for Angus. In this action the son of Alpin was slain, and Angus entered into possession of the territory to the west of the Tay. Later in the same year Alpin was again attacked, this time by Nechtan, at a place called by the Irish Annalists *Caislen Credhi*, and decisively defeated. The king fled, and Nechtan, for the time, re-assumed the sovereignty. At this period Scone is understood to have been the capital of the Picts. Caislen Credhi, the scene of this battle, means the Castle of Belief, and is believed to be represented by the Mote Hill or Hill of Belief at Scone, so called, it is surmised, as being the spot on which was assembled in 710, as we have seen, that great company before whom Nechtan decreed conformity to the usages of the Church of Rome. Of Alpin we shall again hear in another connection.

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[1] In one of the MSS. (the Bodleian) which give the clans supposed to be descended from Core, son of Lughaidh, king of Munster, of the line of Heber, we find it stated that Angus, king of Alban, was descended from Cairbre Cruithnechtan, the son of Core by Mungfinn, daughter of Feradach Finn Fachtuaigh, king of the Picts of Alban. "From Cairbre are the Eoganacht of the Mearns in Alban," where Cairbre is said to have settled. Whatever this may be worth, it is presumptive of the truth of the idea of Angus's Dalriadic extraction.

Nechtan's repossession of the throne did not long remain undisputed, and in the following year (729) he was defeated by the army of Angus at the battle of Monitcarno, on the banks of the "Stagnum Loogdeæ," now Loch Inch, beside the river Spey. By the victorious Angus the pretensions of Druxst were disposed of at a place called Dromaderg Blathmig, now known as the Redhead of Angus, where a battle was fought, and Druxst slain, on the 12th August, 729. The contest seems to have ended in 731 with a battle fought between Brude, the son of Angus, and Talorcan, son of Congus, when Brude remained master of the field. Talorcan escaped by flight, only to be delivered up three years later by his own brother to the Picts, by whom he was drowned. Nechtan died in 732, and Angus continued in full and undisputed possession of the throne. 729 A.D. 732 A.D.

The year (726) that witnessed the expulsion of Druxst from the throne of the Picts, was marked also by the ejection of Dungal, son of Selbach, from the throne of Dalriada, after a reign of three years. As in the case of his father, Dungal's name does not find a place in the native lists. He also was, evidently, looked upon as a usurper, and his true character is better learned from his proceedings after his ejection than before it. In the Duan he is called Dungal the "violent," and it is probable, from the fact of his expulsion, that he deserved the title during his reign, as much as we know he was worthy of it afterwards. 726 A.D.

By what means Dungal was expelled we know not, but there is reason to infer that the active agents were the Cinel Loarn, and that they revolted in favour of Ewen or Heochgain, a brother of Ainbhceallach and Selbach, whose name appears at this period in the native lists. According to the majority of the Chronicles Ewen reigned for sixteen years, and we take it that his period of power began with the expulsion of Dungal. In that same year, however, as we learn from Tighernac, Eochach mac Eachach began to reign. He was, as has been already hinted, great-grandson of Donald Breac of the Cinel Gabhran, and brother of that Alpin who, as we have seen, had about the same time become king of the Picts. This was he whom Flann designates "Eochaid Angbhaid," a champion of renown, and who he says reigned from the middle of his chiefship. By this latter expression in all probability is meant that he assumed the leadership of the Cinel Gabhran on the death of

Duncadh mac Becc in 721, and that, taking advantage of the ejection of Dungal in 726, he, in that year, began a period of decidedly extended influence which he attained by his valour, and which lasted till his death in 733. That he cannot have attained to the full sovereignty is made well-nigh certain by his name not finding a place either in the Duan or the native Chronicles.

The ejection of Dungal was the signal for Selbach to forsake his monastery and resume a secular life. While the tribes of Lorn seem to have remained faithful to Ewen, Selbach found a welcome in the district known as the two Airgiallas, which were probably, says Skene, "the central districts between the territories of the Cinel Loarn, Cinel Gabhran and Cinel Comgall, situated on both sides of Loch Awe, and occupied by the remains of the older population." From this district Selbach issued forth
727 A.D. in 727 to attack Eochach, who, in the prosecution of his designs, had invaded the district of Lorn. The combatants met at Irrois-foichnæ, now Ross-Feochan, where a battle was fought which seems not to have been of a decisive character, as all that is recorded in connection with it is that several of the two Airgiallas
730 A.D. were slain. Selbach died in 730, but Dungal continued to trouble the country, invading the territory of the Cinel Gabhran, and burning the fort at Tarbert in 731.

By collating the notes of Tighernac and the *Annals of Ulster* we find the following apparently consecutive events recorded
733 A.D. under date 733:—Dungal violated the sanctuary of Toraic, a church founded by St. Columba on Tory Island, by dragging from it Brude, the son of Angus, king of the Picts. Thence, with a view to plunder, he proceeded to invade Culrenrigi, an island also on the Irish coast. These notes are followed by the statement that Muredhach, the son of Ainbhceallach, of the race of Loarn, assumed the kingdom; that the fleet of Dalriada went to the aid of Flaithbertach, king of Ireland, when many of the Dalriads were slain, and others drowned in the river Bran; and that Eochach mac Eachach, king of Dalriada, is dead.

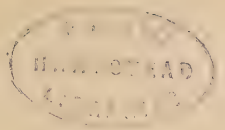
The sacrilegious action of Dungal here recorded, the significance of which we will refer to later, brought upon him, as was
734 A.D. to be expected, the vengeance of King Angus of Pictland. The following year the latter attacked him, and wounded him, and destroyed a fort called Dunleithfinn, the site of which is undeter-

mined. "Dungal fled to Ireland," says the record, "from the power of Angus."

What position Dungal actually held in Dalriada after the death of Eochach in 733 is not clear. In the Duan he is said to have reigned seven years in all, and as he only reigned three years previous to his ejection, this is taken by Skene to indicate that he resumed power in 733, and ruled for four additional years. There is nothing, however, to indicate that Dungal was, after his expulsion in 726, in reality anything more than a violent free-lance, with a considerable following probably in the Airgiallas. The fact that he fled the country after being wounded gives weight to the supposition that his responsibilities were light, and that the definite government neither of Lorn nor of Kintyre was his. We take it that as regards Kintyre we find in Alpin, who had already reigned for a period of two years over the Picts, and whose name follows that of Dungal in the lists both of the Duan and Flann, the immediate successor of Eochach in his government of that district. Alpin was the brother of Eochach, and they belonged to the Cinel Gabhran. By Pinkerton and Skene much, very much, is made to hinge on the reign of Alpin, and the events which happened about that time. To him is assigned in the Duan a reign of four years—a term which would bring us to the year 737. This, however, by no means accords with the conclusions of Skene, who associates him with some events which the only early authorities we possess say occurred in Galloway in the year 834 in the reign of another Alpin—Alpin, the father of Kenneth—but which he endeavours to prove took place in Galloway in the year 741, while this Alpin, the brother of Eochach, was king. In the native lists the name of this earlier Alpin does not appear, and in them, as we judge, the whole period from the ejection of Dungall in 726 till the year 742—sixteen years—is assigned to the reign of Ewen, the son of Fearchar Fada, and brother of Selbach. We come to the conclusion as to this being the period of Ewen's reign by adjusting our chronology from the first definite date associated with a Dalriadic king given in the *Irish Annals*. 733 A.D.

How long Dungal remained in Ireland does not appear, but his presence in Dalriada in 736 led to a renewed attack upon him by Angus, who is said to have laid waste Dalriada, taken Dunadd, burnt Creic, a fort on the promontory of Craignish, and cast 736 A.D.

Dungall and his brother Feradach into chains. In speaking of this invasion and its results, Skene, who is working up towards the idea that within a few years afterwards the kingdom of Dalriada, in its entirety, was reduced to the position of a Pictish province, says:—"On this occasion Aengus appears to have obtained entire possession of Dalriada, and to have driven the two branches of its people, the Cinel Loarn under Muredhach (he entirely ignores Ewen's reign), and the Cinel Gabhran under Alpin, the brother of Eochaidh, to extremity, for the former appears to have burst from Dalriada upon the Picts who inhabited the plain of Manann between the Carron and the Avon, in a desperate attempt to take possession of their country or to draw Aengus from Dalriada," etc., etc. For such a large conclusion as this, there is no foundation in the only notice we have of the battle, which is to the effect that under the leadership of the "son of Ainbhceallach" (probably Muredhach, their future
736 A.D. king), the Dalriads in 736 came upon the army of the Picts with Talorgan, the brother of Angus at their head, on the banks of the Avon, at Cnuicc Coirpri in Calatros, now Carriber. The Dalriads were defeated, and, flying before the Picts, many of their chief men were slain. In all this we take it that there is not the slightest evidence that this invasion was an invasion of despair. We see in it rather an indication that the Dalriads were strong enough to carry the war into the enemy's territory, and thus show their just resentment at the wasting of their country for the capture of the outlawed Dungal whom they had themselves ejected. Skene's position is equally weak as regards his assertion that the Cinel Gabhran were also driven to extremity, for even he can find no evidence of any such condition of things till the occurrence of an event which, he concludes, occurred in 741, but which, as has been already hinted, our only authorities place nearly a hundred years later.



CHAPTER X.

Battle of Droma Cathmail—Its significance—Aeda Find, king of Dalriada —Career of Angus, king of the Picts—Disorganized condition of Pictavia—Later Dalriadic kings—Divergence of Irish and Scottish Lists—Death of Alpin, king of Dalriada, in Galloway—The Pictish Province in Dalriada—Suggested reconcilement of Lists.

741-836 A.D.

UNDER the year 741 we find the following note in the *Annals of Ulster* bearing upon Dalriada and its affairs: "Battle of Droma Cathmail between the Cruithnigh and the Dalriads against Innrechtac. Beating of the Dalriads by Angus mac Fergus." Upon the event or events recorded in these few words, the previous invasions of Angus already referred to, and the fact that between the native lists of Dalriadic kings, as furnished in the *Scottish Chronicles* and the Irish lists, there is a very complete divergence during the latter quarter of the century and on to the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin, Skene founds the elaborate superstructure, that has already been referred to, as to the entire subjugation of Dalriada by Angus, and its consequent degradation, for a period of well nigh a hundred years, into the position of a Pictish province. With that able historian's interpretation of the facts, however, and the theories founded upon it, we cannot agree. With a simpler, less far-reaching interpretation of facts, and with somewhat more faith in the honesty of our early chroniclers and historians than Dr. Skene displays, our aim will be rather to endeavour to satisfactorily account for, and, so far, reconcile the divergent lists of kings, for we cannot believe that deception has been practised by either class of authorities. To us it seems extremely unreasonable to suppose that within the monasteries of Scotland there should have been deliberately invented a whole series of spurious kings—kings whose place is within comparatively recent historic times, and who occupy niches later in date than so many of those that are acknowledged 741 A.D.

to be genuine. Nor, on the other hand, can we believe that the Irish lists were framed without there being some really satisfactory foundation for what they contain.

In the short note regarding the battle of Drum Cathmail which we have quoted, there is nothing to show definitely who were the combatants on either side. We may view it as pointing to a confederacy of Picts and Dalriads against some leader called Innrechtac. Nor is there anything to indicate in what part of the country it was fought, if, indeed, the arena was in Scotland at all. For all we know, it may be a record of an Irish battle, unless we should understand, as it is probable we should, that the second sentence of the note is complementary to the first, and is simply a statement of the result of the battle of Drum Cathmail. By Skene, however, it is contended that this is not so, and while he insists that the latter part of the note refers to a campaign in Dalriada, he expresses the definite opinion that the battle of Drum Cathmail was fought in Galloway, that King Alpin was the leader of the Dalriads, and that he was killed there. It strikes the reader, however, as somewhat curious that the note of the battle should give no hint of such an important result as the death of a king, if such had occurred, while it is also of significance that Skene's own chronology assigns the termination of Alpin's reign to the year preceding that associated with the battle of Drum Cathmail. Skene's contentions were founded on the opinion he held that this battle was the same as one referred to by several of our Scottish chroniclers; but in these chronicles the battle that was fought in Galloway, and in which a king, Alpin mac Eachach, was killed, is said by them to have been fought about a hundred years later, when, they say, Alpin mac Eachach, the father of Kenneth, who subsequently united the Scots and Picts, was king.

In dealing with the second part of the note Skene somewhat unfairly emphasizes its importance by translating the word "percussio" as a *crushing*, when nothing more than a thorough *beating* is warranted, and he comes to the conclusion that the "effect of Angus's repeated invasions and final conquest of Dalriada was to make it a Pictish province: his entire possession of the country having led the remains of both the Cinel Loarn and the Cinel Gabhran to seek settlements elsewhere." In connection with this sweeping conclusion, Skene gets over the very evident difficulty

which arises from the fact that our native chroniclers furnish us with a complete series of Dalriadic kings as opposed to Pictish rulers, by making the grave charge that the century of Dalriadic history which follows the death of Alpin "in 741 is suppressed, and his reign [*i.e.* Alpin's] is brought down to the end of the century by the insertion of spurious kings;" and this he does in spite of the fact, acknowledged by himself, that in the *Annals of Ulster* two of the kings in the series given by the Scottish chroniclers are referred to as kings of Dalriada. One of them reigned for the long period of thirty years, and was, in fact, in a position to fight with the Picts, in 768, an apparently drawn battle. The arguments of Skene may be found in his preface to the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, and in the first volume of his *Celtic Scotland*.

From the time of Ainbhceallach till towards the end of the reign of Ewen no king appears to have held sway over the whole of Dalriada, but, with the death of Alpin, Ewen would seem to have attained to that position. Ewen's reign terminated in 742 according to our chronology, which is founded on the native chronicles and such definite dates as are given in the *Annals of Ulster*. His successor was his nephew Muredhach, the son of Ainbhceallach, and he also would seem to have united the different sections of the Dalriads under his sway. This we conclude from the fact of his name finding a place both in the native and the Irish lists, while no other individual is referred to as a competitor in Kintyre. In the Duan, Muredhach is designated the "good," as if in contrast with his cousin Dungal, who is spoken of as the "violent." 742 A.D.

It has been already noted, however, that both Tighernac and the *Annals of Ulster* record the assumption of the kingdom by Muredhach in 733, the year in which Eochach mac Eachach died. We can only suppose that what happened was that Muredhach, who was the son of the banished Ainbhceallach, came then prominently forward as claimant to the throne. At that time Ewen had been reigning over the Cinel Loarn for a period of seven years, and while it is possible he may have, in 733, given place to his nephew for the term of the latter's reign, which was three years, and afterwards resumed his reign, and thus completed the period of sixteen years with which he is credited, and which our chronology demands, we think it more probable that Ewen had

begun to reign during the minority of his nephew, and that in accordance with Gaelic custom he continued to do so till his death. Such matters are explained in Pinkerton's *Enquiry* thus: —"The succession among the old Scots was: If the son were too young, his uncle or cousin was called to the throne as Tanister, yet the son was never set aside, but succeeded in his turn." Muredhach's opportunity would thus arrive on the death of Ewen in 742, and this conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the next name to appear in the native lists is that of his son Ewen,
745 A.D. who governed for three years, as his father had done. The name of this Ewen does not appear in the Irish lists. With the ter-
748 A.D. mination of his reign we are brought to the year 748.

In Aeda Find, the successor of Ewen, son of Muredhach, we come upon one of those later Dalriadic kings whose names appear, as has been already mentioned, in the *Annals of Ulster*. One of the notes regarding him records the date of his death, and it is of particular value as supplying us with one of those definite dates which assist us so much in verifying our general chronology. That date is the year 778. Irish and Scottish lists agree in stating that this king reigned for a period of thirty years. He must, therefore, have begun to reign in 748, which exactly accords with the date that has been assigned here, under the guidance of our native chronicles, to the termination of the reign of Ewen his predecessor.

It is somewhat remarkable to find Skene belittling King Aedh in the manner he does, and virtually denying to him the right to be considered a king at all, notwithstanding the length of his
768 A.D. reign, the fact that he fought with the Picts in 768 an apparently drawn battle, and that his name not only appears universally in the native lists, but also in the Irish lists, in which that writer otherwise places such implicit confidence. This doubtless results from his difficulty in reconciling his conviction that Dalriada ceased to be anything but a Pictish province after 741, with the fact that this king, who he himself allows, was probably a Scot, is acknowledged by all the authorities to have reigned over Dalriada, and that for a comparatively long period. In the Albanic Duan, Aeda is designated the high lord, and in two out of the three MSS. extant of the Synchronisms of Flann he is spoken of as Aed "Airgnech," which signifies the princely person, so that there can be no doubt as to Aeda's exalted station. That he was a king,

and a king of some importance, is further borne out, as we shall see later, by the fact that the successor of Kenneth Mac Alpin formally and in conference adopted, for the united kingdom of Picts and Scots, certain "rights and laws" that were associated with the name of Aeda Find.

With Aeda Find the sovereignty is brought back to the tribe of Gabhran. It is interesting to trace this matter, as it shows the point at which the race of Fergus, from whom it has always been contended Kenneth mac Alpin was descended, was brought back into participation in the government of Dalriada. In most of the native chronicles Aeda Find is said to have been the son of Eocha or Eachach—a name which has many various forms. In these matters of early genealogies, the ancient *Tract on the Scots of Dalriada* is invaluable. There we learn that Aeda was the son of Eachach Rianamhail, who, as we have seen, reigned for three years contemporaneously with Fearchar Fada of the race of Loarn; and we find his origin traced in a continuous line up to Fergus, the son of Erc, through Domangart, the son of Domnall Breac, the son of Eochadh Buidhe, the son of Aidan, the son of Gabhran, the son of Domangart, the son of Fergus, the son of Erc. We thus find an early Irish authority tracing the ancestry of Aeda Find, and of Kenneth Mac Alpin (for he was descended from Aeda), exactly through the same links as is done by our Scottish chroniclers. In the *Pictish Chronicle*, also, Aeda is referred to as the son of Ecdach.

Aeda Find's career terminated, as we have seen, with his death in 778, when he was succeeded by his son, Fergus, who is accorded a reign of three years by our native chroniclers—a term which agrees with the record in the *Annals of Ulster*, which announces his death under the year 781. Fergus is not given a place in the Duan, but he finds his niche in the Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, and, as we shall see, the term of his reign fits in with the chronology of the period. 778 A.D. 781 A.D.

Leaving the affairs of Dalriada for a moment, we will pick up the almost equally scanty threads of the story of the kingdom of the Picts during the contemporary period. In the chronicle annexed to Bede, Angus, king of the Picts, is described in the following terms, which are by no means flattering: "From the beginning of his reign to the end of it, he showed himself a san-

guinary tyrant of the most cruel actions." That he was ruthless is borne out by the fact that on separate occasions he drowned two Pictish sub-kings or princes. In addition to his wars with the Scots, he entered upon a campaign against the Saxons in
744 A.D. 740. Four years later he was allied with these latter against the Britons of Strathclyde. In 750 he, unaided, again attacked the Britons, when a great battle was fought at Mugdock, Dunbartonshire, in which Talorgan, the brother of Angus, was slain. That his government was not universally regarded by the Picts is proved by the fact that between the Picts themselves a battle
752 A.D. was fought in the year 752 in "Sreith," in the land of Circinn (Strath in the Mearns), in which there fell Bruide, son of Maelchu who was probably at the head of the northern Picts. A further note informs us that the combined armies of Eadberct of Northumbria and Angus were led to the city of Alcluith (Dunbarton), where, on the first day of August, they received the submission of the Britons.

But Angus is held in remembrance in connection with other affairs than those of tumult and strife, for it was during this king's stirring reign that the church of St. Andrews was founded, and the apostle Andrew adopted as the patron saint, thus displacing St. Peter, under whose particular care the churches of Pictavia had been placed by King Nechtan in 710. It seems well nigh certain that there was a Columban church founded at St. Andrews at a much earlier date than this by Cainnech of Achabo, one of Columba's fellow-workers. The character of the gift which was made by Angus, and which, it would seem, was bestowed by him out of gratitude for his success against the Dalriadic Scots, is thus stated in the *Legend of St. Andrew*:—"King Hungus gave this place, viz., Chilrymont, to God and St. Andrew, His apostle, with waters, meadows, fields, pastures, moors, and woods, as a gift for ever." In the *Legend* the reception of the relics of St. Andrew are associated with the period of the bestowal of this gift, and they are supposed to have been brought thither from Hexham by Bishop Acca, who, in 732, had been forced to fly from his church there. That church had been dedicated to St. Andrew by Wilfrid of Northumbria.

761 A.D. King Angus died in the year 761, and was succeeded by his brother Bruide, whose career was closed by death after a short

reign of two years. His successor on the throne of the Picts was Ciniod, son of Wredech, who held sway for twelve years. It was during his reign, viz., in 768, that the Picts were attacked in Fortrenn by Aedh, king of Dalriada, when, apparently, a drawn battle was fought, as no result is stated. Under date 775 the death of Ciniod is thus picturesquely recorded by Simeon of Durham :—"Cynoth, king of the Picts, was taken from the whirl of this polluted life," and his death is noted in the *Annals of Ulster* under the same date. His successor was Alpin, son of Wroid, whose death is noted in 780 as that of Elpin, king of the Saxons—a title which is taken as indicating that he had obtained a part of the Northumbrian territory north of the Tweed.

768 A.D.

775 A.D.

780 A.D.

By this time, and probably through the influence of intermarriages with Saxons, Britons, and Dalriadic Scots, the old Pictish law of succession through the mother began to be less strictly regarded, and the Southern Picts, at any rate, came to view with more favour a male succession. Hence we come to find, on more than one occasion, instances of disputed succession when two kings reigned concurrently in different parts of the kingdom. Such was the case now on the death of Alpin—Drest ruling over the northern Picts, and Talorgen, the son of Angus, over their southern brethren. The latter, however, died in 782 after a short reign of two years, and Drest assumed the sovereignty over the whole of Pictavia, and retained it till his death about three years afterwards. His successor, Conall, son of Taidg, reigned five years, when he was ousted in 789 or 790 by Constantine, the son of Fergus, who defeated him in battle, and caused him to fly the country.

785 A.D.

790 A.D.

At this period the kingdom of the Picts appears to have been in a thoroughly disorganized condition, and the sovereignty seems to have been to him who proved himself the strongest. Who Conall, son of Taidg, was there is nothing to show, but from his name, and that of his father, we may infer that he was on the one side, at anyrate, of Dalriadic or Irish extraction. Nor has it been determined who the Fergus was who was the father of Constantine, or what actual claim the latter had to the throne of the Picts. That Fergus was the same as the Fergus who was father of Angus, king of the Picts, who died in 761, is most improbable, as a brother of Constantine lived till 834, which is a hundred years after the time when King Angus had first attacked

Dungal of Dalriada. It is, in view of later developments, a most important matter to determine the extraction of this Fergus, and we venture the opinion that the father of Constantine was Fergus, king of Dalriada, who died in 781, that this Fergus had married a Pictish princess, and hence arose, in accordance with the Pictish law of succession, any legitimate claim that Constantine might possess to the throne of the Picts. In this interpretation of circumstances, should it prove tenable where proof of any kind is difficult, we shall also find, as we shall see, a most simple and satisfactory way of accounting for a series of Dalriadic provincial rulers closely associated with the rulers of Pictavia, as well as a clue to the grounds of Kenneth mac Alpin's claim to the kingdom of the Picts.

The death of Constantine is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*
820 A.D. under the year 820. He was succeeded by his brother Angus,
whose death is also noted in the same records under the year
834 A.D. 834. The demise of Angus was followed by another period of disputed succession, and again we find two kings reigning concurrently—Drest, son of Constantine, and Talorgan, son of
837 A.D. Wthoil—till in 837 the government was assumed by Uven or Eoganan, son of Angus.

In what has been already said regarding the recent history of the kingdom of Dalriada, it will have been seen that, Dr. Skene notwithstanding, native and Irish authorities alike testify to the fact of that kingdom having an independent existence, at least as late as the death of King Fergus in 781. But now we reach that significant point in the history of the Dalriadic kingdom at which the native lists and the Irish lists entirely diverge. That divergence persists till they are once more brought into harmony in the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin—a reign which was also signalized by the happy fusion of the Dalriadic and Pictish kingdoms into that kingdom which, ere long, extended itself over the whole area of present-day Scotland. The respective lists, as represented by the Albanic Duan and the Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, on the one hand, and the Scottish chronicles on the other, are as follows :—

(1). From the Duan and the Synchronisms—

Domhnall, son of Constantine,	reigned	24	years.
Conall Caeim or crooked,	,,	2	,,
Conall (another),	,,	4	,,
Constantine, son of Fergus,	,,	9	,,
Angus, son of Fergus,	,,	9	,,
Aedh, son of Boanta,	,,	4	,,
Uven or Eoganan, son of Angus,	,,	13	,,

(2). From the Scottish Chronicles—

Sealbhach, son of Ewen or Eogan,	,,	14	years.
Eochal or Eachach, son of Aedh Finn,	,,	30	,,
Dungal, son of Sealbhach,	,,	7	,,
Alpin, son of Eochal or Eachach,	,,	3	,,

With regard to the rulers in the latter list, all the Scottish chroniclers practically agree in the term they assign to each, except in the case of one. That one is Sealbhach, and to him is accorded a reign of fourteen years, a reign of twenty years, and a reign of twenty-four years. Working from such definite dates as we find recorded, we have adopted the shortest period, which is that given in the Chronica Brevis, one of the very earliest of the chronicles. Of these four kings, Sealbhach and Dungal are of the race of Loarn, and their descent can be traced through Ewen, Muredhach, and Ainbhceallach to Fearchar Fada. Eachach and Alpin are of the tribe of Gabhran, and their genealogy is traceable in a continuous series right up to Fergus, son of Erc.

Under the name of Achaius, King Eachach is made to figure by Hector Boece as the friend and ally of Charlemagne. The story is that Charlemagne, being desirous of founding seats of learning in his dominions, turned to Scotland as the land most capable of supplying him with teachers, and, entering into an alliance with Eachach, received through him the necessary assistance. In return, Charlemagne bestowed upon Scotsmen the privileges they for so long enjoyed in France, and at the same time embodied the famous Scots Guard. The story has probably a substratum of truth in regard to the supply of teachers, if nothing more.

No historical event of any consequence seems to have marked the reign of Dungal, the successor of Eachach, but indeed the scantiness of our records during this period places us at a great disadvantage regarding the history of all these reigns. This

poverty of materials is accentuated by the fact that, owing to the loss of a leaf from the *Annals of Tighernac*, we lose their invaluable aid between the years 763 and 973.

834 A.D. The only historical events associated with Alpin, the successor of Dungal, bring us to the year 834, the year in which he met his death, and the third year of his reign. These occurrences are recorded with more or less fulness in several of the chronicles. The Chronica Brevis of 1187 has the following:—"Aropin, son of Hethed [Alpin, son of Eachach] has reigned as king three years, and is killed in Galloway after that he had entirely destroyed and wasted it, and then the kingdom of the Scots is brought over into the kingdom of the Picts." Almost the same words are employed in the chronicles of the Picts and Scots of dates 1251 and 1317. The manner of his death is more explicitly stated in the *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots* of the year 1280:—"Alpin, son of Beghach, three years. He was killed in Galloway, after he had destroyed it, by a single man, who lay in wait for him in a thick wood overhanging the entrance of the ford of a river, as he rode among his people. He was the last of the Scots, who at that time reigned immediately before [they reigned over] the Picts." It may be mentioned that William of Malmesbury refers to the fact of Galloway having been ravaged by a people whom he calls Scots or Picts--"Scottorum vel Pictorum"—early in this century—ravages which resulted in the Anglic diocese of Candida Casa coming to an end at that time.

A somewhat different version of the manner of Alpin's death is given in the *Chronicle of Huntingdon* of date 1290. This record is specially interesting from the fact of its fixing, as it alone does, the exact date of the event. It says: "In the year 834 there was a conflict between the Scots and Picts at Easter, and many of the more noble of the Picts were slain. And Alpin, king of the Scots, remained victorious, but, being elated with his success, he was in another battle, fought on the 20th of July in the same year, defeated and decapitated by the Picts." That the Alpin here referred to is the same as he who is spoken of in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* there can, we think, be no reasonable doubt. In all these latter records the Alpin that met his death in Galloway is chronologically brought in at this period, and we need have no difficulty in concluding that the Picts referred to in the *Chronicle of Huntingdon* were those of Galloway. They were,

in fact, the Picts of whom the chronicler of Huntingdon would have most knowledge, owing to their southern location. On the line of separation between the counties of Ayr and Wigtown, and on the eastern shore of Loch Ryan, there stands a large upright stone to which is given the name of Laight Alpin, or the grave of Alpin. Near by is a stream which enters the loch, and here, in all probability, was the scene of King Alpin's death.

By Skene, as we have seen, the affair in Galloway is associated with that Alpin mac Eachach who lived a hundred years earlier. On the other hand, the battles and death of Alpin which are recorded in the *Chronicle of Huntingdon* are taken by him as having occurred in the province of Fife, into which, he would have us believe, Alpin led the Scots out of Galloway at the period in question, 834. We associate the events; he dissociates them, and, speaking of the occurrences referred to in the *Chronicle of Huntingdon*, he says:—"Tradition points to the Carse of Gowrie as the scene of his attempt, and Pitalpin, now Pitelpie, near Dundee, as the locality of the battle in which he was defeated and slain; and the occurrence of a place near St. Andrews called Rathalpin or the Fort of Alpin, now Rathelpie, seems to indicate that it was in the province of 'Fib,' or Fife, that he found his support and established himself after his first success." We would, however, view the matter differently, and say that if these names do refer to an Alpin, they may with more probability be associated, as is indeed suggested by Chalmers, with the earlier Alpin, who, as we know, was king of the Picts from 726 to 728, and fought at least one battle in the neighbourhood of the Tay.

The fact of this invasion of Galloway by the men of Dalriada, and which we contend did occur in 834, may be taken as evidencing the recurrence to the Scots of a period of increasing energy. Their special opportunity did not arrive, however, till several years afterwards, when it was fully taken advantage of by Kenneth, the son and successor of Alpin. 834 A.D.

Let us now turn to the series of rulers of Dalriada, abstracted from the Albanic Duan and the Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, and endeavour to see how they came to occupy the position assigned to them, and the extent of their jurisdiction. The first to occupy a place in that series is Domhnall, who is called by Flann the son of Constantine, the son of Fergus. That

this Constantine was he of that name who reigned as king of the Picts from 789 or 790 till 820 is universally allowed. Groping amid the darkness which enshrouds the extraction of his father, Fergus, we have asserted the probability that he was that Fergus II. who had been king of Dalriada, and who died in the year 781. We have also surmised that he was wedded to a Pictish princess, from which relationship arose his son Constantine's claim to the throne of the Picts.

Founding upon these probabilities, and upon the fact that the sovereignty of Dalriada, on the death of Fergus, passed, as we have seen, from the Gabhran line to the race of Loarn in the person of Selbhach, we are led to infer that when this latter transaction occurred in 781, Constantine, whose sympathies may have been more Pictish than Dalriadic from his maternal extraction, chose to await eventualities in the country of the Picts, at a time when that nation was in a very unsettled condition, and, meanwhile, sent his son Domhnall into Kintyre, there to watch over the interests of that part of the Cinel Gabhran with which he was most closely connected. That Domhnall should not be considered as in any degree ruling over the whole of the tribe of Gabhran is made very evident by the fact that the sovereignty of the independent Dalriada, as we have shown, alternated during this period between the house of Loarn and the house of Gabhran until the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin. From this and other reasons, that will evolve later, we place the sphere of Domhnall's influence and that of his successors in Kintyre.

789 A.D. By and by (789), as we have noted, Constantine succeeded in seizing the Pictish crown, and when that event occurred those districts of Dalriada which were already under the local government of Domhnall would, as we can readily see, fall into the position of a Pictish province; while, on the other hand, the fact that Constantine had become king of the Picts before the death of Selbhach, would, we may presume, diminish his chance of the Dalriadic throne when it did become vacant in 795. It is in this way we seek to account for the fact that Dalriada is credited with two series of rulers during this period, and it is in this way we seek to reconcile seemingly antagonistic authorities. What we presume is that the Irish authorities recorded the destinies of Kintyre, that district with which, from proximity, they had most communication, while the Scottish authorities naturally

concerned themselves with that portion of the kingdom which had a continuous independent history. That history during the later reigns may have been of a very unheroic character, but eventually the opportunity of these northern Scots came, and they seized it.

Domhnall's governorship of the Pictish province extended over a period of twenty-four years, which brings us to the year 805. In connection with our claim as to the Scoto-Pictish origin of these provincial rulers, it is not without significance that the names of almost all of them that follow Domhnall in the Irish lists show a distinctly Dalriadic character. We find two Conalls, one Angus, one Eedh, one Eoganan or Ewan—names, all of them, which so far as the records show, had not appeared in Pictish history till after the time when, early in the eighth century, the first Angus assumed the throne of the Picts. 805 A.D.

Domhnall was succeeded by Conall Caeim, who held power for two years—a period which brings us to the year 807. As the slaughter of Conall mac Taidg by Conall, son of Aedain, is recorded to have occurred in Kintyre in that year, it is presumed that the former is to be identified with Conall Caeim. What circumstances had led to the succession of Conall mac Taidg there is nothing to show, but we cannot suppose it probable that he occupied that position with the sanction of Constantine, who had already ousted him from the throne of the Picts. By the tribe of Gabhran he seems to have been looked upon as an interloper, and so was killed by Conall, the son of Aedain, which Aedain was probably their former king Aeda Finn. 807 A.D.

On the death of Conall Caeim the governorship was seized by another Conall, who is said by Flann to have been the brother of Conall Caeim. He ruled for four years, after which King Constantine mac Fergus took upon himself the government of the province, and continued it till his death, which occurred in 820. For a similar period of nine years his brother Angus, who was his successor on the throne of the Picts, followed the same course, and governed the province himself. Thereafter the government was conferred upon Aedh mac Boanta, who retained it for a period of four years, which brings us to the year 833. His successor was that Uven or Eoganan, the son of Angus, who, three years later, as we have seen, became king of the Picts, and who was killed, as we shall see, in 839. In the Irish lists 811 A.D. 820 A.D. 829 A.D. 833 A.D.

Eoganan is said to have ruled thirteen years over the Scots, but this seems to be an over-statement similar to that which is made in regard to Kenneth mac Alpin, the next on these lists, who is credited with having reigned for thirty years over the Scots, when we know, unmistakably, that his total reign only extended over a period of twenty-six years.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of the Norsemen—Sufferings of the Community of Iona—Important battle between Norsemen and Picts in 839—Kenneth mac Alpin assumes the sovereignty over the Picts—The last Pictish kings—Re-introduction of Columban clergy into Pictland—Dunkeld and the reliquaries of St. Columba—The Lia Fail or Stone of Destiny—Kenneth's struggles with Saxons and Britons.

836-860 A.D.

ERE the period at which we have now arrived a new power had come into these parts—one that had to be reckoned with. That power was the hardy Norsemen, that vigorous race from the fiords of the North which was destined to influence, in a marked manner, not only the future history of our country, but that of England and Ireland also. Driven forth from their own lands by pressure from behind, as were the Saxons at an earlier period, the first instalments of these plunderers had come upon our coasts towards the end of the previous century. In the Irish Annals their doings receive considerable attention, and in the earlier notices they are referred to under the name of Gentiles or Pagans. Later they are spoken of as Galls—Fingaills or fair strangers, Dubhgaills or dark strangers—Lochlans, Northmen, and Danes. The latter, it is to be remembered, was a general name applied to all these northern people ere yet the territory of Denmark was formed into a settled state, although, more particularly, the name Dubhgaill was applied to them by the Irish annalists, while the Norwegians were designated by the same recorders Fingaills, and sometimes Lochlans.

England would appear to have been the first of these countries to suffer from the unwelcome visits of those sea-rovers of the North, and an invasion made by them in 787 is spoken of as being the occasion when the first ships of the Danes came into England. Six years later (793), they attacked the island of

Lindisfarne, and plundered and laid waste its monastery. The same treatment was meted out to the monastery at the mouth of the Wear, and Simeon of Durham gives a harrowing description of the barbarities that were enacted on these occasions. Ere long these pirates became the terror of the coasts—a fact which is borne eloquent witness to by the introduction into the Litany of the special petition :—From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord deliver us.

Little resistance and much plunder made monastic institutions, then as later, favourite objects of attack to the heathen Norsemen, and the great Columban foundation of Iona, which was still the head of all the Columban churches both in Scotland and Ireland, did not escape. In 794 the monastery was plundered and all the Western Isles laid waste. Four years later the strangers took spoils of the sea between Erin and Alban. In 802 the monastery of Iona was burned by them to the ground, and in 806 they ruthlessly put to the sword its whole "community," numbering sixty-eight persons. Under date 825 the *Annals of Ulster* record the martyrdom of St. Blathmac in Iona, and in connection with this event we have an interesting contemporary picture of the unholy proceedings of those unscrupulous pirates. It is found in the metrical life of St. Blathmac, written by Walafrid Strabo, Abbot of Angiadives, who died in the year 849. Hearing, he tells us, of a purposed attack upon the island by these plunderers, and being very well aware that the precious metals which enriched the shrines of the saints were the great objects of their desires, the monks took the shrine of the venerated Columba from its place, and, digging a hole for it in the earth, covered it over with sods. And then the narrator proceeds :—"The golden aurora, dispelling the dewy darkness, dawned, and the glittering sun shone again with glorious orb, when this pious cleric stood before the holy altar, celebrating the holy offices of the mass, himself a victim acceptable to God to be offered up to the threatening sword. The rest of the brethren lay commending their souls with prayers and tears, when, behold the cursed bands rushed raging through the unprotected houses, threatening death to those blessed men, and, furious with rage, the rest of the brethren being slain, came to the holy father, urging him to give up the precious metals which enclosed the sacred bones of Saint Columba. This booty the Danes

coveted; but the holy man stood firm with unarmed hand, by a stern determination of the mind taught to resist battle, and to challenge encounter, unaccustomed to yield. He then poured out in the barbarous tongue [that is in Danish] the following words: 'I know not truly what gold ye seek, where it may be placed in the ground, and in what recesses it may be hid [he probably had purposely remained ignorant of the spot where the shrine was hid]; but if it were permitted me to know, Christ permitting, never would these lips tell this to your ears. Savagely bring your swords, seize your hilts and kill. O God, I commend myself to thy protection.' Hereupon the pious victim is cut in pieces with severed limbs."

Such occurrences were the heralds of even more dreadful things to follow, and for the prosecution of these the barbarians of the North found convenient centres and resting-places in the Orkney and Shetland Islands and the coasts of Caithness, from which to sweep down with devastating fury upon other parts of Scotland, and upon the English and Irish coasts. In the Hebrides and western sea-lochs they also found harbours and refuges in which their powerful fleets might ride secure—lochs which were fitted to remind them of their native Scandinavian fiords and snug harbourages.

The year 839 witnessed one of these marauding descents upon the west coast of Scotland. To the nation of the Picts it was a momentous event, for they lost in battle their king and a very great number of their people. In the *Annals of Ulster* we find the following record:—"Battle by the Gentiles against the men of Fortrenn, in which Euganan, the son of Angus, and Bran, the son of Angus, and Aed, the son of Boanta, and others innumerable, were killed." This note is supplemented in an interesting and instructive fashion by a reference in the ancient *Tract* on the wars of the Gaedhill with the Galls. There it is stated that in the year 839 there came to Dublin three score and five ships, and Leinster was plundered by them to the sea and the plain of Bregia, extending from Dublin to Drogheda. Thence they sailed northwards, when the people of Dalriada gave battle to this fleet, and Eoganan, son of Angus, king of Dalriada, was slain in that battle. It is somewhat peculiar to find here Eoganan designated king of Dalriada and not king of the Picts. What it shows to us is the close association which then existed between

839 A.D.

the Picts and their province in Dalriada when Eoganan ruled over both, and met the invader upon the western threshold of his territory.

The name of Eoganan is followed in the *Pictish Chronicle* by the names of Wrad (a contraction of Ferat or Feradhach), son of Bargoit, and Bred or Brude, son of Ferat, the former reigning three years, and the latter one year, by which time we arrive at
843 A.D. the year 843. The next name in this chronicle is that of Kenneth mac Alpin. In some of the other chronicles, however, we find the names of Kinat, son of Ferat; Brude, son of Fotel, and Drest or Drost, son of Ferat, interposed between the names of Bred and Kenneth mac Alpin. In the ancient graveyard of St. Vigeans, in Forfarshire, within which there exists a large number of most interesting early Celtic monuments, there is to be found one old stone which is possessed of this singularity that on it there is engraved the only inscription in the ordinary character of the Celtic manuscript which is to be found in Scotland, outside the bounds of Iona. That inscription has been thus read by the late Sir James Simpson—"The stone of Drost, son of Voret, of the race of Fergus." There is considerable probability that the Drost here commemorated is the Drost, son of Ferat, and king of the Picts referred to above. In view of the Dalriadic extraction which we have assigned to several of the kings of the Picts from the time of Constantine, we look upon this inscription which traces Drost to the "race of Fergus"—by which Fergus is always meant, in a phrase of this character, the son of Erc of that name—as lending most interesting corroborative evidence of the probable truth of the surmise which we have ventured to make upon other grounds.

Kenneth, who succeeded his father, Alpin, in 834 on the throne of the more northern and independent portion of Dalriada, reigned, as nearly all the authorities testify, for a term of sixteen years over Pictland (St. Berchan says seventeen years), and died early in 860, according to the *Pictish Chronicle*. His assumption of the throne of the Picts is thus fixed in the year 843, the year in which Bred's reign closed, but the same authority records that two years before he began to reign in Pictavia he took upon him the rule of Dalriada, by which we understand is meant the limited Dalriadic province of the Picts. Kenneth's first efforts were thus directed to the recovery of the alienated Dalriadic

territory, and having strengthened his position in this way, he was the better able to avail himself of any opportunity of further aggrandizement that might present itself in the future.

After referring to King Alpin, as already quoted, the *Chronicle of Huntingdon* speaks of these events thus:—"He [Alpin] was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Kenneth, who, in the seventh year of his reign, when the Danish pirates had seized the sea-coasts, and had utterly crushed the Picts with very great slaughter as they defended their possessions, crossing into the remaining territories of the Picts, turned his arms against them, and, having slain many, compelled them to fly, and thus he, first king of Scots, obtained the sovereignty of all Albania, which now is called Scotland, and in it he first ruled over the Scots," *i.e.*, we may suppose, the Scots in the wider and more modern sense. Speaking of Kenneth, the *Pictish Chronicle* records that as the "first of the Scots" he ruled happily in Pictland, and Flann says of him that he was "the first king who seized the kingdom of Scone for the Gael." Whence he had come into Pictland we learn from the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots of 1187 and 1251, which tell us that "with marvellous eagerness he led the Scots from Ergadia [Argyll] into the land of the Picts."

Whence Kenneth came in the year 841 Dr. Skene has no difficulty in determining. He says:—"Kenneth emerged from Galloway where the last remnant of the Scots of Dalriada disappear from history nearly a century before." If so a most marvellous resurrection must now have occurred; and, besides, it seems not a little wonderful that the entire subjugation of a nation could have been effected without its being definitely referred to by any early writer. But, indeed, Skene's contention raises many more difficulties than it solves. To bring the Scots into Galloway in 741 in an invasion of despair, and that without the authority of any record of such an invasion at that time; to leave them there though their king had been killed in the contest; to consign them for well-nigh a hundred years to exile in that district in spite of statements in the native and other chronicles which point to very different conclusions; and then to bring them forward, after all these quiet years, in 834 out of Galloway as invaders of Fifeshire, rather than into Galloway as invaders of that district, as asserted in the chronicles, has not much to commend it to the ordinary reader, and while we would

ask how we are to account for the reigns of Aedh and Fergus over Dalriada as testified by the *Annals of Ulster*, we may well further enquire how, if the Scots were so numerous and so influential in Galloway as to be able to come forth as a powerful people with a king of their own both in 834 and 841, we never hear anything in the future of the connection of Kenneth or his successors with that district.

As regards the manner of Kenneth's first occupancy of Pictavia, and the circumstances which favoured it, we have nothing more definite than the record which we have quoted from the *Chronicle of Huntingdon*. His own Pictish name and that of his son Constantine may indicate that he had such Pictish blood in his veins as gave him some claim to the throne, while the common descent, which we have asserted of himself and several of the later Pictish kings from Aeda Finn of Dalriada, may also have had its influence. There is a curious mixed up tale regarding these events, given in some of the Scottish chronicles, which, doubtless, has some foundation of truth. The version given in the *Scalachronica* of 1280 is as follows:—"As the chronicles testify, a son of a king of Ireland, called Redda, arrived in Galloway, and, partly by prowess and by affinity of Irish blood, with whom the Picts were mixed, occupied that country, and also Argyll and others of the isles, the issue of whom, who called themselves Scoty, always plotted against the Picts until in the time of this Drust, son of Feradhach, the Scots contrived a conspiracy, and at a general council were privately armed, and in the council-house slew the aforesaid king and all the great lords of the Picts, who did not think evil. They sent afterwards for such others as they wished, and slew them as they came, so that they did as they desired; and from that time henceforth the kingdom of the Picts failed. . . . The Picts destroyed in this manner, Kynet, son of Alpin, reigned over the Scots [*i.e.* the Scots in the modern sense], and was the first king of the Scots after the Picts." The first part of this story evidently refers to the first arrival of the Scots under Reuda in the third century. As related in some of the other Scottish chronicles it would appear that the Dalriadic Scots had invited the Picts to a banquet where they had undermined the seats, and having withdrawn the supports the sitters fell into the hollow places prepared for them, and were slain without difficulty; and profiting by this treachery the Scots

took their land reaching from sea to sea, which is now called Scotia; and thus Kenneth, son of Alpin, invaded Pictavia and destroyed the Picts. The same tale is alluded to in the so-called prophecy of St. Berchan, which dates from the close of the eleventh century.

For several years after Kenneth's first coming into Pictavia the last three native rulers of the Picts maintained, in one or other part of the country, a fitful struggle with the Scottish king. According to the *Chronicle of Huntingdon*, Kenneth, in the twelfth year of his reign (846), "encountered the Picts seven times in one day, and, having destroyed many, confirmed the kingdom to himself." Drost, the last of these rulers, was slain by the Scots, at Forteviot, say some authorities, at Scone, according to others. 846 A.D.

In the union of the nations of the Picts and Scots that was now effected, we see the foreshadowing of the coming consolidation of Scotland into one vigorous kingdom. As regards the fate of the Picts in connection with these events we can have no difficulty in asserting, in spite of the broad contentions of the chroniclers, that there was no general extermination. That the southern Picts must have suffered badly there can be no doubt, while their influence as a people would be in a great degree eclipsed by the introduction of the conquering Scottish element. This element was, as a fact, very largely introduced in the central and eastern districts extending from the Forth to the Mounth, and more particularly in Fife; but Scot and Pict were kindred peoples, and they readily amalgamated, with the result that the union became permanent, and old rivalries were soon forgotten.

But there was one important step taken by King Kenneth which must have added still more largely to the influence of the Scottish element. This was the re-introduction of the Columban clergy, and the re-establishment of the Columban Church among the southern Picts. These clergy were now amply revenged for their expulsion more than a hundred years before, and, as we shall see later, they have left the most definite evidence of their presence in the monumental art of the district. In the fact that Kenneth ventured to restore the Columban clergy to their former position we may be justified in seeing evidence that the alien clergy introduced by Nechtan had not gained the hearts of the people, while the re-establishment of the Columban Church

shows its continued distinctness from the Church of Rome, and is witness that it had not, in any notable degree, conformed to Roman customs. The Columban clergy of the East of Scotland were also at that time very largely added to from Ireland, as the result of the destruction of many monasteries in that country by the Danes.

That Kenneth acted wisely in adopting Scone, the capital of the Picts, as his seat of government, there can be little doubt, even although it had the effect of leaving the western seaboard more exposed to the ravages of the Northmen—with what results we shall see as we proceed. Only from a central position could he effectively control his new subjects, and defend the kingdom from his neighbours of Northumbria and Strathclyde.

One early effect of the circumstances just referred to was to add to the importance of the central church at Dunkeld. In the
850 A.D. seventh year of his reign over the Picts (850), as we learn from the *Pictish Chronicle*, Kenneth "transferred the relics of Saint Columba to a church he had built." From its future importance that church is supposed to have been Dunkeld, although its original founder was King Constantine. It was probably rebuilt by Kenneth, and its possession of the relics of the venerated saint added to its importance, and constituted it now an Annoid or mother-church. Upon it seems to have devolved much of that supremacy which, up till now, had centred in Iona, for the efficiency of the latter had been sadly crippled by the cruel ravages of the Northmen. Similarly as regards the Columban churches of Ireland, the supremacy over them was transferred from Iona to Kells in Meath.

Previous to their removal in 850 to Dunkeld, the enshrined relics of St. Columba had many wanderings in consequence of the northern incursions. About the year 806 they were removed to the Church of Saint Patrick in County Down. Under the year 818 it is recorded that Diarmit, abbot of Iona, went to Alban with the shrine of St. Columba. In connection with the martyrdom of St. Blathmac, we have read of their presence in Iona in 825, and under date 829 abbot Diarmit of Iona is said to have gone to Alban with the *Mionna* of St. Columba, that is the venerated personal belongings of the Saint, as distinguished from the *Martra* which signified the bones. Two years later, and again in 849, the reliquaries—the "Mionna"—are said to have

been removed into Ireland, and each time by the abbot of Iona. From the year 850 to 878 they found a resting place in Dunkeld, but in the latter year, as the *Annals of Ulster* record:—"The shrine of Columcille and all his reliquaries were brought to Erin in refuge from the Galls." Than these frequent removals we could have no better evidence of the veneration in which Columba continued to be held.

It is not improbable that it was during the reign of Kenneth that the Lia Fail or Stone of Destiny, which from very early times has been associated with the kingdom of the Scots, was brought to Scone. Speaking of this historic seat Fordun tells us that it had been "reverently kept for the consecration of the kings of Alban," and "no king was ever wont to reign in Scotland unless he had first, on receiving the royal name, sat upon this stone at Scone, which by the kings of old had been appointed the capital of Alban." The old couplet regarding it, as given by Wyntoun, runs as follows:—

> "Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
> Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem;"

Bellenden renders it thus:—

> "The Scottis sall bruke that realme, as natyve ground
> (Geif weirdis fayll nocht) quhair this Chiar is found."

"Of its identity with the stone now preserved in the coronation chair at Westminster there can be no doubt," says Skene. "It is an oblong block of red sandstone, some 26 inches long by 16 inches broad, and 10½ inches deep, and the top is flat and bears the mark of chiselling. Its mythic origin identifies it with the stone which Jacob used as a pillow at Bethel and then set up there as a pillar and anointed with oil, which, according to Jewish tradition, was afterwards removed to the second temple, and served as the pedestal for the ark. Legend has much to tell of how it was brought from thence to Scotland, but history knows of it only at Scone. It too may have been connected with the legend of Bonifacius. We find that the principal Irish missionaries frequently carried about with them a slab or block of stone, which they used as an altar for the celebration of the Eucharist, and which was usually termed a stone altar. . . . St. Patrick's stone altar is frequently mentioned in his acts, and, in the only strictly analogous case to the coronation stone of the Scottish kings—that of the kings of Munster, who were crowned

on the rock of Cashel—sitting upon a similar stone—the belief was that this coronation stone had been the stone altar of Saint Patrick on which he had celebrated the Eucharist after the conversion and baptism of the king of Cashel. It is therefore not impossible that the coronation stone of Scone may have had the same origin, and been the stone altar upon which Bonifacius first celebrated the Eucharist after he had brought over the king of the Picts and his people from the usages of the Columban churches to conformity with those of the Roman Church, and possibly re-baptized them." We would remark, however, that if the Lia Fail had associations similar to those connected with the stone employed in the coronation of the kings of Munster, it seems more probable, from the close association of Dalriada with Ireland, that it should be first used in the coronation of the Dalriadic kings, rather than with that of the kings of the Picts. Wyntoun associates it with Iona, and speaks of its transference to Scone, while all the later chroniclers agree that the stone was finally transferred to Scone by Kenneth mac Alpin, when he united the Picts and Scots under one sovereignty. If this is so, it seems the most natural thing to associate it with St. Columba who, as we have seen, solemnly inaugurated Aidan as king of Dalriada in 574. This function was performed in Iona, and we may think it not improbable that Columba followed the practice that had, it would appear, been already set in Ireland in regard to St. Patrick's altar, and similarly employed his own altar in the case of Aidan. From that day, in all probability, the more important kings of Dalriada were thus crowned, and we can well understand how Kenneth should be desirous to transfer to his new capital that relic which had been so long and so closely associated with the destinies of his race. At Scone the Stone of Destiny remained till 1296, when King Edward the First of England, recognizing the reverence in which it was held in Scotland, transferred it to Westminster, where it has been ever since reverently cherished—a wonderful testimony to the respect in which it has ever been held. An early evidence of the esteem in which the relic was held in England is furnished us in the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, in which we are told that in connection with the Treaty of Northampton, entered into in 1328, it was purposed to restore it to Scotland, but the citizens of London would not permit of its removal.

The family of Kenneth seems to have consisted of two sons, Constantine and Aed, and three daughters. These latter made important alliances. One of them married Run, king of Strathclyde, another became the wife of Amlaimh or Olaf the White, the Norwegian king of Dublin, and the third, Maelmaire, was united to Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, who died in 879.

Kenneth the Hardy, as he is called in the Duan, pursued a vigorous career. In the *Pictish Chronicle* we find that in the same year in which he transferred the relics of St. Columba (850) he invaded "Saxoniam"—the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria—six times, and burned Dunbar and Melrose. It is possible that Kenneth considered himself to have some claim to the northern part of this kingdom, founded on the old associations which his predecessors Aidan and Eochadh Buidhe had with the district of Manann. In any case, on many subsequent occasions during the next century or so, the successors of Kenneth overran much of Northumbria, and, it would appear, did so on account of some hereditary claim they made to it. Enlarging somewhat on Kenneth's warlike deeds the *Scalachronica* says:—"He subjected to his government the whole country to the Twede, expelled the Angles and Britons who inhabited it, and caused the country to be called Scotland. He established the laws which still exist in Scotland," etc., etc. On the other hand, we learn from the *Pictish Chronicle*, but from no other source, that during his time Dunblane was burned by the Britons, and the Danes laid waste Pictavia as far as Cluny and Dunkeld. 850 A.D.

The esteem in which Kenneth was held among the Scots is borne testimony to by more than one old writer in referring to his death. Regarding him St. Berchan says:—

> "Seventeen years of warding valour,
> In the sovereignty of Alban,
> After slaughtering Cruithneach, after embittering Galls,
> He dies on the banks of the Earn.
> It was bad with Alban then,
> Long ere another like him shall come."

In *Fragments of Irish Annals* we find the following:—

> "That Cinaed with the number of studs liveth not,
> Is the cause of weeping in every house.
> Any one king under heaven of his work,
> To the borders of Rome there is not."

860 A.D. Kenneth died in the palace of Forteviot. On a sorrowful journey of many days the body was borne through the passes of Drumalban, across the western sea, and up the "Street of the Dead," till at length it was laid to rest in the consecrated soil of Iona, where reposed the dust of so many of his royal race. For not yet had the glory departed from Columba's Isle, nor has it forsaken it even now.

"Shrouded often in mist,
And buried in cloud and rain;
Yet once by the light of a glory kissed,
Which nothing can dim again!"

The following Chronological Tables may appropriately bring to a close this portion of the history of the kingdoms of Pictavia and Dalriada:—

THE KINGS OF PICTAVIA

From Drust, the son of Erp, to Drost, the son of Ferat.

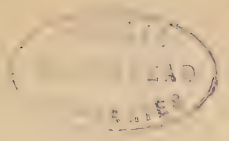
		Termination of reign.
1.	**Drust**, son of Erp,...	453
2.	**Talore**, son of Aniel,...	457
3.	**Nectan Morbet**, son of Erp,...	481
4.	**Drest Gurthinmoch**,...	511
5.	**Galanan erilich**...	523
6.	**Drest**, son of Gyrom, and **Drest**, son of Wdrost, concurrently,	528
7.	**Drest**, son of Gyrom (alone, says the Pictish Chronicle),...	533
8.	**Garthnach**, son of Gyrom,...	540
9.	**Cailtram**, son of Gyrom,...	541
10.	**Talorg**, son of Muircholaich,...	552
11.	**Drest**, son of Munait, ...	553
12.	**Galam cennaleph**,...	554
13.	**Bridei**, son of Mailcon (concurrently with Galam for 1 year),	584
14.	**Gartnaidh**, son of Domelch, ...	599
15.	**Nectan**, grandson of Uerd, ...	612
16.	**Cinaeth**, son of Luchtren,...	631
17.	**Garnaid**, son of Wid,...	635
18.	**Bridei**, son of Wid,...	641
19.	**Talore**, son of Wid,...	653
20.	**Tallorcen**, son of Ainfrait,...	657
21.	**Gartnait**, son of Domnall,...	663
22.	**Drest**, son of Domnall,...	672
23.	**Bridei**, son of Bile,...	693
24.	**Taran**, son of Entefidich,...	697
25.	**Brude**, son of Derelei,...	706
26.	**Nectan**, son of Derelei,...	724
27.	**Druxst**, son of ...	726
28.	**Alpin**, son of Eachach,...	728
29.	**Angus**, son of Fergus,...	761
30.	**Bridei**, son of Fergus,...	763
31.	**Ciniod**, son of Wredech,...	775
32.	**Alpin**, son of Wroid,...	780
33.	**Drest**, son of Talorgen—concurrently **Talorgen**, son of Angus, till 782,...	784
34.	**Conall**, son of Taidg,...	790
35.	**Constantine**, son of Fergus,...	820
36.	**Angus**, son of Fergus,...	834
37.	**Drest**, son of Constantine, and **Talorgen**, son of Wthoil concurrently, ...	837
38.	**Eoganan**, son of Angus,...	839
39.	**Ferat** or **Feradhach**, son of Bargoit, ...	842
40.	**Bred**, son of Ferat,...	843

Kinat, son of Ferat, **Brude**, son of Fotel, and **Drost**, son of Ferat, disputed the sovereignty for several years with Kenneth mac Alpin of Dalriada.

THE KINGS OF DALRIADA

From Fergus son of Erc to Kenneth mac Alpin.

	Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.		Termination of Reign.
1. **Fergus**, son of Erc,	Fergus,	...		501
2. **Domangart**, son of Fergus,	Fergus,	...		506
3. **Comgal**, son of Domangart,	Fergus,	Comgal,		538
4. **Gabhran**, son of Domangart,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		560
5. **Conall**, son of Comgal,	Fergus,	Comgal,		574
6. **Aidan**, son of Gabhran,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		606
7. **Eochadh Buidhe**, son of Aidan,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		622
8. **Ferchar**, son of Conaing, son of Aidan,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		638
9. **Conadh Cerr**, son of Eochadh Buidhe,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Concurrently with Ferchar, son of Conaing, for 3 months in 629,	...
10. **Domnal Breac**, son of Eochadh Buidhe,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Concurrently with Ferchar, after the death of Conadh Cerr in 629,	642
11. **Duncan**, son of Conaing,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Concurrently with Domnall Breac, after the death of Férchar in 638,	648
12. **Conall Crandamna**, son of Eochadh Buidhe,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Concurrently with Duncan, son of Conaing, after the death of Domnal Breac in 642,	648
13. **Domnall Donn**, son of Conall Crandamna,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		660
14. **Mailduin**, son or brother of Domnall Donn,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		676
15. **Ferchar Fada**, son of Feradaich,	Loarn,	Baedan,		697
16. **Eochadh Rianamhail**, grandson of Domnall Breac,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Concurrently with Ferchar Fada, during 2 or 3 years. Slain, 696,	...
17. **Ainbhceallach**, son of Ferchar Fada,	Loarn,	Baedan,		698
18. **Selbach**, son of Ferchar Fada,	Loarn,	Baedan,		723
19. **Dungal**, son of Selbach,	Loarn,	Baedan,		726
20. **Ewen**, son of Ferchar Fada,	Loarn,	Baedan,		742
21. **Eochach mac Eachach**,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Concurrently with Ewen from 726 to 733,	
22. **Alpin mac Eachach**,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Concurrently with Ewen from 733 to 737,	
23. **Muredhach**, son of Ainbhceallach,	Loarn,	Baedan,		745
24. **Ewen**, son of Muredhach,	Loarn,	Baedan,		748
25. **Aeda Find**, son of Eochadh Rianamhail,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		778
26. **Fergus**, son of Aeda Find,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		781
27. **Sealbhach**, son of Ewen,	Loarn,	Baedan,		795
28. **Eochal** or **Eachach**, son of Aeda Find,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		825
29. **Dungal**, son of Sealbhach,	Loarn,	Baedan,		832
30. **Alpin**, son of Eochal or Eachach,	Fergus,	Gabhran,		834
31. **Kenneth**, son of Alpin,	Fergus,	Gabhran,	Reigned 9 years over the Scots alone,	843



CHAPTER XII.

Adoption of the "rights and laws" of the kingdom of Edus of Dalriada—The Gallgaidheal—Activity of Norwegians and Danes—"Gregory the Great"—Sigurd the Powerful—The Round Towers of Abernethy and Brechin—Great Religious Assembly—Donald, brother of the Scottish king, becomes king of Strathclyde—Danish invasions—Raid by Athelstan, king of Wessex—The Danes, the Britons, and the Scots invade Northumbria—King Malcolm's raids on Moray and Northumbria—Edinburgh captured by the Scots.

860-962 A.D.

Kings.	Branch.		Termination of Reign.
Donald, son of Alpin.	———		863.
Constantine, son of Kenneth.	Constantine.		877.
Aedh, son of Kenneth.	Aedh.		878.
Eocha, son of Run,	Female line.	Concurrently.	889.
and			
Giric, son of Dungaile.	———		
Donald, son of Constantine.	Constantine.		900.
Constantine, son of Aedh.	Aedh.		942.
Malcolm, son of Donald.	Constantine.		954.
Indulph, son of Constantine.	Aedh.		962.

KENNETH MAC ALPIN was succeeded on the throne of Gaelic Scotland by his brother Donald. During his short reign of rather less than four years certain important Dalriadic laws were adopted and applied to the combined kingdom, as we learn from the *Pictish Chronicle* which informs us that in his time the Gaedhel established with their king in Forteviot the rights and laws of the kingdom of Edus, son of Ecdach (Aeda Find). An important step such as this would be taken, we may well suppose, at one of those *Moots* (the Gaelic form of the word is Mòd), which we hear of at earlier and later times, when particular matters called for adjustment; and on the present occasion we may picture to ourselves the Moot Hill of Scone covered with a

great assembly drawn from the whole free population. Among other things dealt with would probably be the question of succession; but, doubtless, the Scots would find much to improve in the laws of the Picts as compared with their own, which, from the close association of the peoples, would be more likely to be framed on those of Ireland where, as we know, jurisprudence was, for the age, well advanced. Possibly some of the laws known as the "Code Mac Alpin," published by Boece, are traceable to this period.

863 A.D. On the death of Donald on the 13th April, 863, he was borne to the sacred quiet of the lonely Isle, and the succession devolved upon Constantine, the son of Kenneth. His was a stormy, troubled reign, for the Norsemen were again active and aggressive. From the western isles they had not been long absent during the earlier part of the century, and soon these islands came to be spoken of in the Gaelic tongue as Innse Gall, or the islands of the Galls or Strangers.[1] To the Norsemen themselves they were known as the Sudreys or Southern Isles, in contradistinction to the Orkneys, which they called the Nordreys or Northern Islands.

From evidence which we possess it is manifest that at a comparatively early period in the history of these incursions intermarriage between Scandinavian and western Celt was engaged in. In the year 853 there died one who, from his cognomen, was evidently of mixed Celtic and Scandinavian blood. This was

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[1] In a Latin "Description of Britain," dating from the twelfth century, there occur the following phrases referring to certain of the Western Islands: (1) "Ordasiman, Gurth," (2) "Man et Ordas, et Gurth." The first is simply a corrupted reading of the second. In his *Celtic Scotland* Skene indicates the probability that Ordas and Gurth are intended for Lewis and Skye. Rev. J. King Hewison, however, has shown in his work on *Bute in the Olden Time* that Gurth refers to Bute, and that the word still exists in the place-name Kingarth. To this opinion Skene gave in his adhesion, and at the same time suggested that Ordas represents Arran. We would, however, submit that Mull is the island that the author meant when he spoke of "Ordas." It is universally agreed that Ptolemy's island of "Maleus" stands for Mull. Maleus means the hammer-shaped island. The Gaelic for hammer is *Ord*, so it seems plain that the two names, the Latin "Maleus" and the Gaelic "Ord," refer to the same island. "Ordas" is, of course, only the Latinized form of the simple Gaelic word.

Gothfruigh or Godfrey, son of Fergus, who is called in an Irish chronicle Toshach or Chief of the Isles. There is reason to believe, as we shall see, that this Godfrey mac Fergus was the ancestor of Somerled, Regulus of Argyll, from whom sprang the Lords of the Isles. In the name Gallgaidhel, which begins to appear during the latter years of Kenneth's reign, we probably also find evidence of the intimate relationship into which the two races entered. From it the territorial name Galloway is perhaps formed, and to the people of this district the name Gallgaidhel was first applied. The Norwegian form of the territorial name is Gaddgeddla, and the Welsh equivalent of Gallgaidhel is Galwyddel. It is difficult to determine with certainty whether or not the word, as applied to a people, included inhabitants of the west other than those of Galloway. This we know, that in later times, as in earlier, the name as a territorial one was specially used with reference to that district, and we find the title Ri Gallgaidhel applied to the rulers of that country, and to them alone. It is equally difficult to determine to what degree the people who were thus designated were of mixed race. In the few notes which we have regarding them in the *Irish Annals*—notes the exact significance of which it is difficult to gather—they are usually referred to as fighting against the Irish, and as having adopted the customs and characteristics of the heathen Norsemen. On one occasion, however (856), they were the allies of Maelsechnaill, king of Ireland, against the Gentiles.

One of the leaders of these Scottish, and possibly Irish, Vikings was Ketill Flatnose or Caittil Find, as he is called in the *Annals of Ulster*, and in 857 we find him encountering, at the head of the Gallgaidhel in Munster, the hosts of Amlaiph or Olave the White, who had already made himself king of Dublin, after having overcome the earlier Scandinavian settlers. From Dublin, as a centre, Olave spread devastation throughout a considerable portion of Scotland during the reign of Constantine. In 866, assisted by Aiusle, he laid waste Pictavia and took 836 A.D.
hostages. Four years later, Alclyde (Dunbarton), was forced, after a siege of four months, to surrender to Olave, supported by Imhar or Ivar, who is said to have been the son of the great 870 A.D.
Ragnor Lodbroc. Pursuing their victorious career these warriors forthwith carried fire and sword into Galloway and Bernicia, and, having slain a Saxon king, returned the following year to

Dublin with two hundred ships and a great booty of men—Angles, Britons, and Picts, whom they brought into captivity. After this direful extended raid we hear no more of Olave or of Ivar, and by the year 873 both of them seem to have died.

Olave, however, left a son by his first wife Audur the Wealthy, daughter of Caittil Find, who determinedly followed in the footsteps of his father. Choosing for his sphere of action the north of Scotland, Thorstein the Red, as this warrior is called, overran
874 A.D. Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray in the year 874, and eventually, as the result, apparently, of an arrangement with Constantine, whose authority over the northern Picts was probably little more than nominal, he became ruler of that region. Thorstein's possession of the ceded territory, however, was not lasting. In the very next year he was slain by the people of Alban (treacherously, it is said); the Scandinavian bands were broken up, and these northern parts were, for a time, freed from the invader.

877 A.D. Two years later (877) Constantine's reign of fourteen years was terminated by his death in a fierce battle with the Danes. Driven out of Ireland by a competing body of Norwegians, a strong force of Danes resorted to Scotland and made an unlooked for descent upon Fife. The armies met at Dollar, and Constantine was defeated. Pursuing the fugitives through Fife the Danes again attacked them at Inverdovet, when Constantine was slain, together with a great multitude of "Scots," as they are called in the *Pictish Chronicle*. Among the slain were many of the religious refugees from Ireland who, during the reign of Kenneth, had fled from the Danes and settled throughout Fife and its neighbourhood. Tradition, as well as some of the older Scottish historians, associates this battle with the neighbourhood of Balcombie Bay on the coast of Fife, and the cave is still pointed out to which Constantine is said to have been dragged as a prisoner, and then beheaded.

It is not a little remarkable that notwithstanding these disastrous invasions, which caused the wail of the widow and orphan to fill the land, and notwithstanding the fact that the sovereignties of England and Ireland were overwhelmed by the Northern flood, the Scottish monarchy continued uninterrupted. Constantine was succeeded by his brother Aedh or Eth of the Swift Foot, the last of Kenneth's sons. Of him, as of many kings in

that hazy period, we know little. His death is recorded in the following year when, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, he was slain by his own people. This same year witnessed a fresh invasion of Northmen upon the Scottish sea-board, which necessitated the removal of the shrine and all the reliquaries of Columcille to Erin "in refuge from the Galls." Early in the following century these much esteemed relics would seem to have been restored to their original quarters in Iona, as is inferred from the *Life of St. Caddroe*, an eleventh century record. 878 A.D.

For some reason that is not clear, though the slaughter of Aedh probably points to a revolution headed by his successors, the Pictish law of succession, rather than the Scottish, was now adhered to, and the sovereignty was conferred upon Eocha, son of Run, king of Strathclyde, whose mother was a daughter of Kenneth mac Alpin. With him, however, there was associated in the government (probably on account of his youth), Giric or Grig, son of Dungaile, who, it is surmised, was Eocha's paternal grand-uncle, and is called his tutor. The vigour of Grig's character is recognized by tradition, which has assigned to him the title of Gregory the Great, and made him the hero of many fights. In the *Registry of the Priory of St. Andrews* of 1251 he is said to have conquered Ireland and the greater part of England. That his reign was vigorous and successful there can be no doubt, and in connection with it two important events are recorded. The first is an invasion of Northumbria, as the result of which, according to the chronicles, the whole of Bernicia and a part of Anglia were brought under subjection. Their opponents on this occasion were the Danes, who had settled in these parts. The statement of the chronicles is so far supported by Simeon of Durham when he tells us that at that time, viz., during the reign of Guthred the Dane, "the nation of the Scots had collected a numerous army, and among other deeds of cruelty had invaded and plundered the monastery of Lindisfarne." One important result of this invasion was that certain considerable portions of the territory of the Britons of Strathclyde, which had been a century and a half before annexed by the Saxons in the reign of Eadberht, were again reunited to the Strathclyde kingdom, and Donald, the king of the Britons, was enabled to extend his sway from the Clyde to the Derwent.

The second event, and one which was of much importance to

the Church, was its liberation from those secular exactions and services to which the clergy of most Churches were at this time subjected. The words of the chronicle are: "He (Gregory) was the first who gave freedom to the Scottish Church, which had been in bondage till that time, according to the rule and custom of the Picts." In this quotation we find for the first time the term "Scottish Church" employed. We may take it as pointing to the speedy application of the name "Scotland" to the country generally. Was it zeal for the Church, like that of his contemporary, Alfred, or a desire to strengthen his position with the clergy, that animated the reformer? We cannot tell, and it is useless to speculate. His name is said to survive in a church in the Mearns, which is known as Eglisgirg or Greg's Church.

889 A.D. In the year 889, after a reign of eleven years, the careers of both Eocha and Giric were brought to a close by their expulsion, as the result of a revolution in favour of Donald, the son of Constantine. In this way the succession was brought back to the male line of the descendants of Kenneth mac Alpin, and in that line it became firmly established.

During the second last year of the previous reign, Harold Harfagr, the first king of a consolidated Norway, took, for the first time, the Western Isles definitely into the possession of that country. To this he was impelled by the action of the independent western vikings, who, from their island shelters, made frequent raids upon the parent country. By Harold the Orkneys and the Western Isles were placed now under the rule of Norwegian jarls. Upon the Western Isles, however, his hold was in reality slight, and after Harold's death they came for a time into the possession of "stray Vikings."

In the earlier portion of Donald's reign, the northern districts of Scotland, which, as we have seen, had been some years earlier temporarily taken possession of by Thorstein the Red, were again overrun by the men of the North, and more permanently annexed to the Norwegian jarldom of Orkney, with the result of very seriously circumscribing in that region the kingdom of Celtic Scotland. On this occasion the leader was Sigurd, first jarl of Orkney. In connection with the termination of the struggle, the sagas relate an incident which throws a little light on the habits of the period. Earl Sigurd, we are told, made an arrangement with a Scottish jarl called Melbrigda Tönn, or Mel-

brigda of the Tooth, by the terms of which they were to meet in a certain place, accompanied by forty men each, in order to adjust their differences. On the appointed day, Sigurd, suspicious of treachery on the part of the natives, caused eighty men to be mounted on forty horses. Undismayed by this treacherous dealing of the Norsemen, Melbrigda and his men fought and determined to sell their lives as dearly as might be. But soon they all fell, and, in bravado, Earl Sigurd and his followers fastened the heads of the vanquished to the saddle-straps, and rode homewards, triumphing in their victory. As they were proceeding, however, Earl Sigurd, intending to kick at his horse with his foot, struck the calf of his leg against a tooth protruding from Earl Melbrigda's head, which scratched him slightly. Soon the limb became swollen and painful, and he died. Thus was avenged the treachery of Sigurd the Powerful.

In the year 900 the black, dragon-prowed galleys of the Danes once again appeared off the east coast, and wrought Scotland bitter distress. Their leader was Sitriuc, son of Imhair, who had brought round his forces from Ireland. At Dun Fother (Dunottar) he encountered the army of Scotland, and King Donald was slain in the fight. 900 A.D.

Two architectural structures of very peculiar character still remain with us to testify to the unscrupulous nature of the Norseman's raids. They are the round towers of Abernethy and of Brechin. The type is characteristically Celtic and distinctly Irish—a circumstance which is evidenced by the fact that while Scotland has only two representatives, the sister-country is possessed of seventy-six, which form conspicuous features among the old-world buildings of Ireland. Some of them in that country reach to a height of from 100 to 120 feet.

Of the Scottish examples, that at Brechin is the higher and probably the more recent. It measures over 86 feet in height, is perfectly circular, slightly tapering, and is divided by stone work into seven stories of irregular height. At the base its diameter is fifteen feet, and the whole structure is built of regular courses of dressed stones. In it, as in all the other examples, the doorway is placed several feet above the level of the ground. All of them have been, apparently, from the time of their erection

isolated buildings, but both the Scottish ones are surrounded by ancient burying-grounds.

Such a tower was called a *Cloictheach* or bell-house, and the old annals give us plainly to understand their purpose. They were, as has been hinted, a natural result of the Scandinavian invasions, and their erection dates from that stormy period. The devastation by which repeated raids were characterized, the destruction of religious establishments, and the insecure feeling that was thus induced, led the ecclesiastics to set up these towering structures, to which in troublous times they might repair, bringing with them those things they valued and venerated, such as books, bells, croziers, and those costly shrines adorned with gold and silver, and enriched with costly gems, which constituted such tempting prizes to the sea-kings of the North. Their shape, the position of the door, and the general character of construction made such towers at that time difficult of assault and of destruction by fire.

After a time the *Cloictheach*, in a degenerated form, came to be attached to churches, as is seen in the old church in the island of Egilshay. Ultimately the "Bell-house," became so insignificant that it presented itself as only a small round tower, continued up from the gable, and used as a belfry.

Though Kenneth and his successors were Scots, the rulers of Celtic Scotland, up to the reign of Donald, continued to be designated kings of the Picts, but from this period the names Cruithentuath and Pictavia disappear from the records, and the rulers are spoken of as kings of Alban.

In accordance with the Tanistic law of alternate succession, Donald, the son of Constantine, was succeeded by his cousin, Constantine, the son of Aedh of the Swift Foot. During the early years of his reign, the war-cloud again descended, and the ravages of the Dublin northmen (Norwegians on this occasion)
903 A.D. gave him little peace. In 903 Dunkeld was plundered, and much of Alban besides, but in the following year Constantine secured a brilliant victory over them in Strathearn, killing their leader, Imhar Ua Imhar (Ivar, the grandson of Ivar), and cutting his forces to pieces.

Taking advantage of the period of repose thus secured, King
906 A.D. Constantine, in the sixth year of his reign, convened a solemn

assembly for the discussion of questions affecting the Church and religion, and again we see the Moot Hill of Scone crowned with a national convention. To it came king and presbyter, but no Roman legate graced the gathering, for not yet was the Celtic Church controlled from the imperial city. Untrammelled from without, she went on her way in complete independence, and proceeded to reform herself in regard to the "laws and discipline of the faith," the "rights of the Churches," and the "doctrines of the Gospel." The proceedings were fittingly crowned with an expressed determination on the part of those present to prosecute their reformation. It was evidently a period of revival, and it was needed, for the zeal of the Columban Church had grown cold. In these deliberations, Bishop Cellach, who is understood to have been the first territorial bishop of St. Andrews, took a prominent part. From this time the Pictish and Scottish Churches were united and placed on an equality; the supremacy was transferred from Abernethy, which had been the seat of the primacy from the year 865, to Kilrymont or St. Andrews, and the latter bishops were now designated bishops of Alban.

Two years after the convocation of this assembly Donald, the brother of the Scottish king, was preferred to the throne of Strathclyde, and henceforth, as long as that kingdom retained a separate existence, its rulers were scions of the Mac Alpin dynasty. This event was one of no little importance in the future history of both kingdoms, and prepared the way for the coming amalgamation of Strathclyde with Alban.

After a lapse of eight years (912), this peaceful interval was 912 A.D.
interrupted by another invasion of the pirate Danes from Ireland, under Regnwald or Reginald, leader of the Hy Ivar, supported by two prominent chiefs, Ottir the Jarl, and Oswl Gracaban. That they broke into the country and ravaged Dunblane is all that we know of their doings on this occasion.

In the year 918, however, an irruption of a much more for- 918 A.D.
midable nature occurred. In the history of St. Cuthbert, which is supposed to have been written by Simeon of Durham, the scene of the battle which ensued is placed at Corbridge on the southern Tyne. The *Pictish Chronicle* locates it at a place called Tinemore or Tynemoor, and it seems more probable that its situation was near the mouth of the river Tyne in East Lothian. On this occasion Eldred, the ruler of Northumbria, was assisted

by Constantine, while Regnwald, the leader of the Danes, was supported by his brother Gothbrith (Godfred), the two Earls Ottir and Gracaban, and several young lords. When the battle joined the allied Scots and Northumbrians attacked three battalions of the Danes with great impetuosity, and defeated them with much slaughter. Among the slain were the two earls. But not yet was the fight over, and while the allies were eagerly following up their advantage, Regnwald advanced with a fourth battalion which he had placed in ambush, and taking them in the rear slew many of them, and turned the fight into something like a drawn battle. On the side of the Scots no important personage was killed, and night put an end to the strife. After the battle Regnwald held on his way south and took possession of Northumbria, and Alban from this time had welcome respite from Danish attacks for upwards of a century.

But the ravages of another foe had ere long to be encountered. Sitriuc, the successor of Regnwald in the government of Northumbria, who, according to the Egills Saga, was Scotch by the father's kin, but Danish on the mother's side, and came of the race of Ragnar Lodbroc, married in 925 the sister of Athelstan, the powerful Saxon king of Wessex. The following year Sitriuc died, and the territory of Northumbia was seized by Athelstan. In an endeavour to recover the kingdom with a party of Danes from Dublin, Guthferth, the brother of Sitriuc, failed; and Olave or Anlaf Cuaran, the eldest son of Sitriuc, betook himself to Alban, where, after a time, he married the daughter of King Constantine. Fearing, probably, an invasion of Northumbria, as
933 A.D. the result of this alliance, Athelstan in 933 anticipated events by invading Alban by sea and land, and, as the *Saxon Chronicle* puts it, over-harried much.

937 A.D. Four years later an invasion of Northumbria of a very formidable character was undertaken by the Danes with the object of wresting that territory from the grasp of the Wessex king. In this attempt Anlaf, who would seem to have had some connection with the Hebrides, was assisted, not only by the Danes of Dublin, but also by the Scots under Constantine, his father-in-law, and by the Britons of Strathclyde. While the latter with a body of the Danes journeyed southward overland, Constantine accompanied by Anlaf and a large army proceeded by sea and entered the Humber. By preliminary minor victories the in-

vaders were encouraged to hope for further success, but in the protracted, stubbornly-fought battle of Brunnanburh or Duinbrunde, as it is called in the *Pictish Chronicle*, in which Athelstan was assisted by the Christianized descendants of Guthrum's Danes, they were disastrously defeated, and many of their leaders slain.[1] Among these was Geleachan, who is called king of the Isles, and who, from his name, had evidently Celtic blood in his veins. Another was Cellach, a prince or Mormaer of Scotland. Constantine and his remaining followers escaped on ship-board, and returned to Scotland, and once again the darkness of sorrow over-shadowed the land.

Though thus disastrous in its immediate results to the kingdom of Alban, we cannot doubt that the alliance with the Danes was ultimately productive of good, for by securing their friendship it ensured a cessation for all time of those frequent raids from Ireland which, from the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin onwards, had harassed the nation, disorganized religion, and wrought much misery.

Resigning his crown, after a long and vigorous, but chequered reign of forty-two years, to Malcolm, the son of his predecessor Donald, Constantine, longing doubtless for peace, and weary of the world, betook himself to a strictly religious life, and entered the monastery "on the brink of the waves" (St. Andrews), where he died in 952. St. Berchan, whose *Prophecy* dates from 1094, gives a pleasing picture of at least a portion of his reign:— 942 A.D.

> "Alban was brimful from his day,
> His was the fair long reign,
> He was just, competent to battle
> Seven years and two score.
> With fruits on slender trees,
> With ale, with music, with fellowship,
> With corn, with milk, with active kine,
> With pride, with success, with elegance."

The earlier portion of the reign of Malcolm I. is marked by a vigorous effort which he made to extend his sway more definitely in the North. With that end in view he invaded the province of Moreb or Moray, and slew Cellach who, it is surmised, was *Righ* or king of the province. In this invasion, and the many

[1] Sir James Ramsay locates Brunnanburh at Bourne, in Lincolnshire.

subsequent ones of which we shall have to speak, we have reproduced the old rivalry between the Southern and Northern Picts —a rivalry which may be said to have in still later times taken the form of antagonism between Highlander and Lowlander, between primitive Scotland and feudal Scotland.

Circumstances associated with renewed and repeated invasions of Northumbria by the indomitable Anlaf mac Sitriuc within a few years of the disastrous defeat at Brunnanburg, led to a temporary change of relationship between the kingdoms of Alban and Strathclyde. These descents on Northumbria were made through the territory of Strathclyde, which, at that time, extended from the Clyde to the river Derwent in Cumberland, and to the cross at Stanmore on the borders of Westmoreland and Yorkshire. With a view to closing up this convenient means of ingress, which was permitted by the king of Strathclyde on account of the marriage ties which existed between him and
945 A.D. Anlaf, the Saxon king, Eadmund, in the year 945 victoriously overran all "Cumberland," by which is probably meant the whole of Strathclyde, and, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "gave it all up to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator [literally, fellow workman], both on sea and land." By thus acting, Eadmund, we may conclude, hoped to make Malcolm a guarantee for the good behaviour of his relative of Strathclyde. On the death of Eadmund in the following year the arrangement seems to have been renewed by his successor, Eadred Atheling.

949 A.D. With the year 949, however, Anlaf Cuaran again appears upon the scene, and an army of Scots made an expedition into Northumbria on his behalf. In the *Pictish Chronicle* we are told that in that year he (Malcolm) laid waste the Anglic territories as far as the river Tees, and carried off a multitude of men, with their flocks, and that he did this at the instigation of Constantine, though some say that he (Constantine) made this plundering raid himself, having requested the king to surrender the kingdom to him for one week for the purpose. It is possible that Constantine undertook the leadership on this occasion in order to evade the obligation of Malcolm to the Saxon king. In any case, it is very evident that the warlike spirit of the old warrior was only slumbering in his quiet retreat, and that the interests of Anlaf, his son-in-law, still occupied his thoughts.

For three years from this invasion, Anlaf remained in possession of Northumbria, and was baptized. He was then replaced by a previous ruler, Eric Bloody Axe, son of the Norwegian king, Harald Harfagr, who had, some years earlier, accepted the Christian religion. On his expulsion, Anlaf returned to Ireland, where he reigned as a renowned and powerful king of the Danes till the year 980, when his army was decisively defeated by the native Irish at the battle of Tara, and his son Ragnall and all the leading Galls of Dublin slain. Retiring to Iona to spend his later years in peace, he died there, "after penance and a good life," in the seclusion and comfort of the island monastery.

In 954 Eadred "assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians," and from this time that erstwhile powerful kingdom ceased to be, and was governed as an earldom. Thus we find the kingdom of England becoming consolidated. The same year witnessed the death of King Malcolm, who was slain at Fetteresso by the men of "Moerne" (probably Mar), in revenge, it may have been, for the slaughter of Cellach. Indulph, the son of Constantine, reigned in his stead. 954 A.D.

One event of the utmost significance marked the reign of Indulph, viz., the capture of Dunedin or Edinburgh (latinized *oppidum Eden* in the *Pictish Chronicle*) by the Scots. In recording the circumstance, the *Pictish Chronicle* tells us that it was evacuated by the Angles, and surrendered to the Scots, who still possessed it when the *Chronicle* was compiled. In this capture we see the first definite step in the permanent extension of the kingdom of Alban between the Forth and Tweed. As regards Cumberland, we have no information that the grant of it was renewed by the English on the accession of Indulph.

During this reign the coast of Buchan was the scene of a Norse raid, which was, however, successfully resisted by Indulph. The enemy are called the Sumarlidi or Summer Wanderers, from the fact of their piracy being limited to the summer months. Indulph reigned for eight years, when he was either slain by the ravaging hordes of Norsemen at Inverculen (Innercolan in the *Chronica Brevis*), as is asserted by the later chronicles, or like his father, Constantine, retired to the monastery of St. Andrews, as is stated by St. Berchan in his metrical account. His death is not noted in the *Pictish Chronicle*. 962 A.D.

CHAPTER XIII.

Civil wars—Invasions of Northumbria—Battle of Luncarty—Caithness attached to earldom of Orkney—Events in the northern provinces and the Western Isles—Rulers of Innse Gall—The last plundering of Iona by the Danes—The Norwegians Christianized—Internal strifes—Invasion of Cumberland by Aethelred, king of England—The struggles of Malcolm II. with the Danes—Malcolm's daughters married to Crinan, lay-abbot of Dunkeld, and Sigurd, Earl of Orkney—Thorfinn, son of Sigurd, created Earl of Caithness—The Lothians given up to the Scots—The ancestors of the Lords of the Isles.

962-1034 A.D.

Kings.	Branch.	Termination of reign.
Dubh, son of Malcolm,	Constantine,	967
Cuilean, son of Indulph,	Aedh,	971
Kenneth, son of Malcolm,	Constantine,	995
Constantine, son of Cuilean,	Aedh,	997
Kenneth, son of Dubh,	Constantine,	1005
Malcolm, son of Kenneth, son of Malcolm,	Constantine,	1034

INDULPH was succeeded on the throne of Alban by Dubh, the son of Malcolm. Dubh failed to retain the allegiance of his sub-
965 A.D. jects as a whole, and in the third year of his reign (965) a determined effort was made by Cuilean, the son of Indulph, to oust him, the which would have had the effect, had it been successful, of upsetting the Scottish principle of alternate succession which, up to this point, had been practically adhered to, right on from the time of Kenneth mac Alpin. In this attempt he was supported by Dunchad, lay-abbot of Dunkeld, and Dubhdubh, the governor ("Satrapas") of Atholl, both of whom were, however, slain at a battle fought at Drumcrub, in Stratherne.

967 A.D. Two years later Cuilean was successful, and Dubh was expelled. His death is recorded in the same year, and Major asserts that he was killed in his bedroom by two assassins. A tradition to the effect that the body of the slain king was hidden

under the bridge of Kynlos, and that the sun did not shine till the body had been respectfully buried, may have had its foundation in the fact that an eclipse of the sun was visible there on the 10th of July, 967. After a reign of four and a half years, Cuilean, who seems to have been an unworthy monarch, was 971 A.D. slain, together with his brother Eocha, in Lothian by the Britons, apparently in private revenge.

Of the history of our country during the period with which we are now dealing very little is known, and so bald are the records, and so unpromising the political conditions, that we might readily conclude that a time of marked retrogression had set in. But there is reason to believe that, though the age was dark in Alban as in other countries, progress was being made in several respects; that agriculture, architecture, and industry generally were steadily, if slowly, advancing; while the lamp of Christianity was shining forth with considerable lustre. Further, we know beyond a doubt that at this very time, when art in Europe was practically dead, that wonderful art-culture of the Celtic Church, to which we shall take occasion to refer later, was reaching its highest development.

On the death of Cuilean in 971 the succession reverted to the family of Malcolm, and Kenneth, the brother of Dubh, ascended the throne. In retaliation, probably, for the death of his predecessor, Kenneth forthwith laid waste a great part of the territory of the Britons, but eventually he received a severe check at the moss of the Cornag (neighbourhood of Abercorn), where a party of his foot-soldiers were cut off with great slaughter. Not long after these events Kenneth turned his attentions towards Northumbria, which he harried as far as Stanmore, Cleveland, and the Pools of Deira. About the same time he fortified the fords of the river Forth, and the following year made a further expedition into Northumbria, and carried off one who, in the *Pictish Chronicle*, is called the son of the king of the Saxons. These invasions, however, do not seem to have led to any permanent extension of his dominions towards the south.

At this point in the reign of Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, the *Pictish Chronicle* fails us, and henceforth we lose its invaluable guidance. It was probably compiled during this reign, for Kenneth's death is not recorded in it. With the year 973, however, the *Annals* of Tighernac become again available, and under

977 A.D. date 977 they, as well as the *Annals of Ulster*, record the slaughter of Amlaiph or Olave, the son of Indulph—a circumstance which was in all likelihood due to an attempt on the part of Olave to again upset the established succession.

It was during this reign that the traditional battle of Luncarty was fought with the Danes, when, according to Boece and Buchanan, the fortunes of the day were retrieved for the Scots by Hay, the ancestor of the Earls of Errol, and his two sons, who, forsaking the plough when their countrymen were already in full flight, animated them to renewed efforts, and turned defeat into victory. How much or how little there is in the tradition we cannot say, but it has doubtless some foundation in fact, for tradition is, as a rule, unwritten history round which have gathered glorifying accretions.

Turning to the country north of the Spey we find that at this time the hold of the Scandinavians upon that district was evidently very precarious. Through the marriage of Thorfinn, the son of Einar, and Earl of Orkney, to Grelauga, daughter of Duncan, Celtic jarl or earl of Caithness, the latter district became attached to the earldom of Orkney; but notwithstanding this fact the northern Mormaers seem to have availed themselves of every opportunity for securing their freedom from the Norseman's sway, while Kenneth, on his part, still viewed the territory as a dependency of Alban, and endeavoured, as we find, to dispose of it accordingly.

During the earldom of Liotr, one of the sons of Thorfinn, a battle was fought between him and Magbiodr, a Scottish Mormaer or Jarl, at Skidamyre or Skida Moor in Caithness. The fight was keenly contested, and Liotr, though victor, was mortally wounded. Hldover, his brother, who next enjoyed the earldom,
980 A.D. died ere long, and was succeeded about the year 980 by his son Sigurd "the Stout," a renowned warrior, who, we are told in the Sagas, kept Caithness by main force from the Scots, and went away every summer on warlike expeditions to the Sudreys, to Scotland, and to Ireland. Very early in his career Sigurd encountered on the same battle-field in which Liotr had lost his life, a Scottish army under one Finlaic, Mormaer of Moray, and brother, it would seem, of Magbiodr. The victory remained with the Norwegians, with the further result that Sigurd

tightened his hold upon the northern provinces, as far south as the Spey.

It was not long, however, ere another essay was made for freedom. During the absence of Earl Sigurd in Orkney, two Scottish jarls, Hundi and Maelsnati, with their forces, attacked and slew Havard of Threswick, Sigurd's brother-in-law, who appears to have been the governor of the province. Hundi, we gather, was the Norse name for Crinan, lay-abbot of Dunkeld. Hearing of this reverse Sigurd landed in Caithness, and attacking the Scots at Duncansness, ere their full forces had reached the front, he defeated them, slaying Earl Maelsnati, and only retiring from the pursuit when he learned that Earl Melkolf or Malcolm was marshalling fresh forces at Duncansby. He then returned to the Orkneys with his forces, and the northern mainland was again free from the Norsemen.

In the year after this temporary withdrawal of the Norwegians from the mainland (987), the energies of Sigurd were directed towards the Western Isles. To trace the rulers of Innse Gall in a connected series from the time of Godfrey mac Fergus and Ketill Flatnose has been found an impossible task. We have referred to the connection with them of Anlaf Cuaran and Geleachan, and now in the year 973 we find Maccus, son of Aralt or Harold, son of Sitriuc, lord of the Danes of Limerick, referred to as king of Many Islands. On his death in 977 he was succeeded by his brother Godred or Godfrey mac Aralt, who bears the title of king of Innse Gall. "These kings," says Skene, "were descended from Inguar or Imhair, the ancestor of the Danish kings of Dublin, termed from him Hy Imhair." 987 A.D.

Just immediately preceding the time when the forces of Sigurd visited the West, a struggle was proceeding between this Godfrey mac Aralt and the Danes of Dublin for the possession of Man and the Isles. Under date 986 it is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* that "The Danes came to Airer Dalriatai (the coast lands of Dalriada) with three ships, and 140 of them were hung, and the rest dispersed. I Columcille [Iona] plundered by the Danes on the eve of the Nativity, and the abbot and fifteen of the clergy of the church were slain." This, it should be noted, was the last occasion on which the Danes offered violence to Iona. From the *Annals of Ulster* we also learn that Godfrey was again victor at a battle fought the following year at the Isle of Man.

On this occasion a thousand of the Danes of Dublin were slain, while later in the year 360 of those who had borne a hand in the ravaging of Iona the previous year were put to death.

In his encounters with the forces of Sigurd, however, Godfrey, it would appear from the sagas, was not by any means so successful. From *Celtic Scotland* we extract the following short summary of these events. Kari Solmundson, one of Sigurd's courtiers, goes on an expedition with the sons of Nial, who, a year before or so, had arrived from Iceland. Kari "Makes war in many places, and is everywhere victorious. They encounter Godred, king of Man, and vanquish him. Kari then goes to Norway with the Scat or tribute to Earl Hakon of Norway. In the following summer they make a second expedition and harry all the Sudreys. Thence they go to Kintyre, land there, fight with the landsmen, and carry off plunder. Then they go south to Wales, hold on for the Isle of Man, again meet Godfred, fight with him, and slay Dungall, his son. Thence they go north to Koln or Colonsay, where they find Earl Gilli, and stay with him a while. Then Earl Gilli accompanies them to the Orkneys to meet Earl Sigurd, who gives him his sister Nereide in marriage, and he returns to the Sudreys, and the sons of Nial to Iceland." From this it would appear that the chief seat of the king of Innse Gall at this period when it was held by the Danes, was the Isle of Man, while Earl Gilli, whose name has a Gaelic flavour, seems to have been independent of Godfrey, and only tributary to Norway. That the events thus summarized occurred before
989 A.D. the year 989 is made evident from the fact that Godfrey's death is recorded to have happened in that year, when, according to Tighernac, he was slain *by* the Dalriads, and, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, he met his death *in* Dalriada. We may take the one statement to be supplementary to the other. Though these victories of Sigurd's lieutenant served to bring many of the Western Isles under the government of the Earl of Orkney, Godfrey's son, Ragnal, is recorded as having died king of the Isles in the year 1004.

Ere this date Sigurd and his Norwegians had embraced the Christian religion. The active agent in their somewhat forcible conversion was Olave Tryggveson, the first Christian king of Norway, who, on his return from England in 997, where he had been led to become Christian, touched at the Orkneys on his way

to Norway, and seizing Sigurd the Stout gave him the alternative of instant execution or of embracing the Christian faith and becoming tributary to Norway. Sigurd yielded to necessity, and Olave, departing, carried off his son Hundi as a hostage and pledge of fidelity.

King Kenneth, son of Malcolm, was slain in the year 995, after a reign of twenty-four years. By the *Irish Annals* he is said to have been killed treacherously by his own people, while the Scottish chronicles attribute his death, which they say occurred at Fettercairn in the Mearns, to the treachery of Finvella, daughter of Cunchar, Earl of Angus, whose only son, Crathilinth, had some years before been executed for his misdeeds by Kenneth at Dunsinnan. 995 A.D.

Kenneth was of the senior, the Constantine branch, of the descendants of Kenneth mac Alpin, and now the succession devolved upon Constantine, the son of Cuilean, of the Aedh branch. Constantine was the last representative of the junior branch, which became extinct with his death in 997. He was slain in battle by his own people, and was succeeded by Kenneth, who was the son of Dubh. 997 A.D.

The reign of Kenneth, the son of Dubh, is associated with a determined attempt on Cumbria by Aethelred, king of England, in the year 1000. St. Berchan implies that victory rested with Kenneth, whom he calls the Donn, or Brown, when he says— 1000 A.D.

> "He will scatter hosts of the Saxons,
> After the day of battle he will possess."

Like his two immediate predecessors, Kenneth Grim, the son of Dubh, met with a violent end. He was slain in yet another war of succession in 1005, by Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, in a battle fought at Monzievaird, in Stratherne. These were dark and stormy days for Alban, and social disorder and civil war were rampant. But again the nation emerged from its difficulties and from its gloom, and under the vigorous rule of Malcolm II., who now began to reign, progress became again possible. 1005 A.D.

Speaking of the new king, Fordun, who wrote in the fourteenth century, says :—"The people were much better pleased with the actions of Malcolm than of Grim ; for there was scarcely a man in the kingdom who could equal Malcolm in the

exercises of the field, either in his wars or his amusements. Our Annals of History" (it is worth noting that Fordun refers to these as being extant in his day, though none of them are now discoverable) "represent him as skilful in the management of the sword and the lance, and of his bearing, to a miracle, hunger, thirst, cold, and the longest watching. . . his great strength and the beauty of his person became the universal theme of applause and praise, till at last the public voice pointed him out as the most worthy of the kingdom."

By Malcolm, the last representative of the descendants of Kenneth mac Alpin in the male line, the throne was occupied for thirty years. He had reigned but one year when he
1006 A.D. attempted to snatch Bernicia from the English rule, and with that end carried fire and sword throughout the province as far as Durham. There, however, his course was stayed, and while engaged in the siege of Durham, he was encountered by Uchtred, son of old Earl Waltheof, and in a great battle was disastrously defeated, with the loss of many of his nobles.

The old Scottish historians give a large place to the prowess of Malcolm and his Scots in conflict with the Danes upon the east coast. They tell of a formidable descent upon Moray, when horde upon horde of plundering vikings entered the mouth of the Spey, and wrought merciless havoc upon a defenceless country. Marshalling his forces, King Malcolm hurried forward to the relief of the northern provinces, but in the first rush of battle he was badly wounded, and his troops were driven back. Retreating into Mar, the Scottish king recruited his forces, and again the hosts joined battle at Murtlach, and again the Scots were forced to retire. But not yet was Malcolm beaten, and, rallying his men at a narrow pass, he awaited the onset of the Danes, who attacked with great impetuosity. With the utmost obstinacy the Scots resisted, slew the Danish leader, and, taking up the offensive, rushed upon the invaders with great fury, and turned defeat into victory.

The following spring, we are told, saw the armies of the North descend in still more formidable numbers under a renowned leader called Camus, and once more the Scots were rallied to the defence of their country. Tradition tells of a bloody battle having been fought at Barry on the northern shore of the Tay, in which the veterans of Denmark went down before the strong

arm of the Scottish patriots. In the retreat, the Danish leader was slain at a place named Camuston in memory of the event, and Scotland's eastern shores were again free from the foot of the invader.

In the year 1008 Sigurd Lodverson, Earl of Orkney, received in marriage a daughter of King Malcolm—an alliance which may 1008 A.D. have commended itself to the king by the hope that Sigurd might prove himself formidable to the Moray chiefs, who had always continued in a state of semi-independence. In view of future events, and the fact that Malcolm had no son, still more significance attaches to the earlier marriage of his other and, apparently, older daughter Bethok or Beatrice, to Crinan, the powerful lay abbot of Dunkeld, of whom we have already heard under the name of Hundi.

By this time in the history of the Church (of other countries as well as of Scotland), its constitution and practice had become, in some respects, sadly relaxed, and Crinan was one of those who held the lands and possessions attached to the abbacies without having taken orders. In the families of these lay abbots the offices and possessions had become entirely hereditary, while the spiritual duties pertaining to the abbacy were entrusted to a Prior, with whom were usually associated twelve Culdees. In the Gaelic language the Prior was known as the *Cealloir* or "Man of the Church"—hence the surname MacKellar. Similarly we have the name MacNab derived from *Aba*, the Gaelic form of Abbot.

By the king's daughter, Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, had two sons, Duncan and Maldred, of both of whom we shall yet hear much; while to Sigurd was born, by the other daughter, a son called Thorfinn, who also holds a considerable place in Scottish history.

This son of Sigurd was but five years of age when his father met his death in 1014 at the great battle of Cluantarbh or Clontarf in Ireland. The struggle which now terminated in that 1014 A.D. country was one for life or death between the native Irish and the Scandinavian races, and while we find that the Irish were assisted by a force of auxiliaries from Alban under Donald, the Mormaer of Mar, and other nine Mormaers, Danes and Norwegians flocked from all directions to the help of their kinsmen, and among the leaders was Earl Sigurd of Orkney. On both sides the slaughter was very great, but ultimately the Danes and

their auxiliaries were entirely defeated, and most of their leaders slain. On the part of the Irish, their king, the renowned Brian Boroimhe or Boru, fell in the hour of victory, and the Scottish noble, Donald, the Mormaer of Mar, met a similar fate.

In connection with all these battles between Celt and Scandinavian, it is not to be forgotten that the effective character of the armour of the Northmen gave them an enormous advantage over the native forces. Speaking of some Danes who had come to the help of the Irish Ostmen, we find it stated in "The war of the Gaedhill with the Gaill" that "there was not one villain or robber of that two thousand who had not polished strong triple-plated glittering armour of refined iron or of cool uncorroding brass incasing their sides and bodies from head to foot."

With the death of Sigurd affairs in the northern districts of Scotland assumed a very different aspect. His sons by his first marriage—Summarlidi, Brusi, and Einar—divided between them the Orkney Islands. The partially colonized districts on the mainland which were still, notwithstanding Norse conquests, dependencies of the Scottish Crown, were bestowed by Malcolm upon his little grandson Thorfinn, who had been left by Sigurd under his guardianship when the latter went to join his compatriots in Ireland. The gift is thus referred to in the Orkneyinga Saga. Malcolm "bestowed Caithness and Sutherland upon him with the title of earl, and gave him men to rule the domain along with him." On the other hand, at this juncture, the more southern districts beyond the Spey, constituting the province of Moray and Ross (Moravia), which were much less definitely affected by Norwegian influences, and of which the native chiefs had not been dispossessed, came once again under native rule. The leadership centred in that Finlaec mac Ruadhri, Mormaer of Moreb or Moray, whom we found, at an earlier period, engaged in a struggle with Earl Sigurd. In the *Annals of Ulster* he is described as "Ri Alban," by which we may understand one of those provincial kings, such as held sway in each of the seven provinces of Pictavia, during the earlier centuries. On the west, it seems probable that at this time many of the islands passed for a certain period under the over-rule of the Scottish king, and we find St. Berchan referring to Malcolm as—

> "Danger of Britons, extinction of Galls,
> Mariner of Ile and Arann."

In the year 1018, during the reign of King Cnut, the Dane, ruler of all England, Malcolm seized what he considered to be a favourable opportunity to make yet another invasion of the northern provinces of England. In this effort he was assisted by Eugenius or Eocho the Bald, king of the Strathclyde Britons. With a large army the allies marched towards the Tweed, and at Carham, near Coldstream, encountered, and in a great battle entirely defeated the English army. From Simeon of Durham we learn that previous to the battle "a comet appeared for thirty nights to the people of Northumbria, a terrible presage of the calamity by which that province was about to be desolated. For shortly afterwards nearly the whole population, from the river Tees to the Tweed and their borders, were cut off in a conflict in which they were engaged with a countless multitude of Scots at Carrum." 1018 A.D.

In relation to the future history of Scotland this great battle was of the utmost significance, for a result of the greatest importance to Scotland accrued from it. It is thus referred to by Simeon of Durham. Eadulf Cudel the Earl, yielded up to the Scots "the whole of Lodoneia [that is Lothian in its extended sense], in satisfaction of their claim and for a solid peace. In this manner Lodoneia was annexed to the kingdom of the Scots." It was the accomplishment of a long and fondly cherished desire, and thus at last Tweed's silvery stream became the southern boundary of Scotland.

Not till the year 1031 does Malcolm's possession of this valuable addition to his kingdom seem to have been questioned in any way by its original over-lord, the king of England. In that year, however, as the *Saxon Chronicle* records, "King Cnut went to Rome; and as soon as he came home, he went to Scotland, and the Scots king, Malcolm, submitted to him, and became his man; but held that only a little while." 1031 A.D.

Two other Scottish kings are said by the chronicler to have submitted to Cnut on the same occasion. These he calls by the names Maelbaethe and Iehmarc. Who were these rulers? For the first of them we look to the northern semi-independent province of Moravia, and we find him in Macbethad, son of that Finlaec, son of Ruadhri, sub-king of the province, whose acquaintance we have already made. In the year 1020 Finlaec was slain by his nephews, the sons of his brother Maelbrigdi. His

successor, Malcolm, one of those who slew him, died in 1029, and in recording the event, Tighernac calls him "Ri Albain." In Malcolm's successor, Macbethad, who also bears the same title, we find the King Maelbeathe of the Saxon chronicle, and the original of the Macbeth of Shakespeare.

Iehmarc is almost certainly a corruption of "Imergi," the name of one of the native rulers of Airergaidhel or Argyll—the land of the coast-land Gaels—a district which at that time extended from the Firth of Clyde to Loch Broom. In Imergi we find an equally interesting personage with Macbeth, for he was an ancestor of that Somerled, Regulus of Argyll, who was slain in 1166, and from whom were descended the powerful Lords of the Isles, and other prominent western families. That the possessions of Iehmarc were on the west coast is made evident by the fact that Caradoc of Llancarvan calls the second of the two rulers king of Ewyst (Uist), and we are thus encouraged in identifying this personage with Imergi. In the *Book of Ballimote*, Somerled is thus traced up to the latter:—"Somerled, son of Gillibrigde, son of Gilliadamnain, son of Solaimh, son of Imergi," while the *Book of Clanranald*, in tracing the MacDonalds as Toisichs of Eargaoidheal, leads us by several further steps back to that Godfrey mac Fergus who was Toishich of the Isles in the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin, and who was doubtless, on his father's side, the head of one of the Dalriadic tribes. The "Clanranald" genealogical tree is as follows—Somerled, son of Giollabride, son of Giolla Oghamhnan, son of Solomh, son of Mearghach or Imergi, son of Suibhne or Sween, son of Niallghus, son of Gothfruigh, son of Fearghus.

1034 A.D. King Malcolm II. died in the year 1034. By Marianus Scotus, a native of Ireland, and a contemporary writer, who records his death, he is termed "king of Scotia," and here we find the first instance on record of the application of the name "Scotia" to the country formerly called Alban. By Tighernac, who also records his death, he is called by the imposing title of King of Alban and head of the nobility of the west of Europe.

CHAPTER XIV.

The succession devolves upon the line of Atholl—Duncan's struggles with Earl Eadulf of Northumbria, and Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney—Slaughter of Duncan by Macbeth—Temporary extension of Norwegian possessions in Scotland—Reign of Macbeth—Macbeth slain at Lumphanan—Important marriage alliances of Malcolm Ceannmor—Harsh treatment of native races by Normans—Saxons resort to the Court of Scotland—Malcolm's wars with the Normans—His death by treachery—Influence of Queen Margaret—Gaelic the language of the Church.

1034-1093 A.D.

Kings.	Termination of reign.
Duncan, son of Crinan,	1040
Macbeth, son of Finlaec,	1057
Malcolm Ceannmor, son of Duncan,	1093

Malcolm II. had no son, and with his death in 1034 the succession passed from the male line of Kenneth mac Alpin, and devolved upon the representative of the female line in the person of Duncan, son of Crinan, lay-abbot of Dunkeld. By his grandfather, and immediate predecessor, the way seems to have been paved for Duncan by the slaughter of the last male scion of the race—a son or grandson of Boete, the son of Kenneth III. This was compassed by Malcolm in some way unrecorded; but although the immediate intention was thus gained, it did not ensure future peace, for there sprung from the female children of Boete descendants who, on more than one occasion, as we shall see, made vigorous and righteous efforts to secure the inheritance that was justly theirs in accordance with the principles of Scottish succession.

Duncan was no novice in the art of government when he ascended the throne, for on the death of Eugenius, king of Strathclyde, the direct Mac Alpin line of the kings of that country terminated, and Duncan was elected its ruler. It seems not improbable that the Lothians were also put under his sway.

When, therefore, in 1034 Duncan assumed the kingdom of Scotia, he found himself master of more extensive territories than had ever hitherto been under the rule of any Scottish king, and Britons, Angles, Scots, and Picts acknowledged his sovereignty.

But north and south Duncan was ere long involved in war.
1038 A.D. In 1038 Strathclyde was devastated by the Northumbrians under Earl Eadulf. Two years later the Scottish king retaliated, and laid siege to Durham. Notwithstanding strenuous efforts, Duncan was unable to carry the town, and Simeon of Durham tells us that "A large proportion of his cavalry was slain by the besieged, and he was put to a disorderly flight, in which he lost all his foot-soldiers, whose heads were collected in the market-place, and hung up by the hair upon posts." He further tells us that in order that these grim relics might be effectively displayed, they had their hair plaited, and this work was entrusted to four women, each of whom was to receive a cow on the completion of her gruesome task. In this fact of the plaiting of the hair we find evidence that the Scots wore their hair long. The same fact we find illustrated in the early sculptured stones of our country, and, indeed, short hair in early times was always a badge of slavery. By the unpleasant spectacle upon the wall of Durham, it was doubtless hoped to exercise a restraining influence upon any future Scottish armies that might be tempted to cross the borders.

1040 A.D. About this same time (1040) affairs became unsettled in the north, but for what we know regarding them we have, unfortunately, to depend on the Orkneyinga Saga alone. On the death, about the year 1029, of Brusi, the last of his three half-brothers, Thorfinn, the son of Sigurd, and grandson of the late king, Malcolm, entered into possession of the entire earldom of Orkney. Thorfinn had thus become a formidable neighbour, and seems not to have been inclined to acknowledge his dependence upon the Scottish king for his mainland possessions. And so we find that when Duncan either asked that these latter should be given up to him, or made a claim for tribute, Thorfinn acted on the principle that these territories had been gifted to him by his grandfather, and that Duncan had absolutely no control over them. The result was that the cousins "became open enemies, and made war on each other."

In these disturbances the first active step seems to have been taken by Duncan, who made an earl of one Moddan, who is said to have been his sister's son, and conferred the territory in question upon him. Proceeding north with a view to taking possession, Moddan raised forces in Sutherland, but he was compelled to retire before Thorfinn and the men of Caithness, reinforced as they were by the men of Orkney under Thorkell Fostri. After overrunning and plundering some of the more southern districts, the force from Orkney returned home, and Thorfinn with five warships lay by at Duncansby.

Meanwhile Duncan and Moddan had arranged for a more complete and more formidable invasion, and, proceeding overland with his forces, Moddan traversed the country as far as Thurso. Duncan, on his part, set sail from Berwick with a considerable force embarked in eleven ships. His purpose was to land in Caithness, and the ultimate intention of the two Scottish forces was to hem in between them the army of the Norwegians. Thorfinn, however, becoming aware of Duncan's intention, intercepted his fleet in the Pentland Firth, and after a stubborn sea-fight defeated the king, who fled south to the Moray Firth, where he landed, and forthwith set about recruiting his forces. Thither he was shortly afterwards followed by Thorfinn, to whose aid had again come Thorkell Fostri and the men of Orkney. In that neighbourhood Thorfinn remained for a time; but he despatched Thorkell to Thurso to surprise, if possible, Moddan, who was quietly resting there, awaiting reinforcements from his friends of Ireland. In his attempt at a surprise Thorkell, who was aided by the friendship of the men of Caithness, was entirely successful, and Moddan was slain while fleeing in the darkness from his house, which had been set on fire.

Meantime King Duncan was zealously completing his preparations for further action, and assembled forces "as well," says the Saga, "from the south as the west and east of Scotland, and all the way south from Satiri [Kintyre], and the forces for which Earl Moddan had sent, also came to him from Ireland." Thorfinn, on his part, was speedily joined in Moray by Thorkell, accompanied by large forces from Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross. A great battle ensued in the neighbourhood of Burghead. Between the Norwegians and the Scots the struggle was of the fiercest description, "but," says the Saga, "it ended in the flight

1040 A.D. of the king, and some say he was slain." The former was the true position of affairs, but his death followed speedily.

Among the leaders who fought on the side of the Scottish king was Macbeth, the son of Finlaec, whom we have already referred to as "Ri" of the province of Moray. This sub king had for wife Gruoch, the daughter of that Boete, son of Kenneth, whose son or grandson King Malcolm had slain in 1032. Through marriage Macbeth was thus connected with the old Scottish dynasty, while he was at the same time guardian of a youth called Lulach, who was a son of Gruoch by a previous husband called Gilcomgan. In recording the murder of Duncan by Macbeth the contemporary writer, Marianus Scotus, tells us, that in the year 1040 Donnchad, king of Scotia, was slain on the 14th of August by his general, Macbethad, son of Finnlaech, who succeeded him in the kingdom; and from the *Register of St. Andrews* we gather that the deed was committed at Bothgowanan (the smith's house), which is supposed to have been a place near the village of Auldearn.

What considerations induced Macbeth to act this treacherous part can only be guessed at. The probability is great that, having lost his hereditary possessions through the victory of the Norwegians, his alliance with the old dynasty so fired his ambition as to lead him to hope that, if Duncan were out of the way, the influence of his wife with the central Scots might be sufficient to induce them to accept him as king. This revolution would be the more easily effected from the fact that the children of Duncan were at the time of very tender years, for the king was not "the meek and hoary Duncan" of the Shakespearian masterpiece, but a prince who, as Tighernac records, met an untimely death.

Whether or not Macbeth, after the murder of the fugitive king, joined himself to the fortunes of Thorfinn does not appear. The latter, we read, did not cease his pursuit of the fugitives till he had reached the shores of the Firth of Tay, and added all the territory between it and Caithness and Sutherland to his original possessions. From this time till the day of his death, according to the Saga, Thorfinn possessed nine jarldoms in Scotland, and the whole of the Sudreys.

By whatever means it was brought about, Macbeth, the erstwhile ruler of Moray and the treacherous slayer of his sovereign, was installed as king of the central and southern dis-

tricts of Scotland—a position which he succeeded in maintaining, at least in part, for the long period of seventeen years. With regard to his character and the facts of his reign, the romance of Shakespeare founded upon the chroniclers, must give way before the more prosaic historical truths that have been unravelled. Alongside this historical Macbeth, however, will ever live in the pages of literature that creation that has been immortalized by the genius of the great dramatist, and which it will ever be found impossible to displace from the imaginations of men.

Usurper though he was, Macbeth proved himself to be an energetic and able ruler. St. Berchan speaks thus of him :—

> "The red one was fair yellow tall,
> Pleasant was the youth to me,
> Brimful was Alban east and west,
> During the reign of Dearg the fierce."

He seems to have been able to attach to himself a very powerful party, and in the year 1045 he was sufficiently strong to successfully resist an attempt to displace him, which was made by Crinan, the father of the murdered king. The attempt cost Crinan his life. Five years later, as we are led to infer from Marianus, Macbeth made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he freely distributed silver to the poor of the city. The visit, we may well conclude, would have had for its aim the obtaining of absolution for the murder of Duncan. With the Scottish Church, there is also evidence of his having dealt generously, and we read of his having on two occasions granted to the Culdees of Lochleven the lands of "Kyrkness" and the lands of "Bolgyne." 1045 A.D.

After the death of Crinan in 1045, Macbeth seems to have enjoyed unchallenged possession of the throne for a further period of nine years. With the year 1054, however, when Malcolm Ceannmor had attained to such an age as seemed to his friends to justify an effort being made on his behalf, a second attempt at displacement was made. The most powerful agent on that occasion was Siward, the Danish Earl of Northumbria, who was connected with the family of Crinan by double marriage ties. By him the cause of Malcolm was vigorously espoused, and in the year we speak of he entered Scotland by sea and land, and encountered the forces of Macbeth, which were aided by the Norwegians from beyond the Tay. The fight was stubbornly con- 1054 A.D.

tested, and great numbers fell on both sides. The *Annals of Ulster* record that "Three thousand of the men of Alban were slain, and fifteen hundred of the men of Saxonia, around Dolfinn, son of Finntuir" (Thorfinn with the syllables transposed). The severity of the struggle is also evidenced in the pages of the *Saxon Chronicle*, where we read that "Earl Siward went with a large army into Scotland, both with a naval force and land force, and fought against the Scots, of whom he made great slaughter, and put them to flight, and the king escaped. Many also fell on his own side, both Danish and English, and also his own son, Osbern, and his sister's son, Siward, and some of his 'huscarls,' and also of the king's, were there slain on the day of the seven sleepers, that is, on the 27th of July." Though victor, apparently, Siward retired without effecting his purpose of driving Macbeth from the throne. Circumstances, however, seem to point to the probability that he was successful in accomplishing one part of his design, and that Malcolm, from this time, became ruler of the territories of Cumbria and Lothian.

Three years later Malcolm III. found himself sole possessor of the kingdom of his father, Duncan. What specially favouring circumstances occurred in the interval to forward his project, or who, if any, were his allies, we know not. Tradition supplies its version of the events, but all we do certainly know is that Macbeth fled before Malcolm, and, crossing the Mounth, was
1057 A.D. slain on the 15th day of August, 1057, at Lumphanan, in Mar. With Skene, we may consider it probable that Thorfinn had died shortly before that date, and that this circumstance, with its known consequent results, was the chief one which appealed to Malcolm, and caused him to view the occasion as favourable. From the Orkneyinga Saga we learn that on the death of Thorfinn "many of the rikis (provinces) which the earl had subjected fell off, and their inhabitants sought the protection of those native chiefs who were territorially born to rule over them." If then at this time Moray was set free from Norwegian rule, and had returned into the possession of Macbeth, its hereditary ruler, we can readily see how natural it was for the latter, when fleeing before Malcolm, to seek the protection of his native province; while, on the other hand, we may feel assured that in Buchan, Mar, Mearns, and Angus, many of the inhabitants would avail themselves of their new found freedom to actively espouse

the cause of Malcolm. Their position in the territory situated between Scone and Moray would make it possible for them to render very effective assistance to the young prince. It is to be noted in this connection that no mention is made by any early writer of any particular share having been taken by Mac Duff, Mormaer of Fife, in the restoration of the line of Atholl.

It is very probable that the falling off of the "rikis" referred to in the saga applied to all that territory that had been seized by the Norwegians after the defeat and death of King Duncan. In no part of that district was there any lasting or effective colonization entered upon, and the Norwegian influence counted for very little. Indeed, so far as any permanent colonization of the mainland east or west or north is concerned, it was in reality limited to a portion of Caithness-shire, marked by a line drawn from the Ord of Caithness to Brinsness, on the west side of Thurso Bay. On the east side of that line the Norwegians settled as a colony, while the Gaelic population permanently retained their hold of the other portions of even that most northern province.

Not for a few months yet did Malcolm secure quite undisputed possession of the throne. On the death of Macbeth, the heir to the province of Moray was that Lulach, whom we have already referred to as son of Gilcomgan and great-grandson of Boete of the Mac Alpin family. With the support of the Macbeth party, Lulach nominally reigned for seven months, but was slain on the 17th March at "Essy" in Strathbogie or Strathbolgy. 1058 A.D.

Malcolm's was a long and a vigorous reign, and in many respects circumstances favoured him in a marked degree. His descent in the female line from the royal family of Mac Alpin, his connection through his mother with the Danes of Northumbria, and the further fact that his father, Duncan, had been for twenty years king of Strathclyde, all widened and strengthened his influence, and afforded him opportunities of which he seems to have fully availed himself.

Ere many years had passed these influences were very largely extended by successive matrimonial alliances into which he entered. The first of these was his marriage with Ingibiorg, widow of his father's cousin Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, by whom he had two sons, Duncan and Donald. In the Norwegians this step, we may conclude, would tend to engender a spirit of con-

ciliation and friendship towards the Scots. That Ingibiorg did not many years survive the birth of her younger son, is rendered
1069 A.D. apparent by the fact that in 1069 Malcolm entered into the second matrimonial alliance referred to, an alliance which in the future, immediate and remote, was productive of far-reaching results. That alliance was with the Saxon royal family of England, and it was brought about by political exigencies. After William the Conqueror had firmly established himself upon the throne of England, and had brought all but the northern districts under his sway, Eadgar Aetheling, the rejected Saxon king, accompanied by his household, sought, in 1068, the protection of the king of Scots. The painful position of the high-born exiles appealed to the nobler feelings of the Scottish king (had he not been an exile himself for many years?), and he extended to them a hearty welcome, and a generous hospitality. Between Malcolm and his royal guests a warm friendship speedily sprang up, and in the following year Malcolm received in marriage the hand of Margaret, the beautiful sister of the exiled king. By Bishop Fothad of St. Andrews, the second of that name, the royal pair were wedded at Dunfermline, which seems to have been Malcolm's principal residence.

Writing regarding the circumstances which brought Eadgar and his distinguished company to the northern Court, Florence of Worcester tells us that in 1068 "Marleswein and Gospatrick, and all the nobler Northumbrians, to avoid the severity of the king, and dreading the imprisonment which so many had suffered, sailed to Scotland with Eadgar Aetheling, his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and wintered there under the protection of Malcolm, King of Scots." The earlier authority, the *Saxon Chronicle*, refers to them thus:—"Eadgar child went out [from Northumberland] with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and Maerleswegen, and many good men with them, and came to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm, and he received them all, and he took the child's sister Margaret to wife." How very effectively this Anglo-Saxon marriage tie was calculated to bind his subjects of Lothian to the Scottish king needs only be indicated; while it also formed a link of friendship between Malcolm and many of the sorely distressed Anglo-Saxons of the southern kingdom.

To the Aetheling, also, the union was of the greatest importance in the circumstances in which he was placed.

Up to this period in the reign of King Malcolm we do not find that he had engaged in any warlike expedition except one, the which was an invasion of Northumbria in the year 1061, at a time when Earl Tostig of that province, who had formerly been his "sworn brother," was absent in Rome. Simeon of Durham tells us that on that occasion he furiously ravaged the earldom, and violated the "peace" of St. Cuthbert in the island of Lindisfarne. Not long had he been married to Margaret, however, ere he was again on the warpath upon his southern border. In the year 1069 two several risings were made by the Northumbrians 1069 A.D. in favour of Eadgar Aetheling, but they came to nought, and Florence of Worcester tells us that throughout the whole winter "he [King William] ceased not to lay waste the land, to murder the inhabitants, and to inflict numerous injuries." It was long ere the territories of the north of England recovered from the destruction at this time effected, for Norman William's actions were ever stern and uncompromising towards the races in possession. It is well to remember such deeds and later cruelties perpetrated upon the people and the Church when the boasted civilisation and refining influence of the Norman or Latinised Teuton are so often, and, as it seems to us, so foolishly contrasted with the so-called barbarism of the Celt. Much the latter had to learn, and of course has still to learn in the way of refinement; but even at that time his civilisation, though less showy and practical than that of the Norman, was in many respects much more spiritual. At no period in the history of England was more oppression and cruelty enacted than during the reigns of the early Norman kings. By the courtly barons, with their chivalrous notions, all below a certain rank or belonging to other races were treated with the utmost scorn and cruelty, and yet at the hands of a still perpetuated and time-worn prejudice all other races have been sacrificed to their glorification. Referring in his *Celtic Britain* to the capabilities of the Gael, Principal Rhys says:—"One of the lessons of this chapter is that the Goidel, where he owned a fairly fertile country, as in the neighbourhood of the Tay, showed that he was not wanting in genius for political organization; and the history of the kingdom of Scotland, as modelled by Kenneth mac Alpin and his descendants,

warns us not to give ear to the spirit of race-weighing and race-damning criticism that jauntily discovers, in what it fancies the character of a nation, the reasons why the latter has not achieved results never fairly placed within its reach by the accidents either of geography or history." That the "Normans were born rulers of men," as Froude contends they were, may, from some points of view, not be disputed, but as regards Ireland, to which he was referring in that connection, we would remark that if the test of good rule is a peaceful, thriving country in which, as the result of sympathetic treatment, the subjects are ultimately led to respect and to love their rulers, and true vital union ensues, then the Normans and their successors have been dismal failures, for Ireland was then, and continues to be, the reproach of England and her condemnation.

In the affairs in Northumbria in 1069 Malcolm bore no part,
1070 A.D. but the following year he seems to have actively espoused the cause of the Aetheling. At anyrate, in a widely-extended campaign which he entered upon that year he committed great havoc as far as the North Riding of Yorkshire. While he was thus engaged his cousin Gospatric, son of Maldred, the then Earl of Northumbria, to whom the Scottish king had not long before afforded an asylum, made a sally into the Cumberland territory of Malcolm, and harried it extensively, after which he shut himself up in his strong fortress of Bamborough. Upon hearing of these proceedings, as Simeon tells us, Malcolm's fury was unbounded, and he resumed his devastations with redoubled energy, killing many and carrying off great numbers of captives into perpetual slavery. "Scotland," he proceeds, "was therefore filled with slaves and hand-maids of the English race; so that even to this day, I do not say no little village, but even no cottage, can be found without one of them."

1072 A.D. Two years later (1072) the Conqueror found himself free to make an effort to place his relationship with Malcolm upon a more satisfactory footing to himself. Three times had the Scottish king afforded hospitality and protection to Eadgar, while from time to time very many subjects of the southern kingdom had found the Court of Malcolm a convenient haven. This condition of things, as well as the invasions of Malcolm, was highly inconvenient to the Norman king, and so, as the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us, "King William led a naval force and a land force to Scot-

land, and himself with his land force went in over the ford" —that is, over the Forth into old Scotia proper—but "there they found nothing for their pains." The Chronicle further relates that "King Malcolm came and made peace with King William, and gave hostages and became his man, and the king went home with all his force." Thus were matters amicably arranged. From the same authority we also learn that the hostage was Malcolm's eldest son Duncan, by Ingibiorg, his Norwegian wife, while from Florence of Worcester we gather that the place of meeting of the kings was Abernethy on the Tay. For this statement, however, Florence founds on questionable and unsupported authority. In any case, William penetrated a considerable distance into the country.

What exactly is implied in the above peace conditions cannot be definitely determined. Robertson, in his *Scotland under her Early Kings*, gives it as his opinion that the meeting resulted in a compromise. From Simeon of Durham he gathers that Malcolm held of William twelve manors within the English border, and received from him a yearly payment of twelve marks of gold, and that as the kings only met once these grants must have been made on this occasion. He understands them to have been conferred to purchase peace on the northern border of William's kingdom, and that it was for these fiefs that Malcolm agreed to perform the usual homage. As a guarantee of good faith Malcolm, for his part, gave his son as a hostage.

During the invasion of King William, Eadgar Aetheling was in Flanders, whence he returned to Scotland in 1074. Shortly afterwards, however, he was invited by Philip of France to occupy the castle of Montreuil, from which, as a convenient base, he might harass King William, who was then in his domains in Normandy. Anxious, doubtless, to be relieved of the presence of Eadgar so that he might the better keep faith with William, the Scottish king advised acceptance of the offer. Eadgar agreed, and Malcolm and Margaret, the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us, "gave him and all his men great gifts, and many treasures in skins decked with purple, and in pelisses of marten-skin, and weasel-skin, and ermine-skin; and in palls, and in golden and silver vessels; and led him and all his ship-men with great worship from his dominion." 1074 A.D.

But Eadgar's ill-luck had not deserted him, for he was ship-

wrecked on his voyage, and, ere long, back upon the hands of Malcolm in a rueful plight. Still evidently desirous of retaining the friendship of William, Malcolm now advised Eadgar to enter into communication with his powerful opponent, who was yet in Normandy, and sue for his friendship. This he forthwith did, and that successfully, and the Scottish king and queen again sent him and his men "very worthily" forth from their protection with "innumerable treasures." By William, the Saxon prince was received kindly, and lands were assigned to him in Normandy.

In the absence of local contemporary records, our knowledge of the internal affairs of the Scottish kingdom at this time is of the most meagre description. The little we do know we glean from the *Saxon Chronicle*, and there we find that after the death of Lulach his son Maelsnechtan became hereditary ruler of the province of Moray. Whether or not Maelsnechtan had become restless we cannot tell, but the Chronicle records that in 1078 "King Malcolm won the mother of Maelslæht . . . . and all his best men, and all his treasure and his cattle, and he himself escaped with difficulty." The defeated prince survived till 1085, living quietly, we may suppose, in some remote district.

1079 A.D. The year after his success in the north Malcolm, on some pretext or other, once again invaded Northumberland, devastating it as far as the Tyne, slaying many, taking more prisoners, and returning with great spoil. At this time William was absent in Normandy, but on his return the following year, says Simeon of Durham, "he sent in the autumn his son Robert to Scotland against Malcolm, but having gone as far as Egglesbreth, he returned without accomplishing anything, and built the new castle on the Tyne." Eaglais-breac is the Gaelic equivalent of the later Saxon name Fawkirk or Falkirk, and signifies the "speckled church." Beyond this point Robert does not seem to have been inclined to hazard, and he contented himself with improving the Northumberland defences south of the Tyne.

William the Conqueror died in the year 1087. By William
1091 A.D. Rufus, his successor, the Aetheling was in 1091 deprived of his lands in Normandy, with the result that this unfortunate prince once more sought the shelter of the Court of Malcolm. By the Scottish king the cause of Eadgar was now heartily espoused, and, though his son Duncan was still a hostage in the south, he lost

no time in making a raid into England, when "he harried a great deal of it."

At this juncture the Norman king was absent on the Continent, but on learning of the event, he speedily returned, and, aided by his brother, Count Robert, forthwith organized a retaliatory invasion. His power to effect much was, however, crippled by the entire destruction of the maritime portion of the expedition in a violent storm, while Malmsbury tells us that by land also "he lost many of his men and baggage horses." Learning, doubtless, of this condition of affairs, Malcolm, with his forces advanced into Lothian to meet William. "When," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "King William with his force approached, then intervened Count Robert and Eadgar Aetheling, and so made a reconciliation between the kings, so that King Malcolm came to our king and became his man, with all such obedience as he had before paid to his father, and that with oath confirmed. And King William promised him in land and in all things that which he had before under his father. In this reconciliation Eadger Aetheling was also reconciled with the king, and the kings then, with great good feelings, separated." In this matter, as in other transactions between the two countries, it is unfortunate that we have no record from the Scottish standpoint. But even from this English statement of the agreement now entered into, it seems very evident that whatever homage was paid by Malcolm was rendered only for land held in England, which land was originally granted by the first William, but had apparently been withdrawn by his son, and was now promised to be restored.

"But that stood only a little while," says the chronicler, and the very next year William invaded the rights of Malcolm, and snatched from him that portion of the old Strathclyde kingdom, which extended from the Solway to the river Derwent and the Cross at Stanmore. Contrary to his usual vigorous methods of procedure, Malcolm, in the first instance, sought to secure justice without having recourse to the sword, and "sent and demanded the fulfilment of the treaty which had been promised him" (*Saxon Chronicle*). A meeting of the kings was arranged, but on the arrival of Malcolm at Gloucester, the haughty Norman refused to see him, "and therefore in great hostility they parted, and King Malcolm returned home to Scotland. But as

1093 A.D. soon as he came home he gathered his army and marched into England, harrying with more animosity than ever behoved him. And then Robert, the Earl of Northumberland, ensnared him with his men unawares, and slew him. Morel of Bamborough slew him, who was the earl's steward, and King Malcolm's gossip. With him also was slain his son, Eadward, who should, if he had lived, have been king after him" *(Saxon Chronicle)*. Thus fell by treachery, on the 13th November, 1093, Malcolm Ceannmor, after a reign of thirty-five and a half years. He was buried, in the first instance, at Tynemouth, but subsequently the body was removed by his son Alexander, and laid beside that of his queen at Dunfermline.

By St. Berchan the character of Malcolm is thus depicted :—

> "A king, the best who possessed Alban ;
> He was a king of kings fortunate.
> He was the vigilant crusher of enemies ;
> No woman bore or will bring forth in the East
> A king whose rule will be greater over Alban ;
> And there shall not be born forever
> One who had more fortune or greatness."

That he was an able king, and one during whose reign Scotland was prosperous, is undoubted. Some traits of his character are illustrated by an anecdote which was communicated to Ailred by his son David. On one occasion Malcolm had become aware of the presence in court of a nobleman who had arranged to assassinate him. The king, to bring the matter to a head, forthwith got up a royal hunt, and so managed affairs that on that day he and the suspected noble found themselves isolated from the rest of the party. Whenever this was effected, Malcolm challenged his would-be murderer to play the part of a brave foe rather than of a base and a cowardly assassin. Overwhelmed with shame and remorse, the nobleman threw himself at the feet of his intended victim, entreating forgiveness for his treachery ; and the pardon was as freely bestowed by the generous king as the combat on equal terms had been frankly proffered.

By Malcolm the church of Dunfermline was founded. It is said to have been designed by Queen Margaret, and, in commemoration of the happy event, it was erected on the spot where her marriage had been celebrated.

On the history of the period the influence of Malcolm's accomplished Queen produced an enduring impression, and though the

picture presented to us is too ideally perfect to be in all respects true, there can be no doubt that the influence of her personality was of the most elevating and civilizing character. The early records dwell lovingly on her piety, her zeal for religion, her unselfishness, her gentle yet firm disposition, and her warm desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast. With her the religion of good works found a large place. One of the first duties of the king and queen was, we are told, to wash the feet of a number of the poor who were ranged up in front of the palace, after which they supplied them with food and clothing.

With the reform of the Church in accordance with her notions of what was right and commendable, she earnestly busied herself, for her English birth and up-bringing, and her burning zeal for the doctrines, rites, and methods, of the Roman Church led her to view with little favour certain old practices of the Celtic or Scottish Church which were contrary to the practice of Christendom generally, but which they had derived from the early Eastern Church. She fain would bring the Scottish Church into conformity with the Church of Rome, and with that end in view she held many conferences with the clergy. Her biographer, who is supposed to have been Turgot, her confessor, tells us that "At the principal council thus held she, with a few of her own ecclesiastics, contended for three days with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, against the supporters of these strange customs; while her royal husband, who was equally well acquainted with the Anglic language and with his native Gaelic, acted as interpreter." Her influence, eloquence, and powers of persuasion carried the day, and her contentions regarding the proper method of computing the forty days fast at Lent, the desirability of partaking of the Eucharist at Easter, and the observance of the Lord's day were eventually agreed to, while "many other practices which were contrary to the rule of faith and the observances of the Church, she persuaded the council to condemn and to drive out of the borders of her kingdom." Of the arguments of the native clergy we hear nothing. It would have been of interest to have known something of their explanations and defences, but whether these were convincing to themselves or not, it would have been difficult for them to have resisted the royal influences.

With the purity and devotion of the Culdees of the period

the Royal censor could have little fault to find, as we gather from the following interesting and instructive picture of some aspects of Scottish life which is presented to us by her biographer. He says:—"There were many in the kingdom of the Scots, who, in different places, enclosed in separate cells, lived in the flesh, but not according to the flesh in great straitness of life, and even on earth lived the life of angels. In them the queen did her best to love and venerate Christ, and frequently to visit them with her presence and converse, and to commend herself to their prayers; and as she could not induce them to accept any earthly gift from her, she earnestly requested them to deign to prescribe for her some work of charity or money. Whatever was their desire she devoutly fulfilled, either in recovering the poor from their poverty, or relieving the afflicted from the miseries which oppressed them; and as the religious devotion of the people brought many from all parts to the church of St. Andrews, she constructed dwellings on both sides of the sea which divides Lodoneia or Lothian from Scotia—that is, the Firth of Forth—that the pilgrims and the poor might put up there and rest, and find there ready everything they required for the refreshment of the body. Servants were placed there to minister to them, and vessels provided in which they were ferried across without payment." The pure life of the Scottish clergy, and the view taken of "confession" in Scotland at a still earlier period, is thus referred to by Alcuin, an English writer of the ninth century. He says:—"The Scots are said to lead a most chaste life amid their worldly occupations by rational consideration. But it is said that none of their laity make confession to priests, whom we believe to have received from Christ our God the power of binding and loosing together with the holy apostles."

In the fact that Malcolm, as we have seen, found it necessary to act as interpreter in the conferences between Margaret and the Scottish clergy, we find evidence that the language of the latter was Gaelic. Confirmation of this fact is found in the interesting relic known as *The Book of Deer*, which was produced in the same century in the district of Buchan. From it we infer that the spoken language of Aberdeenshire at that time was Gaelic. But changes were at hand, and in the victories of the Queen, to which we have referred; in the great influx into Scotland of Saxons and discontented Normans as the result of the tyranny of William

the Conqueror; and in the increasing importance of Lothian we find the earliest of those influences which brought about ere long the predominance of the alien, terminated the native church, and in many parts of the country crushed out the language of the Celt. A further step towards the alienation of the church occurred after the death of Fothad, "high bishop of Alban," in the same year in which King Malcolm was slain. Fothad was the last of the native bishops of St. Andrews, and for fourteen years thereafter there was no bishop in the land—a fact that may be taken as pointing to the probability that the Scottish church was weakened rather than strengthened by the action of Margaret. When at length a successor was appointed, he was a man of foreign descent.

During a portion of the reign of Malcolm, Iona and the Western Isles generally came, more or less effectively, under his sway, and Ordericus Vitalis tells us that "among the other good deeds of this illustrious lady [Margaret], she restored the monastery of Iona, which Columba, the servant of Christ, erected in the time of Brude, son of Meilcon, king of the Picts. It had fallen to ruin in the storms of war and the lapse of ages, but this faithful queen rebuilt it, and furnished it with monks with an endowment for performing the Lord's work." In the Norman doorway of the chapel of St. Odhrain—that low, round archway—it is probable we find a trace of the work then effected, but it is equally probable that the venerable grey tower of the cathedral is the product of a hundred years later.

But in matters other than those connected with religion, Margaret also exercised a marked influence. With her presence Anglo-Norman ideas of culture and civilisation were introduced, and increased ceremonial and pomp pervaded the Scottish Court. The king must now ride out accompanied by an imposing escort; while gold and silver plate in increasing amount adorned his table. Foreign traders were also encouraged to bring their wares to the Scottish ports, and the nobles were expected to purchase, with the result that luxury and magnificence pervaded, in an increasing degree, the home of the courtier and the chief.

On the fourth day after the death of Malcolm and his son Edward, Queen Margaret breathed her last. For a considerable time she had been in delicate health, and now she speedily sank under the crushing blow. According to Fordun, she died in Edinburgh Castle, and was buried at Dunfermline.

CHAPTER XV.

Donald Ban succeeds to the throne, and the Scots oust the English—Duncan drives out Donald Ban—The age of Charters begins—Duncan slain by the Scots—Joint reign of Donald Ban and Eadmund—Both expelled by Eadgar—Affairs on the western sea-board—Revolution in Man headed by Godred Crovan—Expeditions of Magnus Barefoot—The antiquity of the Kilt and Tartan—Seizure of the Isles by Olave the Red—Persistent introduction of aliens into Scotland—King Alexander's zeal for the Church—Contest with Gaelic subjects.

1093-1124 A.D.

Kings.	Termination of reign.
Donald Ban, son of Duncan.	1094.
Duncan, son of Malcolm Ceannmor.	1094.
Donald Ban and Eadmund, son of Malcolm (conjointly).	1097.
Eadgar, son of Malcolm.	1107.
Alexander, son of Malcolm.	1124.

THE deaths of Malcolm, his revered Queen, and their eldest son who, it would appear, had been destined as successor, proved a severe blow to the rapidly advancing consolidation of Scotland. Unity and internal quiet gave place once again to divided interests and unrest. For six months, however, matters seem to have gone forward with comparative smoothness. By their uncle, Eadgar Aetheling, the sons and daughters of Queen Margaret were as speedily as possible conveyed into England, while the Scots, or a section of them at anyrate, lost no time in inaugurating as king Donald Ban, the brother of Malcolm, thus adhering to the Scottish law of succession. At the same time they "drove out," says the Chronicle, "all the English who were before with King Malcolm," thus evidencing that, while the Scots might respect their late Saxon queen, they were not enamoured of those Saxons and Normans, who had in such considerable numbers taken advantage of her presence and the favour of the king to push their fortunes at the Scottish Court, and that to the great

disadvantage of the native inhabitants, more particularly in the south-eastern districts of the country. Besides, had not Celtic sentiment been offended in the matter of the Church; and so, when both hereditary rights and religion are attacked, men do not readily condone such offences.

Six months had barely elapsed ere another competitor appeared for the crown in the person of Duncan, son of Malcolm by his Norwegian wife. As the eldest son, Duncan was entitled to be viewed, as among the sons, the legitimate heir, but he knew little of his country, for from childhood he had been detained as a hostage in England where, doubtless, he became imbued with English notions. With regard to his action at the present crisis the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that he went to the king of England, "and performed such fealty as the king would have of him, and so with his permission went to Scotland with the support he could get of English and French, that is Normans, and deprived his kinsman Donald of the kingdom, and was received as king." 1094 A.D. That Duncan and his alien supporters were by no means acceptable to a large party in the kingdom, and that these latter resented any private arrangement he may have come to with the English king is made evident by the fact that, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, "some of the Scots . . . gathered together and slew almost all his followers," says the *Chronicle*, "and he himself with few escaped. Afterwards they were reconciled on the condition that he never again should harbour in the land either English or French." Here again we find evidence of how much the Celts were alive to the disadvantage that was sure to accrue to themselves by the presence of the alien about the Court, and already, as we can see, the struggle between Celt and Saxon had fairly begun.

By his wife Ethreda, daughter of Gospatrick, earl of Dunbar, and nephew of the late King Malcolm, Duncan had one son called William, of whom we shall hear later. Duncan's reign was equally short with that of his uncle Donald, but it is made memorable by the fact that during it, viz., in 1094, there was 1094 A.D. granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert a charter of lands which is still in existence, and which is the oldest extant charter in Scotland. It is a short document, for in those early days a few lines on a bit of parchment, a few inches long, were sufficient to convey the most extensive possessions. Neither king nor

witnesses seem to have been able to adhibit their signatures, and in each case a cross is had recourse to, attested by the scribe. All the witnesses but two were Saxons.

Duncan's reign was brought to an end through the agency of Donald Ban and Eadmund, one of the sons of Margaret, between whom an arrangement was come to as to sharing the kingdom should they succeed in slaying Duncan. And so we read that "In this year also (1094) the Scots ensnared and slew their king Duncan, and after took to them again, a second time, his paternal uncle Donald for king, through whose machinations and incitement he was betrayed to death." Duncan was slain at Monachedin, now Mondynes in Kincardineshire, where an upright monolith, which still exists, is believed to commemorate the event. His death was compassed by the aid of the people of the Mearns and their Mormaer or Comes Malpeder Mac Loen. For three years Eadmund ruled over Lothian, while Donald held sway north of the firths, each ruling where he was most acceptable.

A.D. 1097 In 1097, however, "soon after St. Michael's Mass, on the 29th of September," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "Eadgar Aetheling, with the king's support, went with a force into Scotland, and in a hard-fought battle won that land, and drove out the king Donald, and in King William's vassalage set as king his kinsman Eadgar, who was the son of King Malcolm and of Queen Margaret, and afterwards returned to England." Eadmund was captured and imprisoned for life. Donald Ban escaped for a time, but after two years he was seized and cruelly blinded, in accordance with the barbarous practice of the age. He was thereafter imprisoned at Roscolpin or Rescobie, where he died, and was buried in Dunfermline. But after a time his bones were removed to Iona's sacred fane, and the sepulchres of the kings received their last royal tenant of Scotland's ancient line. In Eadgar we find the first king of the united Scots who bore a Saxon name.

Let us now turn for a little to the western sea-board, and see how matters have been meanwhile proceeding there. Among the districts which fell under native rule on the death of Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, were the Western Isles and certain portions of Airergaidheal, which had been under the over-lordship of the Norwegian earl. The attachment to the Crown of Scotland,

however, that was now once more renewed, was by no means intimate, and soon some, at least, of the Western Isles would seem to have come under the immediate government of Diarmit mac Mailnambo, one of the native kings of Ireland, who is styled by Tighernac, in recording his death under the year 1072, "Ri Braetan [probably Anglesey], and Indsi Gall and Athacliat [Dublin]." About the same time Godred, the son of Sitric, a Dane, was in possession of the Isle of Man, and during a portion of his reign he afforded shelter to a Norwegian called Godred Crovan, or the "White Hand," who some years earlier had been a leader under Harald Hardrada at the great battle of Stamford Bridge.

This second Godred had not long made the acquaintance of the Western Isles ere he formed a party sufficiently strong to enable him to effect a successful revolution. Three times with the aid of some of the Western Islesmen he invaded the Isle of Man, and on the third occasion, assisted by an ambuscade, he succeeded in taking possession of the island, and driving forth Fingal, the son of Godred mac Sitric, who was their king. Many of the confederate islesmen forthwith took up their abode in the southern portion of Man, in the neighbourhood of the residence of the new ruler, and thus were rewarded for their services. This occurred about the year 1077, and the following year Godred Crovan attacked the Dublin Norsemen, and over them also obtained the supremacy. The Western Isles he placed after a time under the rule of his eldest son Lagman.

And now a new claimant to these regions appeared upon the scene in the person of Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway. If we enquire as to the origin of this singular soubriquet of "Barefoot" or "Barelegs" as applied to Magnus, we find the following explanation given in some of the oldest Sagas. The explanation is of interest in relation to the question of the antiquity of the kilt, and its employment as an article of dress by the early Scottish people. It is as follows:—"It is said that, when King Magnus returned from his expedition to the West, he adopted the costume in use in the western lands, and likewise many of his followers; that they went about bare-legged, having short tunics and also upper garments; and so many men called him Barelegged or Barefoot." If this is so, we may see in the fact of its adoption by the royal invader, evidence that the

Highland garb, as then worn, was not only recognised as serviceable, but characterized by much of that picturesqueness and grace by which it is distinguished at the present day.

The origin of the kilt is sufficiently remote to be wrapped in the mists of antiquity, but there can be no doubt that it dates from the most primitive times. Its very singularity and essential simplicity sufficiently proclaim this, and we are probably correct in considering it, in its simpler forms, as the immediate successor of the skin covering employed by the men of old. Our earliest evidence of its use is to be found graven on the old monuments of our country. Speaking of this in his work, *The Highlanders of Scotland*, Skene writes thus:—"From the Dupplin Cross, the date of which can, from various circumstances, be fixed to have been towards the end of the ninth century, there are a number of figures represented in the Highland garb, armed with the target and long spear. . . . But it would be needless to detail all the sculptured monuments which bear evidence of the existence of the Highland garb; suffice it to say, that they afford complete proof of its having been the ordinary dress of a considerable part of the northern population from the earliest period of their history. There is thus distinct evidence for the remote antiquity of this dress."

There is also distinct evidence that till well on in the middle ages the kilt was worn by the generality of the Scottish people, Lowland as well as Highland. Guibert, the abbot of Nogent, a contemporary writer, describes the "Scoti," who constituted a part of Godfrey's army in the first crusade, as a mob of bare-legged savages, wearing rough, hairy plaids, with a kind of haversack hanging from their shoulders, and unprovided with defensive armour.

The earliest reference in Scottish literature to tartan we seem to find in the chartularies of the Episcopal See of Aberdeen, where we learn that the statutes or canons of the Scottish Church, in the year 1242 and 1249, and the ordinances and regulations of the See of Aberdeen, 1256, direct that all ecclesiastics be suitably apparelled, avoiding red, green, striped clothing, and their garments not to be shorter than the middle of the leg. In the early Scotic Church the external vestment of the priest, says MacGregor, was of the following description:—"Over all was placed a wide, loose, flowing

garment called the Robe of Offering, a square or oval cloth having in the centre a hole through which the head was passed. It was usually striped or chequered with eight colours, to indicate that while officiating the priest was superior to the king, who, according to our ancient Court etiquette, wore seven colours in his tartan, while others wore fewer according to their rank." From the *Leabhar Breac* we learn that the following were the eight colours—yellow, blue, white, green, brown, red, black, and purple. In the celebration of the Eucharist the sacred vessels were covered with two veils, the inner of pure white linen, the outer of chequered silk (*siric brec*).

In the following from Blind Harry's "Wallace," composed in the fifteenth century, we probably also find a reference to the use of tartan. The lines deal with the hero's visit to Dundee, where he was insulted by the son of Selby, the governor, whom he slew in the street:—

> "Wallace he saw and towart him he went,
> Liklie he was richt byge and weyle beseyne,
> In till a gyde of gudly ganand greyne,
> He callyt on hym and said, Thou Scot abyde,
> Quha dewill the grathis in so gay a gyde [attire],
> Ane Erche mantill it war the kynd to wer;
> A Scottis thewtill [large knife] wndyr the belt to ber
> Rouch rewlyngis [rivelins] upon thi harlot fete." [1]

It is to be noted in connection with the use of the word "Ersche" here that by the time in which the minstrel wrote, the term

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[1] Elton, in his *Origins of English History*, 2nd ed., p. 110, cites ancient testimonies which serve to show that the ancient Gauls made and wore tartans. He says:—"Their costume consisted of a blouse with sleeves, confined in some cases by a belt, with trousers fitting close at the ankle, and a tartan plaid fastened up at the shoulder with a brooch. The Gauls were expert at making cloth and linen . . . We hear, moreover, of a British dress called *guanacum* by Varro, which was said to be 'woven of divers colours, and making a gaudy show.' They had learned the art of using alternate colours for the warp and woof, so as to bring out a pattern of stripes and squares. The cloth, says Diodorus, was covered with an infinite number of little squares and lines, 'as if it had been sprinkled with flowers,' or was striped with crossing bars which formed a chequered design. The favourite colour was red or a pretty crimson: 'such colours' [Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxii. 1], 'as an honest minded person had no cause to blame, nor the world reason to cry out upon."

"Scottish" had come, by what amounted to a revolution, to be used more particularly in connection with Lowland matters, while the Lowlanders employed the term Ersche (Irish) in relation to all things distinctively Celtic, including the language of the Highlanders.

1093 A.D. Magnus, the new claimant to the rule of the Western Isles, chose for the time of his first invasion the autumn of 1093, when King Malcolm was busied in preparations for his last and fatal expedition into England. At the head of a large force, the Norwegian king made conquest of the Western Isles, as well as of the Orkneys, which latter, from the death of Thorfinn, had been in possession of his sons Paul and Erlend, and brought them once again under the dominion of Norway. Four years later Godred Crovan, who had been allowed still to rule in subordination to Magnus, died of a pestilence in Islay, while his son, Lagman, who had acted as Viceroy, soon afterwards resigned his government, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome. This pilgrimage is said to have been prompted by his desire to expiate the guilt of his cruelty in punishing with the loss of his eyes his brother Harald, who had made frequent attempts to share in the government.

1097 A.D. In 1097, the first year of Eadgar's reign, Magnus entered upon a second expedition into the western seas. This would probably be rendered necessary by the people of the isles getting out of hand after the death of Godred Crovan and the departure of Lagman. In regard to this expedition, we read in the Magnus Saga, written about the year 1221, that "he had both a large and vigorous army and excellent ships. King Magnus went with that army westward over the sea, and first to Orkney. He took captive the Earls Paul and Erlend, and sent them both east to Norway, but left as a chieftain over the islands his son Sigurd, and gave a counsel to him. He went with his whole army to the Sudreys, but when he came there he commenced plundering immediately, burned the inhabited places, killed the people, and pillaged wherever he went. But the people of the country fled to various places, some up to Scotland, or into the fiords or sea-lochs, some southward to Satiri [Kintyre]; some submitted to King Magnus and received pardon." It is in all probability to King Magnus and his doings that reference is thus made in the Metrical Prophecy, written not long after this date, which has been attributed to Merlin:—

"A northern king of a huge fleet possessed
Will press the Scots with famine, fury, and with sword.
The foreign race at length will perish by the Scoti's plot,
In battle that Noric chief shall fall."

How very differently the Northmen viewed religious houses now, from what had been their wont in their earlier raids is well illustrated by an incident which is related thus in the Saga:—"King Magnus came with his army to the Holy Island, that is, to Iona, and gave quarter and peace to all men that were there, and to the property of every one. It has been said that King Magnus opened the smaller church of Kollum-killa, but did not go into it. He immediately locked the door, and said that no man should be so bold as to go in there, and that church has never been opened since." By the "smaller church" is probably meant the oratory in which had been housed the shrine of Columba.

The Isle of Man and Anglesey next claimed the attention of Magnus, but after he had taken possession of the latter, he returned to Scotland in 1098. From Morris's picturesque translation of the Saga we derive the following particulars of the proceedings of Norway's king on this occasion. "After this battle" (in Anglesea) "turned back King Magnus with his host, and made first for Scotland. Then men fared between him and King Malcolm" (should be Eadgar) "of Scotland, and they made peace between them. King Magnus should have all the islands that lie to the west of Scotland—all them, to wit, betwixt which and the mainland a keel, with rudder shipped, could fare. But when King Magnus came from the south up to Cantire, then let he drag a cutter over Cantire-neck (Satiri-eidhs), with rudder shipped, and himself sat on the poop and held the tiller; and thus got he to him so much land as lay to larboard. Cantire is a mickle land, and better than the best isle of the South Isles, save Man. A narrow neck there is between it and the mainland of Scotland, and thereover long-ships are often dragged." Probably it was as the result of this exploit that the peninsula of Kintyre was reckoned one of the South Isles or Sudreys until the seventeenth century. Regarding this agreement, it may be surmised that Eadgar was not in a position to successfully intervene in these somewhat remote parts, and King Magnus would be allowed, as a consequence, to quietly have his way. 1098 A.D.

Were it otherwise, this fraudulent seizure of a valuable portion of the mainland would surely have aroused to resistance even Eadgar, easy-going though he was.

In connection with future developments, it is important to note that at this time no portion of Airergaidheal other than Kintyre seems to have been under the over-lordship of the Norwegians. Indeed, Norwegian possession of any portion of the western mainland appears to have been of a very irregular and a very interrupted character, and during the greater part of the time the whole district continued under the rule of native leaders, who were called Ris or sub-kings, as we have seen in the case of one of them named Iehmarc or Imergi. Not, however, till a century and a half had elapsed from the time of Magnus, did Kintyre and the Western Isles, as a whole, once again become an integral portion of the kingdom of Scotland.

1104 A.D. In the year 1104 King Magnus was slain in battle in Ulster, and Sigurd, his son, the young Earl of Orkney, sailed east to Norway to prosecute his claims. How the Islesmen were governed immediately after this event we know not, but there is evidence that within a very short time Celtic influence had become paramount in the Isles, for we find the leading men inviting Donald mac Tadg, nephew of the Irish king, Murcertach O'Brien, to come and rule over them. In the fact that the Islesmen in these circumstances turned to Ireland rather than to Scotland we find further evidence of the alienation that had set in between the Celtic element in the kingdom and the Saxonized rulers of Scotland. Under the leadership of Donald mac Tadg, the men of the Isles seem to have been successful in 1111 in temporarily throwing off the Norwegian yoke, and the *Annals of Innisfallen* tells us that Donald "carried war into the north of Ireland, and acquired the kingdom of Insegall by force." To the insular chiefs, however, the tyrannical rule of the Irish prince soon became obnoxious, and within two years he was forced to fly to Ireland.

The flight of Donald mac Tadg was taken advantage of by the King of Norway to despatch to the Isles a viceroy named Ingemund, but he also failed to commend himself to the men of the Isles, and so we find that when he sought to have himself publicly declared king, and summoned for that purpose the chiefs of the Isles to Lewis, where he seems to have set up his seat of govern-

ment, they surrounded his house, and set it on fire, and he and his whole retinue were destroyed by fire or sword. Soon afterwards Olave the Red, a son of Godred Crovan, who had been meanwhile, during his minority, under the protection of the king of England, fared northwards, and, recovering possession, ruled over the kingdom of the Isles for the long period of forty years.

The history of Scotland during the reign of King Eadgar was unmarked by any important event other than the doings of the Norwegian king. The disposition of Eadgar was entirely peaceful. With Henry of England, who married his sister Matilda, he was upon the most friendly terms, and the internal peace of his kingdom also remained unbroken. With the king of Ireland, as well as with the king of England, he seems to have cultivated friendly relations, and the *Annals of Innisfallen*, under date 1105, thus record a curious present he made him :—"In this year a camel, which is an animal of wonderful size, was presented by the king of Alban to Murcertach O'Brian."

But while peace thus reigned throughout the land, the seeds of much dispeace were being sown by the introduction of the stranger into high places. Charters still extant show by the names of the witnesses that Eadgar had many Saxons about his Court, and feudalism, another southern product, was being gradually introduced. In the removal of his principal residence to Edinburgh, with diminished contact with the Celt as its result, we may also find a contributory cause of Celtic alienation, while it would also render it increasingly difficult to control the more remote tribes. Eadgar died in Edinburgh in 1107, and was buried in Dunfermline. 1107 A.D.

Of the six sons of Malcolm and Margaret, three still survived —Ethelred, Alexander, and David. The first named, who was abbot of Dunkeld, and Earl of Fife, seems to have waived all claim to the throne. Nor was the kingdom bestowed as a whole upon the next eldest of the brothers, for King Eadgar, ere his death, had arranged that Lothian and Cumbria, in the greater part of their extent, should be reserved to David, with the title of Comes or Earl. With this arrangement Alexander was by no means pleased, but he was forced to rest content, as the subjects of David supported him heartily, while the English king, with

whom David was upon terms of intimacy, would, in all probability, have come to his aid in an emergency.

Alexander's kingdom stretched as far as the Lammermoors, but the overwhelming Celticism of his subjects is well authenticated by the fact that the civil dignitaries whom we find giving their formal consent to the foundation charter of Scone granted by this king and his queen Sibylla, are, with the exception of Gospatric, Earl of Dunbar, entirely Gaelic Mormaers or Earls. In that charter appear the names of Mallus of Stratherne, Madach of Atholl, cousin of the king, and Heth or Beth of Moray, or it may be of Fife. These were the then leading Earls or Comites, as the Mormaers now began to be called, of the kingdom of Scotia proper, and with them were associated, as we have seen, in the granting of this charter, Gospatric, earl of Dunbar, whose territory seems to have been under the overlordship of Alexander. These earls, with the bishops, of whom there were only three, acted as a constitutional body associated with the king in the government of the country.

King Alexander I. was of a very different type from the easy-going, mild mannered Eadgar. "Although he was humble and kind enough to the monks and the clergy," says Ailred, "he was to the rest of his subjects beyond everything terrible; a man of large heart, exerting himself in all things beyond his strength. He was a lettered man, and most zealous in building churches, in searching for relics of saints, in providing and arranging priestly vestments and sacred books; most open-handed even beyond his means, to all strangers, and so devoted to the poor that he seemed to delight in nothing so much as in supporting them, washing, nourishing, and clothing them."

One of the earliest evidences of Alexander's zeal for the Church is found in his making an appointment to the Bishopric of St. Andrews in the first year of his reign. For fourteen years there had been a vacancy, and during that period there was no bishop in the whole of Scotland, for up to this time St. Andrews had been the sole bishopric, and its incumbent the then head of the Scottish Church. He who was now appointed to that prominent position was Turgot who had been Queen Margaret's confessor, and latterly prior of Durham. In connection with the consecration of Turgot and his successor, Alexander showed himself to be a true patriot, for he manfully and successfully

maintained the independence of his kingdom both against the Pope and against the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and in so doing he not only conserved the honour of his nation at the time, but made it the easier for his successors to resist further attempts at superiority on the part of the English.

To the Priory of St. Andrews Alexander made restoration at this time of a tract of country known as the *Cursus Apri*, or the "Boar's Chase," which had at one time been the possession of that religious community. This restoration is of much interest from the glimpse it affords us of the elaborate ceremony associated with the conveying of the gift. On this occasion, and in the presence of the king himself, all the ancient formalities which were sometimes observed ere the era of charters seem to have been employed, and we are shown Alexander, in the presence of a great concourse of people, and bearing a silver lance and shield, leading up to the high altar his richly caparizoned Arab charger, probably the gift of some crusading baron. On the termination of the proceedings, the royal saddle and shield, with a complete suit of Turkish armour, were presented to the ecclesiastics, and preserved by them in the church in testimony of the munificent grant.

In connection with the less important compacts a very simple ceremony sufficed in those early days. A common bargain was usually settled by a shake of the hand before a witness, but in agreements of more importance additional witnesses seem to have been requisitioned, while the delivery of a straw, or a stick, or a clod of earth appears to have conveyed a more permanent grant of land. Independently, however, of these witnesses and tangible tokens, length of occupancy to the extent of at least three generations—three descents of ownership—conferred hereditary rights, and this consecutive ownership claimants were sometimes called upon to prove, to the satisfaction of the "good men and true."

Alexander's zeal for religion was manifested also in ways other than those which have been referred to, for he founded new monasteries and priories; he further endowed some already in existence; and he introduced Diocesan Episcopacy into Scotland for the first time, by the erection of the two new sees of Dunkeld and Moray. In this introduction of Diocesan Episcopacy; in the appointment of an Englishman (the first of a series) as head of

the Scottish Church; and in the granting of charters framed upon the Saxon model, as was now beginning to be done, we find additional evidence of the strength of the anglicizing sympathies and influences introduced by Queen Margaret, and fostered by her sons.

1116 A.D. It is not improbable that in these pro-Saxon proclivities which Alexander displayed we find the origin of a serious discontent among the Celtic inhabitants of the north which led to an insurrection in 1116, and in the combating of which Alexander gave evidence of the vigour by which his actions were characterized. After this event he was surnamed the Fers or the Fierce, and Bower tells us "that he acquired this name because he had received from his father's brother [probably Donald Ban], who was earl of Gowry, at his baptism, according to custom, the lands of Lyff and Invergowry, near Dundee; that when he became king, he proceeded to erect a palace at Lyff, but was attacked by certain people of the Mearns and Moray in the night, who broke in the door, but he was brought secretly out by his attendant, Alexander Carron, and having taken ship at Invergowry, he went to the south of Scotland, and having collected an army, he hastened against the rebels; that he then founded the monastery of Scone, and bestowed upon it the lands of Lyff and Invergowry. He then pursued the rebels to the river Spey, and there finding his enemies collected in great numbers on the opposite bank, and the river so swollen, and his men unwilling to cross, he gave his standard to Alexander Carron, who plunged into the stream, was followed by the army, and his enemies were put to flight."

King Alexander I. died at Stirling in 1124—in full health of body and faculties, according to Fordun—and was buried at Dunfermline.

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CHAPTER XVI.

The first feudal monarch of Scotland—Serfdom resulting from feudalism—Comprehensive character of charters of free barony—A serf's "charter of liberty"—Insurrection in Moray—Feudalism introduced into the Highlands—Malcolm mac Eth's struggles for Moray—The Celtic element at the battle of the Standard—Assimilation of the Scottish Church to the Church of Rome—Waning of Celtic influence—The literary productions of the Celtic Church.

1124-1153 A.D.

King.	Termination of reign.
David, son of Malcolm,	1153

UNDER the sway of David I., who succeeded to the throne on the death of Alexander, the kingdom of Scotland became once again a united whole. David, further, had large possessions in the very centre of England, for through his wife Matilda, the heiress of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and the youthful widow of Simon de Senlis, he had obtained the earldom of Northampton and Honour of Huntingdon.

In David we find the first feudal monarch of Scotland. Long residence and training in his early days at the English court, where his sister Matilda was queen, had the effect of thoroughly imbuing him with Norman ideas, and accustoming him to feudal usages and feudal institutions, so that when, upon the death of Eadgar, the government of the southern parts of Scotland devolved upon him, he very speedily surrounded himself by a nobility composed very largely of Normans, for not a few of whom England had become too hot. These he encouraged to settle in the country, with some of their Northumbrian followers, by conferring upon them large grants of land—land which, we are probably correct in saying, was practically stolen from the inhabitants in possession.

Several of the barons who came into Scotland at this time bore names which occupy, in a later century, distinguished places in

the roll of Scotland's heroes in the Wars of Independence. Among these were Somerville, Lindsay, Bruce, Umphraville, and Fitzalan; but it is also true that the granting of lands to nobles who were already subjects of the king of England, and who had large stakes in that country, led to divided allegiance, and endangered the independence of Scotland in the future.

With the extension of David's government over the whole of Scotland, there came a very general application of the principles upon which he had acted in the south, with the result that during his reign much of the land passed out of the hands of its original possessors, many of the poorer natives became serfs attached to the soil, and the nation at its centre ceased to be moulded by Celtic influences in anything like its former degree. The old inhabitants of Scotland had little reason to glory in the reigns of the sons of Malcolm Ceannmor. Notwithstanding abundant religiosity, the sentiments of the age were not by any means of a highly developed moral type either in king or noble, and spoliation could be indulged in with very little compunction—very little respect to the rights of others. It was the same in England, for the same principles produced similar results there also. Freeman says:—"Each alike, king and lord, grew to its full dimensions by a series of gradual and stealthy encroachments on the rights of the people. As the king swallowed up the powers and the possessions of the nation, so the lord swallowed up the rights and the possessions of the mark."

When we think of the comprehensiveness of the charters of free barony by which the old order of things was brought to an end, and the new order instituted on the basis of feudal tenure for military service, the king assuming the position of feudal superior, we can understand somewhat the feelings of the earlier inhabitants in relation to the substituted conditions of life. These charters gave complete jurisdiction (to an alien, it might be) over the inhabitants in their lives and actions, and Cosmo Innes tells us they usually included the following rights and privileges—"The woods and plains, the pastures and meadows, mosses and marches, the running waters, ponds and fish tanks, the roads and paths; with the brush-wood, jungle, and heaths, the peatries and turbaries, the coal-fields, quarries, stone and limestone; with the mills and the sucken, the smithies, brew-houses, and salt-works; and the fishings, hawkings, and huntings."

The same writer gives us a picture of the method of procedure of the owner on the receipt of his charter. He says:—"Armed with his charter, and supported by the law, Norman Knight and Saxon Thane and Celtic Chief set himself to civilize his newly-acquired, or his newly-confirmed property, settled his 'vil' or his 'town,' built himself a House of Fence, distributed his lands among his own few followers and the 'nativi,' whom he found attached to the soil, either to be cultivated on his own account, or at a fixed ferm on the risk of the tenant."

Serfdom, alike in England and in Scotland, was the natural result of feudalism, and in the latter country the lower orders among the original occupiers—Pict, Scot, Briton, and Saxon—were the sufferers. In the lowlands and the eastern districts the bond classes constituted a considerable element in the population from this time on till past the middle of the fourteenth century, and we find them referred to in an Act of David's reign. Broadly speaking, they were of two classes—(1) those who, whether natives or strangers, occupied servile land, that is, land which was the private property of the chief, and (2) those who, though formerly freemen, desiring to have the maintenance or protection of any great man, gave themselves to him as personal bondmen. The former were designated *Cumherbes* and the latter *Cumlawes*, this last being the equivalent of the Latin term *manutenencia*.

This condition of things must have been largely contributed to by one of the first fundamental principles introduced into the government of the country by David. It was this. With a view to ensuring the internal peace of the kingdom, it was strictly enacted by this law-making monarch that, within a fortnight after the proclamation of the king's writ in the royal *Moot*, every man "should find him a lord," or forfeit the usual mulct of eight cows to the king, and remain at the royal mercy until he had duly commended himself to some responsible person. The frequent references in later times to "broken clans" in the Highlands show how difficult it was to make such a law fully operative.

During the later days of serfdom, the monks did much to better the lot of the bondmen attached to their land, and to bring about their freedom with definite service and payments, instead of the indefinite exactions of feudalism. Sometimes, also, a bondman received complete freedom, and the terms of his

charter of liberty, as it was called, are interestingly shown in one which was granted by David II., and is addressed to all good men to whom these presents may come :—"Be it known to you," it proceeds, "that we have made William, the son of John, bearer of these presents, who, as we are told, was our serf and native man of our thanage of Tannadyce, within the sheriffdom of Forfar, our free man, as well as all who proceed from him, so that he and all proceeding from him, with all his progeny, shall be free to dwell within our kingdom wherever he will; and we grant to the said William and all proceeding from him that they shall be free and quit of all native servitude in future." Occasionally, however, men took a shorter cut to liberty—a course which rendered necessary a writ for their recovery. Regarding this process, Cosmo Innes writes :—"The last case I have met with of proceedings under the formerly well-known brief for recovering fugitive slaves," "was in the court of the Sheriff of Banffshire in 1364." As is well known, hereditary slavery continued long after this period in England.

By David and his successors strenuous efforts were made from time to time to bring the outlying districts of the realm more definitely under the control of the king, and to more closely knit the nation into a consolidated whole. By the Gaelic people, however, or rather the more independent sections of them, the harsh, unsympathetic, and often unrighteous treatment which the original occupiers suffered at the hands of those kings whose goodwill and sympathies were reserved for the Saxon and the Norman, was resented in an ever increasing degree, and alienation from the central government grew with the years. Active resistance was consequently frequently resorted to, and one of
1130 A.D. these efforts was made in the year 1130. It is thus described by Orderic the chronicler :—"Malcolm, a bastard son of Alexander, attempted to deprive his uncle of the crown, and involved him in two rather severe contests; but David, who was his superior in talent as well as in wealth and power, defeated him and his party. In the year of our Lord 1130, while King David was ably applying himself to a cause in King Henry's court . . . Angus, earl of Moray, with Malcolm and five thousand men, entered Scotia [*i.e.*, they crossed the Spey southwards into Scotland proper] with the intention of reducing the whole kingdom to subjection. Upon this Edward, the son of Siward, earl of

Mercia in the time of King Edward, who was a cousin of King David, and commander of his army, assembled troops and suddenly threw himself in the enemy's way. A battle was at length fought, in which Earl Angus was slain and his troops defeated, taken prisoners, or put to flight. Vigorously pursuing the fugitives with his soldiers elated with victory, and entering *Morafia*, or Moray, now deprived of its lord and protector, he obtained, by God's help, possession of the whole of that large territory. Thus David's dominions were augmented, and his power was greater than that of any of his predecessors." The *Annals of Ulster* record that in this battle four thousand of the men of Moray fell, and one thousand of the men of Alban. Angus, earl of Moray, who was now slain, was the last of the semi-independent rulers of that province. His mother was a daughter of that Lulach who, for a few months nominally reigned as king of Alban after the death of Macbeth, and his father seems to have been that Head, Hed, Ed or Heth, whose name we have seen adhibited to a charter in the reign of Alexander. By Fordun the scene of the fight is placed at Stracathro in Forfarshire.

From this time till the reign of Robert the Bruce the earldom of Moray was vacant. In the interval it was placed under the care of different nobles, who bore the title *Custos Moraviæ*, but the Bruce revived the ancient dignity, and conferred it upon his nephew Randolph.

After the battle at Stracathro, all the territory of Moray was forfeited to the Crown. To the Normans it was a very convenient circumstance, and doubtless a source of much gratification, for it enabled David to find room for several of these highly favoured knights. To them he made large grants of territory, as well as to some native Scots from further south, on whom he could rely; and thus feudalism, with its sheep-skin titles, as the charters were sneeringly called, was extended for the first time into that northern province. Thus also the people, as a whole, were made to suffer, as so often in the future, for following their natural leader.

But we are not yet done with the sons of Heth, for a few years later one who, according to William of Newburgh, was known both as Brother Wymund and as Malcolm mac Eth, came prominently into notice. By his natural capacity, this Brother Wymund had so commended himself to King Olave and the

people of the Isle of Man during a residence in the monastery at Russin, that ere long they effected his consecration as their first bishop. No sooner, however, had he attained to this position than he declared himself to be the son of the late Angus, Earl of Moray, and that "he was deprived of the inheritance of his father by the king of Scotland." Under his Celtic name of Malcolm mac Eth, he gathered round him sworn followers, and though Ailred says he lied when he said he was the Earl of Moray's son, his claim was recognised as genuine both by the king of the Isles and the "mighty Somerled" of Argyll, the ancestor of the Lords of the Isles. By the latter he was given his sister in marriage.

"Every day," says William of Newburgh, "he was joined by troops of adherents, among whom he was conspicuous above all by the head and shoulders; and, like some mighty commander, he inflamed their desires. He then made a descent on the provinces of Scotland, wasting all before him with rapine and slaughter; but whenever the royal army was despatched against him, he eluded the whole warlike preparation, either by retreating to distant forests, or taking to the sea; and when the troops had retired, he again issued from his hiding-places to ravage the provinces."

On one occasion in Galloway, Malcolm was felled to the earth by a hatchet which had been thrown at him by another militant bishop. Though defeated at this time, he succeeded in escaping, and again with recruited forces ravaged the islands and provinces.

1137 A.D. At length, however, in 1137 the king, with the assistance of a Norman army, took him prisoner, and sent him to confinement in the castle of Marchmont or Roxburgh. Referring to the capture in the detailing of a conversation the following year between King David and Robertus de Brus, Ailred records the latter to have said:—"Recollect last year when thou didst entreat the aid of the English in opposing Malcolm, the heir of a father's hate and persecution, how keenly—how promptly—with what alacrity, Walter Espec and many other English nobles met thee at Carlisle; how many ships they prepared—the armaments they equipped them with; how they struck terror into thy foes till at length they took the traitor Malcolm himself prisoner, and delivered him bound to thee."

Notwithstanding King David's struggles with the men of

Moray and the supporters of Malcolm mac Eth, the composition of the army which flocked to his standard when, in the year 1138, he prepared to advance into England to support the claim of his niece Matilda to the Southern crown, shows that his influence and power were widely extended, and that a certain degree of welding had already occurred. From Ailred we learn that the first division was composed of Galwenses or Galwegian Picts; the second of the Britons of Strathclyde and Teviotdale; the third was a mixed body of Angles from Lothian, Islesmen, and the Gaelic people of the Lennox; and the fourth, under the king himself, was made up of the people of Scotland between the Forth and the Spey, and the men of Moray, together with the Saxon and Norman barons. 1138 A.D.

The disastrous battle of the Standard followed. Ere the battle joined it had been David's intention to have placed in the van his own knights and men-at-arms, that thus the mail-clad chivalry of England might be opposed as advantageously as possible; but Celtic impetuosity, and jealousy, and pride in their fighting powers frustrated his wise intention. "Why trust you to these Normans," exclaimed Malise, Earl of Stratherne; "unprotected as I am, none shall be more forward in the fight." Placed in a difficult position, David yielded to necessity, and Malise with the Gallowegians went forward to the attack, and went forward to ruin, sounding forth the war cry of the Scots, Albanaich, Albanaich!

According to Ailred the Celts on this occasion were armed with long spears pointed with steel, swords, darts or javelins, and a hooked weapon of steel with which they seized their enemies, while they protected themselves with a shield covered with cowhide. The boast of Malise would seem to show that armour was not worn by them.

But it is not in connection with matters of war and strife that the reign of David is specially remembered. David was the "sair sanct for the crown," and during his reign changes of the most momentous character occurred in relation to the religious affairs of the nation. Ere his decease the process of remodelling and bringing the old Celtic Church into line with the Church of Rome made immense strides, and the old tribal basis on which the Church had been organized, had given place, throughout the

greater part of the kingdom, to the territorial organisation, with distinctly bad results, so far as the Highland clans were concerned. Bishoprics were founded by the "sair sanct" in Glasgow, Dunblane, Aberdeen, Ross, and Caithness; parishes were organized; the Culdee establishments were repressed in many places, while in others the new was engrafted on the old. Splendid churches and cathedrals were erected; many monasteries of the Roman type were founded on the old Columban foundations, and many religious orders were introduced. Ere long there were one hundred and fifty religious houses of all kinds within the bounds of Scotland, each of which absorbed the tithes of many parishes, while these latter were almost entirely neglected. The Church was now a great hierarchical institution, and soon its leaders came to hold, sometimes, the highest offices in the State as well as in the Church.

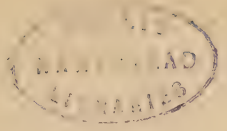
Contemporary with these great changes in the Church was the erection by the nobles of some of those formidable Norman castles and keeps, within and around which centred so much power. Upon the Crown lands royal castles also began to be upreared. From the social point of view these latter were of the utmost importance as forming centres round which clustered the dwellings of the artisan and the trader, thus constituting the nucleus of so many burghs and seaport towns. The reign of David was undoubtedly a time of marked progress in many respects, but to the Celts it was accompanied by much hardship, and to them it must have been not a little galling to contemplate that already of the six great officers of the Court, that is, those who were the actual ministers of the Crown, the only one of Celtic race was Constantine, Earl of Fife, who was the Justiciary. The old Celtic organisations and methods of government were, in fact, largely overthrown, and had become a thing of the past. The Mormaor, or Great Steward, was now an Earl, and the Toishech, or head of the Tuath or tribe had, more especially in Moray, blossomed into a Thane; while at this time we also come to read of, Constables, Governors, Sheriffs, and Barons. To the office of Constable was attached the leadership of the army in the absence of the king, and hence we have found Edward, the son of Siward, who was the first to bear that title in Scotland, taking his place at the head of the army in 1130.

It was during this transition period that *The Book of Deer*,

which has been already referred to, was completed. How many similar productions were compiled in our monasteries we cannot tell, but few, very few, literary products of the early Church remain with us to throw light on our early history. In these matters time and circumstance have dealt hardly with our country, with the result that for much of what we do know of Scotland's story we are indebted to the, not always impartial, productions of Irish, English, and Norse historians. That our scribes were as diligent as those of Ireland there can be little doubt, for their teaching and aspirations were to all intents and purposes the same; and to the Celt, whether in Scotland, in Ireland, or in Wales, literary productiveness was a natural characteristic. Adamnan tells us that Columba himself wrote lays both in Gaelic and Latin, and such was his diligence that he "never could spend even one hour without study or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation." The same writer also refers to extant poems on the praises of St. Columba, and to metrical compositions by St. Mura, who died about the year 645. The few original compositions that remain to us—some of the Latin hymns of Columba, the lives of St. Columba by Cumin the Fair and Adamnan, the latter's *Holy Places of the East*, the *Pictish Chronicle*, which gives evidence of having been translated from the Gaelic, and *The Book of Deer*—testify to the intellectual development which characterized the Celtic Church in Scotland. Whatever other literary productions there were, probably disappeared in one or other of our national upheavals, such upheavals as resulted from Norse invasions; revolutions in the Church, when the Celtic clergy were in large measure replaced by others who had no interest in the preservation of the memorials of their predecessors; the removal of the Scottish treasures by Edward I.; disturbed conditions on the West coast after the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, and Reformation excesses, when, if we are to believe Spottiswoode, "the very sepulchres of the dead were not spared, but digged right up and sacrilegiously violated. Bibliothecks were destroyed. . . . gathered in heaps and consumed with fire." "There is reason to believe," says Dr. M'Lauchlan, "that the Kilbride collection of MSS. now in the Advocates' Library, and obtained from the family of Maclachlan of Kilbride, was to some extent a portion

of the old library of Iona, one of the last Abbots of which was a Ferquhard M'Lachlan."

Of the contents of *The Book of Deer*, the greater portion is in Latin. This consists of the Gospel of St. John and parts of the other three Gospels, together with an Office for the visitation of the sick, and the Apostles' Creed. To us, however, the more interesting portion is made up of certain Gaelic entries which are found engrossed on the margins and on the vacant spaces in the volume. The entries refer to gifts of land to the monastery, and they give the current beliefs as to the founding of it. In the recording of the grants at this time, when the age of charters had begun, we probably find an evidence of the desire of the Culdees to put in writing their claims, in view of possible future contentions. In one instance the memoranda of grants are, somewhat significantly, preceded by the following benediction:—"And the blessing of the one God be upon every Mormaer and every Toishech who keeps this, and to their seed afterwards." Towards the end of the MS. we find the following: "Let it be upon the conscience of each man whose good fortune it shall be to possess this illuminated booklet, that he bestow a blessing on the soul of the poor one who wrote it." In these Gaelic entries we find the earliest specimens of Gaelic writing on parchment discovered in Scotland, and in the fact that in point of language they are identical, as Stokes tells us, with the oldest Irish glosses, we have an additional element of interest, for it goes to prove the similarity of the written language in both countries at that time.



CHAPTER XVII.

The interesting art-culture of the Celtic Church—An art teacher of the olden times—Distinctive characteristics of Celtic art—The decoration of the manuscripts—St. Columba as a scribe—Manuscripts associated with the Saint—The earliest specimens of Gaelic writing—The enshrining of relics—A royal artificer—Reliquaries—The hereditary Dewars or keepers of relics—Celtic crosiers, bells, and brooches—The beautiful workmanship of the Hunterstone brooch.

In earlier chapters occasion has been taken to refer to those ecclesiastical buildings which were associated with the Celtic Church in Scotland, and in the last chapter we have glanced also at its literary remains. And now at this point when that Church was forced, under Saxon and Norman influences, to give place to one constituted, in many respects, on other lines, it will be well that we should indicate, however briefly, those other memorials of the old Church which still remain with us.

Of the archæological treasures the most valuable, undoubtedly, are those which give evidence of that wonderful art-culture which found its home among the ecclesiastical communities; which speak to us of the cultivation of the arts of peace; and which bear eloquent testimony to the varied civilizing influences which surrounded our forefathers in those fighting and apparently altogether barbarous times. In estimating the significance of this art-culture what we have to particularly bear in mind is this, that from the ordinary fundamental materials accessible to Europe generally there was elaborated within these retired Celtic monasteries a decorative art, which, in its special developments, and in its accumulated characteristic features, differed from every other, and which presents such a distinct individuality that its recognition is at all times easy. The simple materials which formed the basis of their special and characteristic developments they probably originally found adorning the manuscripts in which the Scriptures were first presented to them. These materials they employed in ways peculiar to themselves,

with wide range, and in such a fashion as to fill the beholder with amazement at the originality, the wonderful elaboration and variety of design, and the rare workmanship by which the examples are characterized. In books, in metal-work, and on monuments of stone that art-culture is revealed, and in the different materials it is employed alike effectively. No doubt, however, exists that it was in the manuscripts the art was originally perfected, and the designs elaborated upon them were later pressed into the service of the worker in metal and stone.

There is abundant evidence that within the monasteries the art of writing and decoration was cultivated with much zeal. Columba himself, we know, was a most diligent scribe, and from an early period men of "singular erudition," men who ranked high in their religious houses, were set apart that they might concern themselves specially with literary work such as transcribing, and recording the country's annals. Up to about the middle of the ninth century such men went under the name of Scribnidh or Scribneoir. Later they were known as Fearleginn. St. Cadroë, who was a native of Scotland, and was born about the year 900, would seem to have been one of these scribes and teachers of art. Trained in Armagh he returned about the year 920 to his Uncle Beanus, who was a priest in Fortrenn. According to the old life of the saint written in the century after his death, he "scatters the seeds of wisdom throughout the whole of Scotland, for, though the Scots have had many teachers, they have not had many fathers. He here trained them in the knowledge of the arts, whence, because he instructed many with his lips, he had no associates; for from the time of his arrival, none of the wise men had crossed the sea, but still remained in Ireland. The old man rejoiced to possess the youth, and had not his equal in anything which he tried." After a time St. Cadroë passed into Cumbria and there taught.

The distinctive characteristic of Celtic art is to be found in this, viz., in the peculiar developments of interlacing, fret, and spiral work which are introduced so lavishly and so effectively by these old artists, and that in multifarious varieties, and endless combinations. These developments constitute it, in fact, an indigenous art. Among no other people has it been found to exist as a national characteristic, but it was developed by the Celtic tribes of Britain and Ireland themselves.

The manuscripts which have come down to us, and which exhibit to the full the distinguishing features of Celtic art, are, for the most part, portions of the Bible, with which are not infrequently incorporated certain offices of the Church. Here and there in these manuscripts are inscribed whole pages of richly decorated and illuminated work, while borders and initial letters are often treated in the most effective manner. In the finer specimens, designs of the most chaste character are executed in a manner that indicates the greatest skill, and the arrangement of colours is carried out in the most admirable fashion. The elements made use of are of the simplest, but the elaboration is bewildering.

How the most beautiful of these books—the Book of Kells—appealed to the men of the twelfth century, is well illustrated by the description given of it by Giraldus Cambrensis, who was familiar with the best of such productions existing in his day. He says: "Here you behold the face of the Divine Majesty, there the mystical forms of the Evangelists, and other figures of infinite variety, so closely wrought together that if you looked carelessly at them, they would seem rather one uniform blot, exhibiting no skill or art, than an exquisite interweaving of figures where all is skill and perfection of art. But if you look closely, with all the acuteness of sight you can command, and examine the inmost secrets of that wondrous art, you will discern such subtlety, such fine and closely wrought lines, twisted and inter-woven in such intricate knots, and adorned with such fresh and brilliant colours, that you will readily acknowledge the whole to be rather the result of angelic than of human skill. . . . The more frequently I behold it, the more diligently I examine it, the more numerous are the beauties I discover in it, and the more I am lost in renewed admiration of it. Neither could Appeles himself execute the like. They really seem to have been designed and painted by a hand not mortal."[1] This beautiful production, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is still recognised, as Westwood assures us, as "the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence." Who the scribe was who produced this exquisite piece of workmanship does not appear, as, unfortunately, the manuscript is

[1] Quoted in *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Vol. I., p. 151.

now incomplete, and the latter part, which usually by means of a colophon, indicates the writer, is amissing. It has been long, however, associated with the name of St. Columba, and from the year 1006 has been known as "The Great Gospel of Columcille." In that century, possibly from its authorship rather than from its beauty, it was considered the principal relic of the western world. Neither Professor Westwood nor Dr. Todd is inclined to consider it improbable that the work may have been produced by the great missionary of the West. Kells, in Meath, where it long had its habitation, was founded, we know, by the Coarb (the heir) of Iona early in the ninth century, and many relics were taken thither from Iona out of the reach of the plundering Northmen.

Independently of this manuscript, two other books still exist which have been ascribed, with a considerable degree of certainty, to Iona's first and greatest abbot. One of these is known as the Book of Durrow—so called from the old Columban monastery in which it was long preserved. It is a copy of the Gospels illuminated in characteristic fashion. On the strength of the following colophon which it bears, it is ascribed to Columba: "I pray thy blessedness, O holy Presbyter, St. Patrick, that whosoever shall take this book into his hands, may remember the writer, Columba, who have myself written this gospel in the space of twelve days, by the grace of our Lord." The other manuscript is a copy of the Psalter, which has been deposited by the chief of the O'Donnels in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. As early as the eleventh century, this manuscript was regarded as having come from the hand of St. Columba. At anyrate, it bears evidence of being one of the very oldest, and it is one round which legends of the Saint have gathered. It is interesting to think that in one or more of these old treasures the handiwork of the great missionary may still be traced.

Another manuscript of very great interest which also has its associations with Iona has been discovered upon the Continent, at Shaffhausen, in 1845. It is a copy of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, and bears a colophon setting forth that it was written by Dorbene, Abbot of Iona, whose death is recorded in 713, that is, only nine years after the death of Adamnan, the author. We will probably be correct in assuming that this copy was taken directly from the original manuscript of Adamnan. The latter's

work on the *Holy Places* and Cumin's *Life of St. Columba* have already been referred to.

In no way is the missionary zeal of those early Celtic missionaries brought home to us better than by our knowledge of the frequency with which "books written after the manner of the Scots"—"*Libri Scottice Scripti*"—have been found in many countries of the Continent—in Germany, Switzerland, and even Italy. As early as the first half of the ninth century, thirty-two such books appeared in the catalogue of the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, which monastery was founded in 614 by Cellach or Gall, a companion of St. Columbanus, the earliest Celtic missionary to the continent. All over the continent these men were commemorated. But they have left their mark still further afield, and into regions the wildest and most remote did the zeal of those brave men impel them. Their aptness at learning languages, their eloquence and devotion, gave them success, it is confessed, where others ignominiously failed. Iceland, by their agency, came under Christian influences ere yet it had been colonized by the Norwegians in 875, and there also Celtic manuscripts have been found.

These continental Celtic manuscripts are of very special interest to scholars from the fact that, on vacant spaces, margins, etc., they are provided with Celtic glosses—glosses which furnish us with the oldest specimens of the Gaelic language in existence. Being original manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries, we have them just as they were written in those old minuscular characters which were employed down into the twelfth century. Their importance is correspondingly enhanced by the fact that no native documents in the Gaelic language earlier than the eleventh century are now available.

For the preservation of many of these interesting books we are indebted in large measure to the veneration in which they were held, and the practice of enshrining them which resulted from that veneration. For it was not only the bones of their revered holy men that were cared for in this manner and treasured in valuable repositories, but relics that had been specially associated with them—books, crosiers, bells—were not unfrequently preserved thus with jealous care. As early as the year 1006, when it was stolen from Kells, "The Great Gospel of Columcille" was thus enshrined in its costly cumdach or case

adorned with gold and gems, and otherwise enriched with beautiful workmanship. For the Book of Durrow a silver shrine was produced, and that by a royal artificer, Flann, son of Malachy, who was King of Ireland from 877 to 916. The Psalter, which has been referred to as attributed to Columba, was also similarly treasured in a silver shrine made for it at Kells in the eleventh century. At that period this Psalter was believed to have been gifted by Columba himself to the clan of his kinsmen, for a sign of victory. Regarding it O'Donnell, the chief of Tirconnell in 1520, says :—"It is the chief relic of Columcille in the territory of Cinel Conail Gulban, and it is covered with silver under gold ; and it is not lawful to open it ; and if it be sent thrice rightwise round the army of the Cinel Conaill when they are going to battle, they will return safe with victory, and it is on the breast of a coarb or a cleric who to the best of his power is free from mortal sin that the Cathach should be when it is brought round the army." From its being thus employed in warfare the Psalter of St. Columba received the name of the Cathach or Battler, and there is evidence that as late as the year 1497 it was borne into battle in Ireland.

In similar fashion other venerated relics were also used in battle, and not only in Ireland but in Scotland also. When thus employed they went under the general name of vexilla or battle-ensigns. Among these are two others which have been associated with Saint Columba. One of them is referred to in old charters as the Brecbennoch, and it, like many other venerated relics, had its hereditary keepers or Jores (from *Deoradh*, a pilgrim) hence the modern surname Dewar. Early in the thirteenth century King William the Lion granted to its then keepers—the monks of Aberbrothock—the lands of Forglen on the condition that they should make "therefor the service in the army with the said Brecbennoch which is due to me from the said lands." After a time the relic passed into other hands, and charters to successive holders vesting them in the same lands and with the same service specified, are extant down to the year 1500. Many circumstances point to the probability that in the small casket known as the Monymusk Reliquary we find the shrine of the Brecbennoch. It is a small wooden box, hollowed out of the solid, and shaped like the old stone-roofed Celtic churches. Covered with plates of bronze and of silver it presents the char-

acteristics of early Celtic decoration, and is richly jewelled, enamelled, and engraved. The actual relic itself is still undetermined. It may however be found that it consisted of some sacramental bread which St. Columba had blessed. *Breacag* is one of the words used in Gaelic for a wafer or cake. *Bennoch* means blessed, and it may be that some of the bread blessed by the Saint, ere partaking of his last communion a week before his death, was thereafter treasured and enshrined. That the consecrated host was not considered to be too sacred to be thus used in battle, we know from its use at the battle of the Standard, where we find it had been set on the summit of a ship's mast, with the three banners of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Wilfred around it. But another identification may be hazarded. By the priests of the Celtic Church chequered or tartan silk, known as *siric brec,* was used, more especially, in two connections. Of the two veils which covered the sacred vessels during service the outer one was of this material, while the eucharistic vestment, the Robe of Offering (*cochull noifrin*), which was a square or oval cloth having in the centre a hole through which the head was passed, also consisted of striped or chequered silk. *Breacan* is the name applied to tartan in Gaelic. It may be that in one or other of these, the veil or the vestment, we find the Brecbennoch of Columba. Either of them might not unfittingly be employed as a battle-ensign.

The other relic of the great Abbot that was thus employed was his crosier known as the Cath Bhuaidh or battle-victory. In the tenth century it was borne into battle against the Northmen in Scotland, and the Annals refer to the men of Alban as having gained victory, through its aid, on more than one occasion. Similarly the crosier of St. Fillan was said to have been thus employed at the battle of Bannockburn, and though there is no contemporary record of the incident, there is nothing improbable about it, as it was quite in accordance with the practice of even a later time. Further, we know that, as a thank-offering for the victory of Bannockburn, King Robert Bruce erected a church in 1314 near Tyndrum, and dedicated it to St. Fillan.

As with many of the manuscripts and other relics, the heads of the crosiers or pastoral staffs of revered saints were often enshrined in elaborate cases, and their keeping assigned to hereditary Dewars. That of St. Fillan is a beautiful example, and its

treatment is typically Celtic. It is made of silver, gilt and ornamented with various chased and filigree work. Within recent years it has found a resting place in the National Museum of antiquities at Edinburgh, after an absence of fifty-eight years in Canada. In 1876 it was, for a monetary consideration, given up to the authorities of that institution by Alex. Dewar, of Plympton, Canada, the then representative of its ancient Dewars. In documents of the fifteenth century this interesting relic is spoken of under the name of the Quigrich or Coygerach, and in them it is said to have been in the possession of the Dewar family previous to the days of King Robert Bruce. To its keepers, as doubtless to the keepers of others of those relics, many privileges were reserved, and from them important duties were demanded. Lands were burdened to provide steady emoluments for them, and by an Act of James III. it was provided that its Dewars should be answerable to no authority, spiritual or temporal, but to the King and his successors alone, while no one was at liberty to inhibit the Dewar from passing with the relic through the country, as its keeper and his predecessors were wont to do. For these privileges services were bound to be rendered in the following manner :—"If it should happen that goods or cattle are reft or stolen from any inhabitant of the parish, and he was unable to follow them, whether from doubt of the culprit or feud of his enemies, then he might send a messenger to the Dewar of the Coygerach, with fourpence or a pair of shoes and food for the first night ; and the said Dewar should follow the goods or cattle wherever they might be found within the bounds of Scotland." In the performance of such a duty freedom of movement throughout the country, we can see, would be an absolute necessity. When the culprit was unknown, it is inferred, from what was an Irish practice until very recently, that what the Dewar did in such a case was to summon all the people of the parish or district to appear before him at a certain time, and take, upon the relic, an oath of their innocence. This oath they dared not refuse to take, and taken in this manner it was considered more sacred than when taken on the Gospels. Similarly, in an enemy's country, the Dewar had the power to go to the suspected parties and make them clear themselves upon oath. It was thus, as we can see, a most effective way of getting at the culprit, and, so much was the process held in awe, that it not in-

frequently induced restoration ere the appointed day arrived. In these and many other ways such relics were more or less effectively employed, and the same reverence was accorded them in the twelfth century in Ireland and Wales, as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis. For many centuries the pastoral staff of St. Maelrubha, of the great monastery of Applecross, was jealously guarded by its Dewars on a small island in Kilvarie Loch. In 1518 it was requisitioned by Sir John Campbell of Calder, at the ceremony of receiving the services of some of the smaller clans, "who were sworn upon the mess buik and the relic callit the Arwachyll at the isl of Kilmolrue." Near by is a township called Ballindore—the town of the Dewar. The pastoral staff (*bachul mor*) of St. Moluag of Lismore is in the possession of the Duke of Argyll.

Among the interesting relics, which have come down to us from early Christian times, the characteristic handbells (*clogan* or *cluicine*) associated with the churches occupy a very important position. Their association with the early founders of Christianity, who were believed to have blessed them, and to have thus bestowed upon them peculiar virtues, made them objects of veneration down till quite modern times, so difficult is it to eradicate beliefs that have been long and ardently fostered. Until recently the bell of St. Fillan was held in great repute in the cure of insanity. Another, still in good preservation, finds to this day its home in the churchyard of Eilan Finan, on Loch Shiel, Ardnamurchan, where it lies on a tombstone, except when it is removed at funerals to be borne in front of the procession from the landing place to the churchyard.

The type of bell associated with the early Celtic Church is the earliest type found in Scotland. It is tall, narrow, tapering, and quadrangular, with flattened ends and bulging sides. By means of a loop handle it is carried and rung. The material of manufacture varied. Sometimes iron, coated with bronze by being dipped into the molten metal, was employed, while in other instances it consisted wholly of bronze. When of iron it was constructed of a flat sheet hammered into shape and rivetted like a caldron. When of bronze it was made in a mould, and shows finer lines, with more artistic finish, while into the decoration there is introduced a zoomorphic form of art characteristic of

early Christian times. Both varieties, however, were in use contemporaneously in the ninth century.

From the large number of such bells found in Ireland, and their close association with the Celtic Church, it is concluded that their origin is to be traced to that country. The Scottish group must be considered a secondary one. Occasional examples have also been found in Wales, England, France, and Switzerland, but always in the footsteps of the Celtic missionaries.

Such a bell was used by St. Columba for calling the brethren to church, and probably also for the regulation of successive parts of the service. On one occasion it was used by him for a very different purpose, viz., for cursing. When he and his clerics were on their way to the council of Drumceatt, Conall, the son of Aedh, instigated by his mother, threw mud at them. Whereupon the Saint rang his bells, and cursed the offender, with the result, we are told, that Conall became imbecile, and so was excluded from the succession.

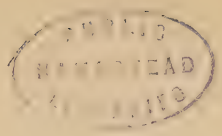
The reverence with which bells which had their associations with the early saints came to be viewed is demonstrated, not only by the fact that to them also were often assigned hereditary keepers with their rights and emoluments, but also by the elaborate shrines which were fashioned for them in after days. The practice of bell-enshrining was common in Ireland, and doubtless was so also in Scotland, though only two specimens have hitherto been discovered in our country. One of these is the Bell Shrine of Kilmichael Glassary, a work of the twelfth century, as is evidenced by the character of the ornamentation, and by the fact that it bears a representation of the crucifixion in the manner characteristic of that century. The other one, the Guthrie Shrine, was probably executed in the thirteenth century. Both of them are elaborate and beautiful pieces of workmanship. Into their construction bronze, silver, and gold entered, and in their execution they show artistic power and great technical skill. It is interesting to note that no where out of Scotland and Ireland was the enshrining of bells practised.

In the matter of articles of personal adornment the art-culture of the Celtic Church has also left its distinctive mark. The school of art which produced the beautifully illuminated manuscripts, and the costly shrines, carried the same characteristic decoration into articles of jewellery, with the result of producing

specimens of workmanship which for delicateness and effectiveness have perhaps never been surpassed. So minute and so delicate is much of the ornamentation that it requires the aid of the magnifying glass to reveal its beauty.

It is in the typical Celtic brooch that that workmanship reaches its highest level, and from it present-day culture is glad to learn. Bronze, silver, and gold were the metals employed. The patterns and designs are characteristic, and they exhibit that zoomorphic, twisted, and interlaced decoration which is entirely distinctive of Celtic art, and which can never be mistaken. Like the other metal art-work, these productions exhibit engraved work, filigree work, and repoussé work in gold and silver.

To a distinctive decoration these brooches also add a distinctive and typical form. That form is the pen-annular with the ends always flattened and expanded. Specimens have been discovered at Hunterstone, near Largs; in Mull; in the parish of Rogart; at Dunbeath; at Croy (Inverness-shire); and in the neighbourhood of Perth. That found at Hunterstone is of large size, measuring $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and is a beautiful example of the art. Regarding it Dr. Joseph Anderson says:—"The skill of its workmanship is such that it is questionable whether it could be greatly surpassed by the most skilful art workmanship of the present day.' . . . He would now be considered an artist of eminence who should produce a design of equal merit, and he a workman of uncommon skill who should render it with equal delicacy and effectiveness." In such evidences of refinement and luxury we are led to appreciate somewhat the high level of civilisation to which, in some respects at anyrate, the Scottish nation had early attained through Celtic influence. Further applications of this characteristic art will be spoken of in our next chapter.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Celtic art as applied to memorial stones—The earliest form of cross—Characteristics of the Celtic cross—Celtic crosses incised on Pagan monoliths—Curious enigmatic symbols peculiar to Scotland—The typical decorated Celtic monuments of Scotland—Area where found—The teaching of these monuments—Free-standing crosses—The great cross of Iona—The purer style of Celtic art departed from—The West Highland crosses—Monumental inscriptions—The oldest date-bearing cross—Ogham inscriptions—Norse burials and Norse art in Scotland.

THE most numerous illustrations of Celtic art in Scotland are found, not in connection with the adorning of manuscripts, nor in association with decorative metal-work, but borne upon the stone monuments of our country. It has been satisfactorily determined in this regard that no inscribed or decorated monument of pre-Christian times has, up to the present, been discovered, but when we do reach the era of distinctively Christian memorial stones, that which is probably the earliest type, with which we are acquainted in Scotland, is one which presents no characteristic of Celtic art. It in all probability came into existence before the development of that art, and carries us back to close upon the period of the Roman occupation. Upon such monuments are borne Latin inscriptions in Roman capitals, and they bear upon them the characteristic HIC JACET (Here Lies). Some of them exhibit also the earliest form of the cross, the incised chrisma or cross of Constantine surrounded by a circle. Such monuments, however, are rare in Scotland.

The Celtic cross was of a very different, and an equally distinctive form. Its leading characteristic is to be found in this that the intersections are recessed by semi-circular spaces or re-entering angles (*see* frontispiece). Sometimes also the arms of the cross are connected by a circle as well as recessed. This type of cross is entirely restricted to the Celtic area, and its associations are wholly Celtic.

We are probably correct in asserting that the earliest monuments to bear these crosses are the rough unsquared, undecorated slabs or monoliths which exhibit the cross, not in relief, but simply incised and rudely executed. A considerable number of such monuments exist, and occasionally they are found in direct association with the relics of the older Paganism, a circumstance which may be taken as indicating that they were originally set up in Pagan times, and were later taken advantage of and utilised as Christian memorials.

Equally unshaped and rude slabs are associated with another and a most peculiar type of monument, one which bears no cross but is characterized by its being sculptured on the obverse alone, on which is incised one or more of a series of peculiar symbols which find a place nowhere out of Scotland, and which are consequently viewed with the greatest interest. That interest is deepened by the fact that hitherto it has been found impossible to interpret the symbols, to understand their significance, or to trace their origin. They continue one of the enigmas of archæology. One of these symbols is crescent shaped and crossed by a rod bent like the letter V which terminates in floriated extremities. Another is of a spectacle form—two connected discs—sometimes alone, sometimes associated, like the crescent, with a rod, but doubly bent like to the letter Z reversed. Others again are shaped more or less like a door, an arch, a lily, a book, the head of an animal, and another is constituted of an association of three circles. The significance of yet others which occasionally appear, such as the mirror, comb, shears, fish, and serpent, is not so difficult to determine. In many of the old Highland tales the golden comb and the silver comb, the *cir mhin oir agus cir ghairbh airgiod*, are brought very prominently into view. For the comb was magical and brought treasures in its train; and men are often represented as fighting with giants for its possession. The foundation of such ideas we should probably look for in the value set upon such useful articles when first introduced among a rude people who would find them difficult to produce with the tools at their command. The estimation in which they were held by our early forefathers is also attested by the frequency with which they are found among the grave-goods of the old-world burials.

Such symbols as we speak of are not limited to monuments, but have been found engraved on metal-work as well as incised

upon the walls of certain caves on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth. These caves, it is well known, had been resorted to by some of the early saints, as was that at Dysart by St. Serf, where he found his *Diseart* or solitary retreat. The ornamentation upon these rude symbol-bearing monuments is otherwise of the most meagre and weak character, and undoubtedly points to the fact that the type is of a very early date. What there is of decoration, however, is typically Celtic.

In this lack of ornamentation, these memorials of the dead differ in the most marked manner from the elaborate monuments in which Celtic art in stone culminated, and which constitute one of the most valued heirlooms of the Scottish people—"a wealth of material which no other nation possesses, or can ever hope to possess" (Anderson). Their precursors, it is considered probable, were the two Celtic types that have just been referred to—the simple incised Celtic cross-bearing slab, and the rude symbol-incised monument—types which probably coalesced, and, in process of time, developed into the characteristic highly decorated Celtic monument which we have now to speak of. Such monuments—and the same, with two exceptions, may be said of the simple incised symbol-bearing ones—are not only limited to Scotland, but, singularly enough, are limited to one particular area of it, viz., to that part of eastern Scotland extending from Fife to Caithness. The characteristics of the type may be best described in the words of the author of *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. They are these: "(1) The form of the monument is an erect slab, shaped to a regular form, and often edged with a bead-like moulding; (2) it bears the cross on the obverse, figure-subjects and symbols on the reverse; (3) the cross is usually of the whole length of the stone, and always of peculiar form, recessed at the intersections of the arms with the shaft and summit, the arms being frequently also connected by a circle; (4) the cross is usually elaborately ornamented with inter-laced work, spirals, and fretwork, and this ornamentation is frequently present on other parts of the monuments; (5) the figure-subjects recur in groups of special character, such as men on horseback, a stag-hunt, a man tearing the jaws of a lion, a man surrounded by lions, and so on; (6) the symbols also recur in groups, and partake of the same elaborate ornamentation which usually distinguishes the cross on the opposite side of the stone; (7) the

ornamentation of these monuments is the same in style and character as the ornamentation of the manuscripts and metal work of the Celtic Christian time." In their elaboration of minute details, these monuments are very wonderful, and in this, as well as in other respects, they differ from the Irish monuments, which are not nearly so profusely adorned.

Among the favourite Bible subjects portrayed in these works of art are—Daniel in the lions' den ; David rending the jaws of a lion ; the raising of Lazarus ; Virgin and child ; Pharaoh's overthrow ; the ascension of Elijah, etc., etc. Such representations took their origin in the catacombs of Rome, whence, spreading over Europe, the art became modified in different areas according to the character of the civilisation with which it became incorporated.

It was not Bible subjects only, however, that were thus employed on our native monuments, but previously existing Pagan forms of decoration were also pressed into the service of Christian art. Centaurs, sirens, griffins, and other fabulous monsters are found upon the Celtic monuments, side by side with the cross and other of the more particularly distinctive Christian symbols. Nor are such forms in these associations so incongruous as we might readily at first sight imagine them to be, when we realise that they all had their symbolical meanings, and, in the absence of books, had a special sphere. In the Middle Ages such a system of spiritualizing the facts and fables of natural history was largely resorted to, and made a means of conveying important truths. The centaur, for example, is the man-animal, and represents the warfare between the spirit and the flesh ; the ship upon the walls of Continental churches, and upon our own Celtic monuments, represented the Church sailing heavenward ; the stag symbolized the soul thirsting for the water of life—"as the hart panteth after the water-brooks."

Alongside these derived groups with their universal types, and in the delineation of which the Celtic artist did not excel, there co-existed, as we have seen, the peculiar enigmatical symbols of independent native origin. These continued to be employed right up till the period in which the finest specimens of Celtic art were produced.

If now we turn to a consideration of the every-day subjects sculptured upon these monuments, we find them furnishing us

with materials of the greatest interest. Dr. Joseph Anderson supplies us with a striking analysis of the chief points associated with the life of the period which seem, though incidentally, to be revealed in them. He says:—"Though the details of these diagrammatic human figures are treated in a conventional manner, there can be no doubt that the costume, the weapons, and other accessories, are those of the country and the time. In this aspect of their character, as illustrative materials of unwritten history, they are as valuable as the seals and the monumental effigies of later times. They illustrate the most ancient life in Scotland of which we have any illustrations. They show it in its common as well as in its ecclesiastical and military aspects. They exhibit the dress of the huntsman, the warrior, the pilgrim, and the ecclesiastic. They furnish representations of the forms of the chariot and the ship, the housings and harness of horses, instruments of music, arms of offence and defence, the staff of the pilgrim and the crosier of the ecclesiastic. Such implements of the period as the axe, the knife, the dirk, the sword, the spear, the shield, the bow, and the cross-bow, are all represented, and, so far as I know, no other representations of them exist. Customs and fashions of which there is no other distinct evidence, are also represented. For instance, we learn from a comparison of all the different representations, that the horsemen of that period rode without spurs or stirrups, cropped the manes and tails of their horses, used snaffle-bridles with cheek-rings and ornamental rosettes, and sat upon peaked saddle-cloths; that, when journeying on horseback, they wore peaked hoods and cloaks, and when hunting or on horseback, armed, they wore a kilt-like dress, falling below mid-thighs, and a plaid across the shoulders; that they used long bows in war, and cross-bows in hunting; that their swords were long, broad-bladed, double-edged, obtusely pointed weapons, with triangular pommels and straight guards; that their spears had large lozenge-shaped heads, while their bucklers were round and furnished with bosses; that they fought on foot with sword and buckler, and on horseback with sword, spear, and shield; that when journeying on foot they wore trews or tight-fitting nether garments, and a plaid loosely wrapped round the body, or a tight jerkin with sleeves, and belt round the waist; that they wore their hair long, flowing and curly, sometimes with peaked

beards, at other times with moustaches on the upper lip, and shaven cheeks and chin; that they used covered chariots or two-wheeled carriages with poles for draught by two horses, the driver sitting on a seat over the pole, the wheels having ornamented spokes; that they used chairs with side-arms and high curved backs, sometimes ornamented with heads of animals; that their boats had high prows and stern-posts; that the long dresses of the ecclesiastics were richly embroidered; that they walked in loose short boots, and carried crosiers and book-satchels. Such illustrations of the life and habits, the art and industry, the costume and arms, of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland, are nowhere else to be found. We grudge no expense to obtain fragments of similarly sculptured representations of the ancient art of other countries wherewith to enrich our museums, but the wealth of unique materials which exist in our own land for the illustration of Celtic art and national history is still left, scattered and unprotected, to decay and perish."

It is considered probable that the period of those elaborately decorated monuments begins with the early part of the tenth century—a period when art in Europe was otherwise well-nigh dead—and there is evidence that with the end of that century Celtic art had reached its culminating point.

By a process of gradual transition, a very marked change was effected in the form of our decorated monuments, when the sculptured representation of the cross in relief, upon the flat dressed slab, was succeeded by such monuments as are crosses in reality—free-standing crosses hewn out of the solid stone, and placed upon a pedestal. Such crosses as are now referred to are typically Celtic in form, and exhibit also the characteristic decoration, interlacing, fret, and spiral, exquisitely executed, with occasionally figure-subjects of men and animals. Not many of these are in existence, but striking examples are to be found on Iona and at Kildalton in Islay. The great cross of Iona, known as St. Martin's, stands fourteen feet high, and is possessed of singular merit as a work of art, while that at Kildalton is not much inferior, and excels in the intenseness of its Celticism. Beyond the fact of their free-standing character, these monuments, wherever found, break away from the tradition of the past in that we do not find upon them those peculiar symbols which, as we have seen, constitute one of the most marked

characteristics and the most unique feature of the Celtic monuments of the east coast. There is evidence, however, gleaned from some of the later slab-monuments that, ere the period of these real crosses, the symbols were gradually losing place.

Of these purely Celtic monuments, our country possesses about three hundred examples. How many more have been destroyed, misused, and allowed to go to ruin as the result of ignorance and national indifference and parsimony, it will never be possible to determine.

From the twelfth century the monuments of Scotland began to lose much of their specially Celtic character, in respect to both the form of the cross and the character of the ornamentation. As regards the latter, the transition is well illustrated in connection with "the most remarkable monument in Britain"—the great cross-bearing slab at Forres, which is a single stone, twenty-three feet in height, four feet in breadth, and fifteen inches in thickness. So far as the Western Highlands were concerned, the effect was to produce a second group of free-standing crosses, which exhibit these substituted characteristics in a very effective and attractive form. It is the examples of this group that are so well known as the West Highland crosses, and which in some places, as in Inveraray and Campbeltown, have been misapplied to a municipal purpose. Instead of being recessed at the intersections, as in the typical Celtic cross, these productions of a more recent time have the arms and summit protruding from a solid circle set on the top of a long thin shaft. Upon them the purer style of Celtic art is almost entirely replaced by foliageous scroll-work, which is Romanesque in type, alien to pure Celtic art, and only Celtic by adoption and adaptation. Some of those that exhibit most distinctly the foliageous style of decoration—and on many of them the decoration is profuse and elaborate—differ also from the earlier monuments in that they bear a representation of the crucifixion, a characteristic which is never found on the purely Celtic ones, and which speaks of the encroachment of Roman influences. This foliageous style of decoration was not adopted on the east coast to anything like the same degree that it was on the west, where it seemed to have found a congenial centre, and flourished for centuries.

It cannot be considered other than an extremely unfortunate circumstance that, though our country is so rich in Celtic monu-

ments, very few of these bear inscriptions of any kind. For historical purposes their value is correspondingly lessened, and we find ourselves in the position of not knowing, except in a few instances, whom these stones were meant to commemorate. The alphabetically inscribed Celtic monuments are limited to several in Iona bearing such Gaelic inscriptions as "Or do Maelfatric"—pray for Maelpatrick; "Or ar anmin Eogain"—pray for the soul of Eogain; and one at St. Vigeans, Forfarshire, already referred to, all of them undated. The inscriptions are written in that minuscular character (the round hand), employed by the Celts from the seventh to the twelfth century. Although, as we have seen, inscriptions in the Roman alphabet and written in the Roman style occur on stones of the pre-Celtic art period, none such appear on monuments characterised by typical Celtic art and Celtic symbolism. On the West Highland crosses such inscriptions re-appear, and one of these, Lachlan MacKinnon's cross, at St. Oran's Chapel, Iona, is the oldest in Scotland bearing a date. That date is the year 1489.

But the Celts had, besides the alphabetical, another mode of writing, and in this form a few monumental inscriptions occur. It is that which is called the "Ogham" in the Book of Ballymote, compiled in the year 1391. By that name it is still designated. Its peculiarity is that it consists of a combination and varied arrangements of digits or short straight lines upon a stem line. To right, to left, across at right angles, and across obliquely these digits are arranged upon the stem line, and these singly, or grouped in all sorts of ways, have their respective phonetic values. The system is entirely and exclusively Celtic. Examples are found in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Scotland even as far north as the Shetland Isles, but nowhere is it found outside the Celtic area. To students the varied examples in the different areas afford materials of much interest, and in those of earliest date we find the "oldest specimens of the oldest written dialects of the Celtic tongue." In Scotland such inscriptions are found associated with the earliest form of the sacred symbol—the cross within the circle; they are found on stones which bear no decoration of any kind; and they present themselves on the purely Celtic monuments of Eastern Scotland. Upon the free-standing crosses they do not appear. From a variety of circumstances much difficulty has been experienced in reading some of

those old time-worn inscriptions, but by the aid of the key which is given in the Book of Ballymote, and with the assistance of several bi-lingual monumental inscriptions in which the answering inscription is given in Latin it has been found possible, in not a few instances, to interpret them satisfactorily.

The intrusion of the Norsemen, while yet Pagan, into a purely Celtic region already Christianised, has left, as might have been expected, a distinctive mark upon the antiquities of the country, and it will be well, ere passing from this subject, to glance for a moment at some of the evidences of their occupancy that are thus afforded. These evidences we find not only in the presence of a characteristic form of ornamentation, many examples of which have been recovered, but in the fact of the reintroduction, into the west and north of those Pagan burial customs which had long before been displaced, on the comparatively early introduction of Christianity into our land. The result of this reintroduction was that for centuries a Pagan form and a Christian form of burial were practised in these regions at the same time, though by diverse peoples, and the former are of interest as illustrating the form of Pagan burial prevailing during the Iron Age, no distinctive native examples of which have hitherto been discovered.

As has already been noted, the special distinguishing characteristic of Pagan burials was the interment of grave-goods along with the dead. This custom prevailed to an unusual degree among the Scandinavians, and it is found to have been well marked during the three last centuries of their heathendom, viz., from the beginning of the eighth to the end of the tenth century. Accordingly, many characteristic burials have been discovered throughout those parts of Scotland that were colonized by the Northmen during that period, and Islay, Mull, Tiree, Eigg, Barra, St. Kilda, Caithness, and Sutherland, as well as Orkney and Shetland, all have yielded instructive examples.

Burials among the Norsemen of those centuries were sometimes burnt and sometimes unburnt. When burnt the ashes are found to have been either simply gathered into heaps, or placed into urns. These urns were frequently of large size, and not usually made of clay, but hollowed out of a soft stone such as steatite. Sometimes, however, they were hammered out of bronze, or formed of plates of iron rivetted together. In many instances of burnt burials the grave-goods are found also to have passed through

the fire; in other instances they seem to have been introduced after cremation. Their more frequent form of disposal of the dead appears to have consisted in simply laying the body on the original surface of the ground without cist or chamber, but surrounded by a roughly made enclosure of stones and covered by a mound. Where a natural or artificial mound previously existed it was sometimes utilised.

The character of the grave-goods in individual cases depended, as we have seen was the case in the burials of the Stone and Bronze Ages in Scotland, upon the habits and tastes of the person while in life. In the grave of the warrior are found not unfrequently the bones of his favourite horse or dog. By his side lie his trusty weapons, and along with them the smithy tools—hammers, tongs, anvil, etc., by which he may keep them in repair in the after-life. For in the Valhalla whither he has gone—the Norseman's Paradise—whose roof is covered with shields, and whose ceiling is supported by spears, the old warrior must needs engage in a continuation of that warfare in which he delighted while on earth. To all who were wounded or slain in battle the Halls of Odin were opened wide, and there the perpetual pastime of its inmates is to fight and slay each other every day. But ere evening closes down, the slain are always revived, and then they joyfully ride back to the feast of boar's flesh and unlimited mead.

Two graves which were discovered on the west coast of Islay by the late Mr. William Campbell, and investigated by him, well illustrate ordinary unburnt Scandinavian burials. One of them was that of a man, the other that of a woman, and they are interesting as showing the character of the grave-goods associated with each. In that of the man were found the weapons of the Scandinavian warrior—an iron sword in its sheath, and of that type which prevailed in Scandinavia in the last three centuries of their heathen period; an iron spear-head; portions of a shield which was originally composed of iron, bronze, and wood; together with two axe-heads, a hammer-head, an adze-head, a pair of forge tongs, and other nondescript articles. From the grave of the woman were recovered two characteristically ornamented oval bowl-shaped brooches of bronze, a silver hair-pin, a hollow knitted chain of fine silver wire, beads of coloured glass, a bronze saucepan, etc., etc. Into the ornamentation of none of these articles does Celticism enter, but instead, it partakes of a

Zoomorphism peculiar to this period of Scandinavian history. As regards the weapons, also, it is to be noted that neither iron sword, nor spear, nor wooden shield, has ever been found associated with a Celtic burial, while in these burials there is further an entire absence of all indications of Christianity. While the characteristics of Scandinavian art were clearly differentiated from those of Celtic derivation, there is distinct evidence that the close associations between the two peoples for so long a period began to tell, and in hoards of Scandinavian manufacture which have been discovered, the influence of Celtic art is clearly manifest.

Sometimes Scandinavian burial arrangements were of the most elaborate description. At one time we find the deceased placed in his chariot, slaves not unfrequently sacrificed to bear him company; his horse killed; his weapons, war suits, and costly burial gifts placed beside him, and a mound raised over all. At another time the body, with all the grave-goods, was placed in his ship, drawn up on even keel upon the strand, and the whole set fire to; while in other instances it was left thus unburnt, and a mound reared over all. Examples of these latter have been found at Pierowall, in Orkney. On yet other occasions we learn that the old sea-king, when about to die, was placed on board his ship, and when the sails were set and a slow fire lighted, he was loosed out to sea alone, there to die as he had lived, and, as he drifted on, men well might hear him sing, in keeping with the spirit of his times—

> "To the great All-father's home
> I am driving through the foam,
> I am sailing to Valhalla,
> O'er the sea."

Upon the monuments of the period Scandinavian influence is also occasionally seen, as in those examples where Celtic art with its strong individuality and effectiveness is adhered to, while the inscriptions are Runic, the old Northern characters being used. A striking example is found in the remarkable reconstructed monument at Ruthwell, in Annandale—a tall free-standing cross which bears inscriptions both in Latin and in the North Anglian dialect. That in Latin is in Roman letters. The Anglian inscription, which consists of a portion of a popular poem by Caedmon entitled, "The Dream of the Holy Rood," is inscribed in Runic characters.

HAMPSTEAD LIBRARIES

CHAPTER XIX.

The career of Somerled, Regulus of Argyll—Distribution of his territories after his death at Renfrew—Revolt of the six Earls—Liberties of the kingdom surrendered by William the Lion—Disturbances in Ross—Independence of Scotland re-established—Relations of the earldom of Orkney and Caithness with the kingdom of Scotland—Rebellion of Guthred, son of Mac William—The first burgh in the Highlands.

1153-1214 A.D.

Kings.	Termination of reign.
Malcolm, son of Henry,	1165.
William, son of Henry,	1214.

King David I. died at Carlisle in the year 1153. A few months before, his only son, the popular Prince Henry had died, and, realising the difficulties his successor and grandson, the youthful Malcolm the Maiden, would labour under in commanding the allegiance of his Celtic subjects, David employed his latter days in smoothing the way for him. With that end in view, he sent forth the heir to the Crown on a tour in the provinces under the charge of his leading earl, the Earl of Fife, that thus the principal men might become acquainted with their future king, and have an opportunity of promising him their allegiance.

Notwithstanding this precaution, Malcolm had not long began to reign ere Airergaithel, Galloway, and Moray were in open revolt. In an earlier chapter reference has been made to the position assumed by Somerled of Argyll in the affair of Malcolm mac Eth, and at a still earlier point we have spoken of his descent in an unbroken line from Godfrey mac Fergus, who lived in the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin. During the reign of David, this leading Argyll family had increased greatly in power and influence. For a time, however, they were overwhelmed with disaster, for the Norwegians had invaded their territories, and possessed themselves of them. In the *Red Book of Clanranald*,

which gives us the clan history of the Lords of the Isles, Mac Vurrich affords us an indication of the method of their recovery. He tells us that at a conference of his friends of the Clan Colla held in Fermanagh Giolla Bride, the father of Somerled, was furnished with a body of men, with whose aid he hoped to recover his hereditary territory in Argyll, from which he had been banished by the Norwegians. Then he continues:—"Giolla Bride proceeded with that party to Alban, where they landed. They made frequent onsets and attacks on their enemies during this time of trouble, for their enemies were powerful and numerous at that time. All the islands from Mannan to Arca [Orkneys], and all the Oirir [coast-land] from Dun Breatan [Dunbarton] to Cata [Caithness] in the north, were in the possession of the Lochlannach; and such of the Gaedhal of these lands as remained were protecting themselves in the woods and mountains, and at the end of that time Giolla Bride had a good son [Somerled], who had come to maturity and renown." In the mountains and woods of Ardgour and Morven the party of Giolla Bride and Somerled was attacked by a large force of Northmen, who were, however, defeated by Somerled, who "did not halt in the pursuit till he drove them northward across the river Sheil, and a part escaped with their king to the Isles; and he did not cease from that work till he cleared the western side of Alban of the Lochlannach, except the islands of the Fionnlochlann [Norwegians], called Innsigall; and he gained victory over his enemies in every field of battle."

King David's influence over Argyll and Kintyre is evidenced by the fact that he was in a position to convey to the monks of Dunfermline in one year the half of his tithe of Ergaithel and Kentir in that year in which he receives *Can* from it, while to the church of Urquhart he grants the tithe of the *Can* of North Argyll. Can or Cain was a fixed payment to the king, paid in grain, in the case of arable land, and in cattle and pigs when the land was pasture. These payments ceased in the different districts when the land came to be held feudally.

From the year 1137 the castle of Marchmont had held in durance vile Malcolm mac Eth, the claimant to the earldom of Moray. Nor did his liberation seem any nearer than in years gone by when Malcolm IV. ascended the throne, but circumstances brought about his release ere many more years had

passed; for now with the advent of a youthful king the sons of the prisoner bethought themselves of actively prosecuting their own claims to the same territory, and in their uncle, Somerled, the Regulus of Arregaithel, as he is called, they found a willing and a powerful ally. And so we find that the allies set about assailing the kingdom at many points, and keeping up an irregular warfare till 1156, when Donald, the eldest son of Mac Eth, was 1156 A.D.
taken prisoner in Galloway, and handed over to King Malcolm, by whom he was sent to share the imprisonment of his father. Notwithstanding this check Somerled continued the war, and King Malcolm, hoping to detach from him many supporters and sympathisers with Malcolm mac Eth, thought it well to come to terms with the latter, with the result that the old prisoner was liberated in 1157, and assigned a province, which, it is surmised, 1157 A.D.
was the earldom of Ross. Later we find him among the nobles of the kingdom witnessing a charter granted by King Malcolm to the monastery of Dunfermline. His contemporary, William of Newburgh, tells us of the termination of his career. He says: —"Whilst he was proudly proceeding through his subject province surrounded by his army like a king, some of the people who were unable to endure either his power or his insolence, with the consent of their chiefs laid a snare for him." Ere long they took him and bound him, and, as was so commonly done in those days, they deprived him of his sight, and otherwise mutilated him. "Afterwards," proceeds the narrator, "he came to us at Byland, and quietly continued there many years till his death. But he is reported even then to have said that had he only the eye of a sparrow, his enemies should have little occasion to rejoice at what they had done to him."

At the period in question Godred the Black, son of Olave the Red, ruled the Western Isles. This Godred was the brother-in-law of Somerled of Argyll, for, from about the year 1140 Ragnhildis, the sister of Godred, had been the wife of Somerled, and to him she bore three sons, Dugall, Reginald, and Angus. This alliance of the family of Argyll with that of the Isles was of the utmost significance in the future history of both, and it was not long ere its importance became manifest. Prompted by Thorfin Ottirson, who had been deprived by Godfrey of his possessions in the Isle of Man, and urged thereto also by the

evidence of much discontent among the island chiefs, Somerled, in 1156, determined to attempt to seize the kingdom of the Isles ostensibly for his son Dugall. Accompanied by Thorfin and his friends, Dugall, though a minor, at once made a tour of the Isles, exacting submission from the people, and taking hostages for their obedience. At the same time Somerled gathered together a fleet of eighty galleys wherewith to encounter Godred, who, through one of the chiefs named Paul, had become aware of what was happening, and prepared for a vigorous resistance. A sea-fight supervened of a desperate and sanguinary character, and lasted through a long January night. Though indecisive, it resulted in an arrangement by which the more southern Hebrides were ceded to Dugall, while Man, the Long Island, Skye, Coll and Tiree were retained by Godred. And so, says the *Chronicle of Man*, "from that period they have formed two distinct kingdoms to the present day." It is not improbable that upon the population of both groups of islands this cession would have a considerable influence. We would, at anyrate, be prepared to find an exodus of the more purely Norwegian elements from the ceded islands, with a corresponding exodus of the more distinctly Celtic portion from the northern islands, which continued for yet a hundred years under Norwegian rule, and which still show in their topography such large traces of Norse occupation.

1158 A.D. Two years later the agreement of 1156 had fallen through from some cause unknown, and Somerled invaded Man with a fleet of fifty-three ships. As a result Godred was forced to fly for a time to Norway. There he remained till the death of Somerled, when he again took possession of Man and the northern isles.

1159 A.D. For several years after 1159 the Regulus of Argyll was at peace with the king of Scotland, matters having been arranged between them by treaty in that year. That this agreement was considered of the highest importance at the time is evidenced by the fact that the date of its conclusion constituted an epoch from

1164 A.D. which Scottish charters were dated. In 1164, however, Somerled, for some reason unexplained, passed beyond the bounds of his own possessions, and, with a formidable fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, sailed up the Clyde, with the intention, say the chroniclers, to subdue the whole kingdom to himself. Strengthened as his army was by auxiliaries from Ireland, Somerled

might well have proved a formidable invader. Scarcely, however, had he landed in the neighbourhood of Renfrew (Greenock, says the MS. History of the MacDonalds, written in the reign of Charles II.), than he was attacked by the people of the district and slain, together with his son Gillecolm, and many of his people. Such is the chroniclers' version, but Mac Vurrich and tradition hold that he was treacherously assassinated in his tent by one in whom he had implicitly trusted. In any case, the once mighty Somerled perished ingloriously. His remains, it is believed, were interred at the church of Saddell in Kintyre, where his son Reginald afterwards founded a monastery, bestowing upon it the lands of Glensaddell, and twelve marks of Baltebeam in the lordship of Kintyre, together with the twenty merk lands of Shiskan in Arran.

On the death of Somerled his possessions in Argyll and the south isles were divided among his three sons Dugall, Reginald and Angus, while Man and the northern isles were seized by Godred the Black, their former lord. To Dugall, who founded the family of Argyll, or Lorn as it came to be designated later (patronymically the MacDougalls), there fell the districts of Lorn and Morven, together with Mull and the smaller islands in its neighbourhood; to Reginald was assigned the territories of Kintyre and Cowal with Islay and the Firth of Clyde islands, while the portion of Angus lay to the north of the possessions of Dugall. Not a little confusion exists in the history of this period in the west from the fact that with the death of Godred of Man in 1187, and the accession of his son Reginald, there came to be two Reginalds, a Celtic one and a Norwegian one, to whom the title of King of the Isles was contemporaneously applied.

Meantime affairs had not been going smoothly for Malcolm in other parts of the kingdom. In 1157 Northumberland and Cumberland, the former of which had been assigned to him as an appanage by his grandfather David, had been surrendered by treaty to Henry of England. Three years later a revolt was in process of organisation—a revolt that was probably due to this curtailment of territory, as well as to indignation at the presence of their king, at the time, in the army of Henry, before Toulouse. News of its inception soon restored Malcolm to his kingdom,

when he immediately summoned his nobles and clergy to meet him at Perth. Here, however, he was besieged, Fordun tells us, by Ferteth, earl of Stratherne, and five others of the seven earls of Scotland, who wished to take him prisoner but failed in the attempt. The same historian adds that by the advice of the clergy he was brought to a good understanding with his nobles. It is noted by Wyntoun that on this occasion the six earls were accompanied by one whom he calls Ergemawche. Who was he? William Fitz Duncan, grandson of Malcolm Ceannmor by his Norwegian wife, had a son who was known by the name of William of Egremont. In the Orkneyinga Saga we are told that this son, William the noble, "all the Scots wished to take for their king." He died young, but it is not improbable that in "Ergemawche" is to be found William of Egremont, as is surmised by Skene, and that this was the occasion on which the Scots wished to make him king.

Though so young we find Malcolm, after this event, acting with the greatest vigour and spirit. Three times in this same year (1160) he invaded Galloway till, eventually, he brought it into direct feudal subjection, and sent their Prince, Fergus, to end his days in the monastery of Holyrood. Moray, also, he is said to have entered in vigorous fashion and performed radical feats as regards the disposal of the population; for, according to Fordun, he "removed them all from the land of their birth, and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and on this side thereof, so that not even a native of that land abode there, and he installed therein his own peaceful people." The significance of this removal and plantation will be referred to in a subsequent chapter.

1165 A.D. On the death of Malcolm in 1165 at the early age of 24, he was succeeded by his brother William, the Lyon King. In an
1173 A.D. unsuccessful invasion of England, undertaken in 1173, with a view to the recovery of Northumberland, William's Gaelic subjects loyally supported him. Indeed, on this occasion his army was mainly composed of Highland Scots and Galwegians. The following year the incursions were renewed into the same territory, but after committing considerable havoc, William was taken prisoner by the barons of Yorkshire, who, under cover of a mist, surprised him and a small party of sixty knights as they

were engaged amusing themselves at tilting in a meadow in the neighbourhood of Alnwick. In Scotland the opportunity afforded by this great misfortune was seized by the Gaelic population to show their resentment at the intrusion of the foreigner—the Norman and the English baron, the townsman and the burgher—and by Fordun we are told that the Scots and Galwegians "wickedly and ruthlessly slew their Norman and English neighbours in frequent invasions with mutual slaughter, and there was then a most woeful and exceeding great persecution of the English, both in 'Scotia' [Scotland proper] and Galloway."

By the end of the year King William was released, though with little accompanying honour to himself, for he basely surrendered the liberties of his country to the English king, and agreed to hand over to the custody of the English the five castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling.

In 1179 we find the attention of the Scottish king directed to the district of Ross, which had been for some time in a disturbed state. Accompanied by his brother David, first Earl of Lennox (later Earl of Huntingdon), and many earls and barons he entered the territory and speedily subdued it. Thereafter, with a view to maintaining his authority, he erected two castles, one called Dunscath to control Easter Ross, the other named Etherdover, now known as Red Castle, to serve the same purpose as regards the Black Isle neighbourhood. 1179 A.D.

Not more than two years, however, had elapsed ere this same district was again the centre of civil strife. From the year 1174, when William had purchased his liberty by the surrender of the independence of Scotland to the English king, much discontent had continued to reign among the Celtic population, and it was probably in consequence of that surrender that now, in 1181, a formidable attempt was made by a powerful party in the State to secure the territory north of the Firths to another claimant. That claimant was Donald Ban Mac William, who announced himself, and was accepted as, the son of William Fitz Duncan, and claimed the throne as lineal heir of Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Ceannmor. If, however, he was the son of William Fitz Duncan, it was not by the only wife the latter was known to have had, viz., Alice de Rumeli, whose only son, the Boy of Egremont, had died some years ere this. He may nevertheless have been the fruit of an earlier marriage, or been an illegitimate 1181 A.D.

child. In any case, the northern tribes rallied round him, for they believed him to have the best right to the throne. Their sense of justice was acute, and they gave evidence of it now, just as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they attached themselves warmly to the Stuarts.

For six years Donald Ban occupied the northern districts with
1187 A.D. a large force, and it was not till the year 1187 that King William found himself in a position to deal with him. By this time William's position in other parts of the country was more assured. Two years earlier one of his officers, "Gilcolm the Marescal," had revolted and delivered up the castle of Dundurn to the king's enemies in Stratherne, with the further result that from that district many attacks were made on Lothian. Galloway also had been much disturbed, but in it, as well as in Stratherne, peace was once again secured, and now in his invasion of the north King William had the active support of Roland, the Lord of Galloway, and many of his followers. By midsummer the royal troops were concentrated at Inverness, and on the 31st of July a battle was fought on a moor called Mamgarvia, which terminated the rebellion by the slaughter of the claimant and many of his followers.

1189 A.D. Two years later the independence of Scotland was re-established. The compelling agency in bringing about this result was the financial necessities of Richard of the Lion Heart, whose crusades made ready money a thing of extreme consequence to him; and so for a sum of 10,000 marks William received a charter from him which placed the kingdoms of England and Scotland in their former relationships the one to the other.

At the period with which we are now dealing the double earldom of Orkney and Caithness was held by Harald, son of Madach, Earl of Atholl, whose father was brother to Malcolm Ceannmor. Harald was thus related to the reigning King William, of whom he nominally held the Caithness earldom. To him the double earlship had come through his mother Margaret, the daughter of the Norwegian Earl Hakon of Orkney. Events which occurred at this time show well the relation in which the Earl of Orkney and Caithness now stood to the Scottish king. Earl Harald, it would appear, after having been married a considerable number of years, put away his wife Afreka, who was a

sister of Duncan, Earl of Fife, and married a daughter of Malcolm mac Eth. Until the year 1196, as Fordun assures us, Harald had been "a good and trusty man, but at that time, goaded on by his wife, the daughter of Mached [Mac Eth], had basely deceived his lord the king, and risen against him." Speaking of these events Roger of Hoveden, the contemporary English writer, tells us that in 1196 King William entered Moray with a great army to drive out Harald, who had occupied that district, but before the king could enter Caithness, Harald fled to his ships. The king then sent his army to Thurso, and destroyed the castle. Harald then came to the king and submitted, and the king permitted him to retain half of Caithness on condition he surrendered his enemies to him in Moray, and gave the other half to Harald Ericson, grandson of Rognwald, a former earl of Orkney and Caithness. The king then retired to his own land, and Harald to Orkney. In the autumn the king returned to Moray, and went to Invernairn to receive the king's enemies from Harald; but after bringing them to the port of Loch Loy, near Invernairn, he allowed them to escape, on which the king took him prisoner, and kept him in Edinburgh Castle till his son Thorfinn was delivered up for him. 1196 A.D.

Harald Ericson, on his part, had not long been put in possession of the half of the earldom of Caithness, when he took steps at the Court of Norway, to have his right similarly recognised to one half of the earldom of Orkney. In this he was successful, but his possession was disputed by the other Harald, who eventually overcame him and slew him in a battle fought near Wick. The victor thereafter sought the Scottish Court, and made a proposal to redeem the deceased Harald's share of Caithness by the offer of a large sum of money. To this the king agreed on the condition, among others, that he should put away his wife, the daughter of Malcolm mac Eth, and restore to her rightful position Afreka, sister of Duncan, Earl of Fife. By Harald this condition was refused, whereupon the Caithness territory in question was sold to Reginald, the son of Somerled, the king's annual tribute being reserved.

Chagrined at his failure, Harald retired to the Orkneys and busied himself with plans for the forcible recovery of the territory. These he put into execution in the later weeks of 1201 when he suddenly invaded the lands of Reginald with an overwhelming 1201 A.D.

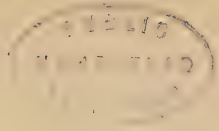
force, drove out the latter's deputies, and committed a barbarous outrage on the bishop of the diocese whom he suspected of favouring his rival. After retaliating these barbarities upon his hostage Thorfinn, William marched immediately to the north, and when later in the spring he was busied with preparations for a naval expedition to go in search of Harald, who had fled, the latter appeared before the king at Perth under the safe-conduct of Roger, bishop of St. Andrews, and tendered his submission. On payment of every fourth penny to be found in Caithness—the amount reached the sum of 2000 merks of silver—Harald was restored to the enjoyment of the earldom. Sutherland, however, was at this time disjoined and bestowed as a lordship on Hugo Freskin of Moray, whose son William was created first Earl of Sutherland.

Not many years after affairs had been thus quieted in the north the smouldering embers of discontent with the position of affairs in the kingdom as between Celt and foreigner, as between the new order of things and the old, as between the patriarchal and the feudal systems, blazed forth afresh in the district of Ross. Renewed coquetting also of King William with the English King John, which had produced considerable general discontent, favoured not a little the project now on hand. It is thus referred to by Fordun:—"Guthred, the son of Mac William, came about
A.D. 1211 the Lord's Epiphany (6th January, 1211), by the advice, it was said, of the Thanes of Ross, out of Ireland into that district, and infested the greater part of the kingdom of Scotland. But the king's army was suddenly sent against him to kill him or to drive him out of the country, and King William himself went after him, and in the following summer built two towns there; but Guthred, being seized and fettered through the treachery of his own men, was brought before the king's son Alexander, at the king's manor and place of Kincardine, and was there beheaded and hung up by the feet." From Bower's amplification we learn that Guthred after his capture would fain have starved himself to death, that thus he might frustrate the purpose of the Earl of Buchan, who wished to present him prisoner to the king. Intimation was, however, sent that William had no desire to see him, and so his death was determined upon when Kincardine was reached. Thus was another of the Mac William family effectively disposed of.

One of the last acts of the Lyon King was to proceed on an expedition to Moray in the year in which he died (1214), with a view to ensuring the submission of John, the new Earl of Caithness. This he effected, receiving as a hostage the daughter and heiress of the earl, and in this way he, so far, paved the way for the tranquil succession of his youthful son Alexander II. 1214 A.D.

In Inverness we find the first burgh that was constituted within the Highland line. It is of respectable antiquity, for it dates at least as far back as the period of this reign. By William four charters were granted in its favour, and as the result of the privileges then conferred it was given a start in a commercial career. Anglo-Saxons, Flemings, and southern Scots settled in it, and, doubtless, introduced several industries, as well as fostered the import and export trade of the neighbourhood. The exports of Scotland were very limited at that time, but the Highlands, no doubt, shared in it, for they consisted of such things as were there produced—wool, skins, hides, salt fish, and horses and cattle. We are hardly prepared to find the fame of Inverness as a shipbuilding centre recognised in foreign countries as early as the thirteenth century, but according to Matthew Paris "a wonderful ship" was built there in 1249 to carry Hugh de Chastillon, the French lord of St. Pol, to the crusades along with Louis IX. The proximity of Inverness to the great forests of the interior would of course afford ample facilities for the prosecution of this industry.

In a statute enacted during this reign we are afforded striking evidence of the tendency that was manifested even at that early date to withdraw the land from cultivation. It contains the following:—"That the earls, barons, and free-holders of the realm shall keep peace and justice among their serfs, and that they shall live as lords from their lands, rents, and dues, and not as husbandmen or sheep-farmers, wasting their property and the country with a multitude of sheep and beasts, thereby troubling God's people with penury, poverty and destruction." This is a very instructive enactment in view of similar proceedings in later and, so-called, more enlightened centuries.



CHAPTER XX.

The "Seven Earls" of Scotland—Insurrection under Donald Ban and Kenneth Mac Eth—Affairs in Argyll and the Western Isles—King Alexander's expedition into Argyll—Burning of Bishop Adam of Caithness—Negotiations with the Norwegian Court—Death of Alexander II. at Kerrera—The Church in Argyll and the Isles—Ceremony at Coronation of Alexander III.—Haco of Norway's invasion—The battle of Largs—The Isles subdued by the Scottish King—Cession of the Isles—Evidences of Norse influence—Continued decay of Celtic influence in high places.

1214-1286 A.D.

Kings.	Termination of Reign.
Alexander II., son of William the Lyon.	1249.
Alexander III., son of Alexander II.	1286.

ALEXANDER II., son of William the Lyon, was crowned at Scone on 5th December, 1214, in the seventeenth year of his age. The position of influence still maintained by the Celtic earls north of the Firths is well brought out in connection with the coronation of the new king, which was carried out, Fordun tells us, "with more grandeur and glory than any one till then." From the same writer we learn that the bishop of St. Andrews, the head of the Scottish Church, and the seven earls of Scotland, *i.e.*, the seven leading earls for the time being—the earls of Fife, Strathearne, Atholl, Angus, Menteith, Buchan, and Lothian—"took Alexander, brought him to Scone, and there raised him to the throne in honour and peace," etc., etc. The constitutional right of the seven representative earls to perform this function we find later claimed for them in an appeal to Edward the First of England, in which it is contended that "according to the ancient laws and usage of the kingdom of Scotland, and from the time whereof the memory of man was not to the contrary, it appertained to the rights and liberties of the seven earls of Scotland and the 'communitas' of the same realm, whenever the royal

throne should become vacant *de facto et de jure*, to constitute the king and to place him in such royal seat, and to confer upon him all the honours belonging to the government of the kingdom of Scotland."

Alexander had not long reigned ere the forces of discontent in the north rallied round the persons of Donald Ban, a son of that Donald Ban mac William who, as we have seen, had been slain at Mamgarvia in 1187, and Kenneth mac Eth, a son or grandson of Malcolm mac Eth. With them was associated the son of an Irish provincial king. Uniting their forces, these leaders, in 1215, 1215 A.D. invaded the province of Moray where, however, they were confronted by a formidable auxiliary of the Scottish king in the person of Fearchar Macintagart, the lay possessor of the lands attached to the great monastery of Applecross which had been founded back in the seventh century by Saint Maelrubha, who is still commemorated in the name of the beautiful Loch Maree, and in the names of many churches. By this powerful Highland chief the insurgents were utterly defeated, their leaders slain, and their heads presented to the king, who, to show his gratitude to Macintagart, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. He was later created Earl of Ross. This welcome adhesion of Macintagart had the effect of bringing his territory in North Argyll into more intimate connection with the Crown, and subsequently we find the new knight, and also his successors, bearing an important and loyal part in the affairs of the kingdom.

Upon the death of Somerled in 1164 his possessions in Argyll and the southern Isles were apportioned, as we have seen, among his three sons Dugall, Reginald, and Angus. This arrangement held good till the year 1210, when Angus and his three sons were slain in battle by the sons of Reginald. By the latter the territory of Angus was forthwith annexed, so that now the original possessions of Somerled were in the hands of the descendants of Dugall and Reginald alone. Dugall was succeeded in the lordship of Ergadia by his son Duncan who, to the full, showed himself a Scottish baron. In the year 1244 he followed King Alexander into England, and was one of the Scottish nobles who were present at the negotiation of the treaty of Newcastle which was concluded in that year.

On the death of Reginald, Kintyre, Cowal, and Islay were

assigned to Donald, his eldest son, from whom are descended the great families of the Mac Donalds, while to his other son, Roderick or Ruari, there fell the islands of Bute and Arran, together with the district of Garmoran stretching from Ardnamurchan to Glenelg. Bute, however, would seem to have been about this time seized by Alexander, the fifth "Dapifer," "Seneschal" or "High Steward" of Scotland, who married Jane, daughter of James, son of Angus, son of Somerled.

Roderick, from whom are descended the Mac Ruaris or Mac Rorys, was emphatically of a restless disposition, and in company with one of a kindred nature, Thomas, son of Uchtraig, king of Galloway, we find him in 1213 bringing destruction to Derry and Innisowen. The following year the two rovers again plundered Derry, even to the despoiling of the monastery. But Roderick was also a troubler of the king of Scotland, for he and other chiefs of Argyll continued to give shelter and support to the families of the irreconcilable Mac Williams and Mac Eths,
1221 A.D. with the result that in the year 1221 King Alexander determined to take steps to bring this condition of things to an end. "During this time," says Fordun, "some unrighteous men of the race of Macwilliam, viz., Gillespic [Mac Eochegan, the then head of that family], and his sons and Roderic, started up in the uttermost bounds of Scotland." On returning with his youthful bride from York, and "having raised an army out of Lothian and Galloway and other outlying provinces, the king sailed for Argyll, but a storm having arisen he was obliged to put back, and brought up at Glasgow in safety, but not without danger. In the following
1222 A.D. year, however, after Whitsunday, he led back the army into Argyll. The men of Argyll were frightened. Some gave hostages and a great deal of money, and were taken back in peace, while others who had more offended against the king's will forsook their estates and possessions and fled. But our lord the king bestowed both the land and the goods of these men upon his own followers at will, and thus returned in peace with his men."

> "Oure the Mownth theyne passyd he sene,
> And held hys Yhule in Abbyrdene."—(*Wynton*).

The fate of the leaders is thus recorded by Fordun:—"God gave them over with their abbettors into King Alexander's hand; and thus the land was no longer troubled by their law-

lessness." The following are Wynton's lines referring to these events :—

> "The Kyng that yhere Argyle wan,
> That rebell wes till hym befor than;
> For wyth his ost thare in was he,
> And athe tuk off thare fewté,
> Wyth thare serwys and thare homage,
> That off hym wald hald thare herytage,
> But the ethchetys [forfeited possessions] off the lave
> To the lordis off that land he gave."

It is impossible to determine how many of the chief men of Argyll were at this time dispossessed of their lands, or who were their successors. There is, in any case, no evidence that any strangers whatever were introduced, and the lines of Wynton would seem to show that the forfeited territory was bestowed upon those of the Argyll chiefs who had not been concerned in the events which led to the royal expedition, and to them alone. Among these was probably Duncan Mac Duine, the ancestor of the Campbells, who seems to have come into possession of the district around Lochawe at this time. Dugald Cambel, son of this Duncan, is the first on record to bear the name of Campbell.

About this time an incident happened in Caithness which brought the king in haste to those northern parts. Instigated by a monk named Serlo, Bishop Adam of Caithness had doubled his exactions on the people of his diocese. Resenting this the bonders appealed to Earl John, son of Harald the elder, who declined to interfere. Thereupon they went to the bishop in a body, when an angry conference ensued, the end of which was that they set fire to the episcopal residence and burned the bishop to death. On the arrival of Alexander he called Earl John to account, but the latter had little difficulty in showing that he was entirely free from any active participation in the barbarous crime. On the score, however, that he had not shown sufficient energy in avenging the crime he was heavily fined and deprived of half his earldom; while from Fordun we learn that "many of those who wrought this deed the king caused to be mangled in limb, and racked and tortured." At the end of a year, while the king was celebrating his birth-day at Forfar, the earl approached the royal presence, and redeemed his forfeited

territory by another large payment. Nine years later he was burned to death in his own castle, and men looked on the event as a just retribution for connivance at the death of the bishop.

1236 A.D. With the year 1236 King Alexander, with the active assistance of Macintagart, Earl of Ross, effected the final subjugation of Galloway, and duly consummated its definite incorporation into the kingdom. And now he set himself the further task of consolidation by endeavouring to bring back to their early and their natural allegiance the Western Isles, which for so long had been under the over-lordship of the kings of Norway. In the Saga of Hakon IV. we find an interesting account of the proceedings in connection with this endeavour. It tells us that Alexander, who "was a great prince and very ambitious of this world's praise," "sent from Scotland in the Western Sea, two bishops to King Haco. At first they begged to know if King Haco would give up those territories in the Hebrides which King Magnus Barefoot had unjustly wrested from Malcolm, predecessor to the Scottish king. The king said that Magnus had settled with Malcolm what districts the Norwegians should have in Scotland, or in the islands which lay near it. He affirmed, however, that the king of Scotland had no sovereignty in the Hebrides at the time when King Magnus won them from King Godred. And also that King Magnus only asserted his birth-right. The commissioners then said that the king of Scotland was willing to purchase all the Hebrides from King Haco, and entreated him to value them in fine silver. The king replied, he knew no such urgent want of money as would oblige him to sell his inheritance. With that answer the messengers departed. From this cause some misunderstanding arose between the kings. The Scottish monarch, however, frequently renewed the negotiation, and sent many proposals; but the Scots received no other explanation than what is here related."

1249 A.D. In the year 1249 King Alexander made his request for the last time, and then, taking advantage of a disturbed condition of affairs in the Isle of Man which had resulted in the slaughter of Reginald, son of Olave, after he had reigned but a few days, he determined to make an attempt to secure possession by force of arms. "Collecting forces throughout all Scotland," says the Saga, "he prepared for a voyage to the Hebrides. . . . He made it manifest before his subjects that he would not desist till

he had set his standard east on the cliffs of Thurso, and had reduced under himself all the provinces which the Norwegian monarch possessed to the westward of the German Ocean." These were brave words, but the king did not live to show his ability to make them good.

Having arrived upon the west coast, Alexander's first step was to secure an interview with the head of the house of Lorn, Eogan or John, son of Duncan, son of Dugall, eldest son of Somerled, whose daughter was married to Magnus Olaveson, the new king of Man. By his contemporary, Matthew Paris, Eogan is described as "a gallant and most accomplished knight," while his uprightness is manifested in those of his actions with which we are made acquainted. King Alexander's object in securing this interview was to endeavour to persuade Eogan to renounce his allegiance to Haco, and to transfer to him the castle of Cairnburgh in the Treshinish Isles, west of Mull, and three other castles. Though tempted with promises of great reward, and urged by his friends, Eogan remained faithful to the over-lord of whom he held his island territory, pleading the oath he had sworn just the year before to the Norwegian monarch, and protesting that in other circumstances he would be found equally faithful to his Scottish sovereign. In view of the purposed proceedings of Alexander, Eogan forthwith sought safety in flight, and betook himself to Lewis, which was under the sovereignty of his son-in-law, Magnus of Man. But he need not have fled, for ere Alexander could begin active proceedings he was seized with an illness which terminated his career on the island of Kerrera. "The Scottish army then broke up," says the Saga, "and they removed the king's body to Scotland."

Let us now turn for a little to the affairs of the Church in these western parts during the twelfth and a portion of the thirteenth century. From the period when King Magnus Barefoot asserted his supremacy over the Western Isles (1098), we learn practically nothing of the affairs of Iona, till the time when, nearly sixty years afterwards, it and the other Sudreys south of Ardnamurchan Point, came into the immediate possession of Somerled of Argyll. During these and the later years of Norwegian supremacy Iona and the Western Isles, constituted, at least nominally, a part of the metropolitan diocese of Trontheim. Probably

during that time its organisation was not very complete. At anyrate, in 1164 we find the heads of the community of Iona—the *Sacartmor*, or great priest, the *Ferleighinn*, or lector, the *Disertach*, or head of the *Disert* for the reception of pilgrims, the head of the *Cele De* or Culdees, and the other chiefs of the family of Iona—by the advice of Somerled and the men of Argyll and the Isles, inviting Flaithbertach O'Brolchan, bishop of Derry, to accept its abbacy. But the invitation was not accepted on account of resistance offered by the heads of the State in Ireland, both civil and ecclesiastical. Later, however, we find an O'Brolchan occupying the position of prior of Iona's monastery. This was Donald O'Brolchan whose name as its builder may be found still inscribed on the upper portion of one of the pillars of the abbey church—"Donaldus O'Brolchan fecit hoc opus"—and whose death is recorded under date 1202. The period of erection of the abbey church is thus approximately determined.

At the period in question—the time of O'Brolchan—the man of greatest power and authority in these western parts seems to have been Reginald, second son of Somerled, of whom Mac Vurrich, the clan Sennachy, says he was "the most distinguished of the Galls [that is the Norwegians], and of the Gaels for prosperity, sway of generosity, and feats of arms." "Three monasteries," he further tells us, "were erected by him—a monastery of black monks [Benedictines] in I. [Iona], in honour of God and Saint Columchelle; a monastery of black nuns in the same place; and a monastery of gray friars at Saghadul [Saddell, in Kintyre]." Into Iona these orders of monks and nuns were introduced, as a still extant deed in the Vatican testifies, in the year following the death of Prior O'Brolchan (1203). At the time Cellach or Celestinus was Abbot, while the first prioress of the nunnery of Iona was Beatrice or Bethok, the sister of Reginald. That the new condition of things was very pleasing to Cellach is made evident by an early attempt which he made to expel the Culdees, the prior Celtic community, and place them in a separate monastery in the *Baile* or town. By the Culdees, however, this effort was strenuously resisted, and in this they were aided by the clergy of the north of Ireland who, with several bishops and abbots at their head, landed upon the island, "and, in obedience to the law of the church, they pulled down the monastery." But though frustrated now, the beginning of

the end had come, and from henceforth we hear no more of the Culdees of Iona. The probability is that after a time they adopted the Benedictine rule, and became monks of the abbey. To other religious houses and churches, of Paisley, etc., the descendants of Somerled also acted in generous fashion by conferring upon them gifts of lands, cattle, etc.

Up till about the year 1200 the Bishopric of Dunkeld not only embraced the district of Atholl, but had under its oversight the large province of Airergaidhel or Argyll, stretching from Loch Broom to the Firth of Clyde. With the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, the territory to the west of Drumalban was formed into a new bishopric known first as the Bishopric of Argyll, and later of Lismore. Of this new see the first bishop was Eraldus (Arailt or Erailt), whose seat appears to have been at Muckairn on the south side of Loch Etive, where there was erected a church bearing the name of *Killespeckerrill*, or the church of Bishop Erailt. About the year 1230 there was founded at Ardchattan by "Dunkan Mak Dougall," Lord of Lorn, a priory for monks of the order of Vallis Caulium, which had for dependencies the old churches of Balevedan in that neighbourhood, Kilninver in Lorn, Kilbrandon in Seil, Kirkapol in Tiree, Kilmonivaig in Lochaber, and Kilmarrow or Kilarrow in Kintyre, the latter commemorating Saint Maelrubha of Applecross.

As the result of a mutual agreement between the bishop of Argyll and the bishop of the Isles, and with the concurrence of the Pope, the church of Lismore was dissevered in 1236 from the see of the Isles, and became the seat of the bishop of Argyll, or as he was now called, the bishop of Lismore. Lismore was an old foundation, the original having been founded as a Columban monastery by St. Lughadh or Moluoc, but ere this not only its insular possessions, but also those on the mainland, that is the district of Appin (Abthania), had become the property of the lords of Lorn, and the church had fallen into a state of extreme destitution. From this time its position began to improve, and in 1249 Alexander II. bestowed certain grants upon it, an example which was followed in 1251 by Eugenius or Eogan, the knight of Erregaithill or Lorn.

On the death of Alexander II. the succession devolved upon his son who bore the same name. Walter Bower affords us an 1249 A.D.

interesting glimpse of the coronation ceremony at Scone of the little lad who, at the time, was but in his eighth year. He tells us that Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and Malise, Earl of Stratherne, and all the clergy, having "joined unto them some earls and a great many other nobles, led Alexander, soon to be their king, up to the cross which stands in the cemetery at the east end of the church. Here they placed him upon the celebrated coronation stone, which was covered with silken cloths interwoven with gold, and the bishop of St. Andrews, assisted by the rest, consecrated him king." And then, having received the homage of the feudal barons, who laid their robes of State before the Stone of Destiny, and bowed the knee to the child king, there advanced an aged Highland sennachie of reverent mien, with flowing snowy beard, and clad in scarlet cloak, who, kneeling before the stone, hailed him as "Ri Alban," conferring his benediction upon him, and reciting in Gaelic (*materna lingua*) the traditional genealogy of the young king—"Benachte Re Albanne Alexander, Mac Alexander, Mac Vleiham, Mac Henri, Mac David," etc. Though this is the first occasion on which the latter singularly unique and picturesque incident in the ceremony is referred to in the chronicles (references to the ceremonies of an earlier time are of the most meagre description), there can be no doubt that it formed a part of the proceedings from a very early date.

It may be here noted that at this period, and till somewhat later, three languages were employed in Scotland. At this coronation the earlier portion of the ceremony was conducted in Norman French, which was the language of the Court. Then there was the language of the Sennachie—the Gaelic language—which, as we have already indicated, was then known as Scottish, while in southern Scotland there was the Anglo-Saxon tongue, which was spoken of as "quaint Inglis." Gradually Norman French died out, and was replaced by the "quaint Inglis," which ere long so established itself that it became known as "Scottish," while the Gaelic, the original "Scottish," became confined to the mountainous districts and Galloway.

Not until King Alexander III. had attained his majority were any further steps taken by the Scottish Government in connection with the Western Isles. But Alexander was a man of
1261 A.D. energy, and in the year 1261 he opened up afresh negotiations

with the Norwegian Court. Not only, however, was the embassy fruitless, but it resulted in the messengers being detained against their will till well on in the next year. Whether on account of this proceeding or not, early in 1262 active operations of a harassing character were begun on the west coast against some of the northern islands, which were at that time in the possession of Roderick and his sons, Dugald and Alan. These proceedings were duly reported to Haco through letters from the latter, who also informed him, says the saga, that "the Scottish king purposed to subdue all the Hebrides, if life was granted him." At once the Norwegian king determined on active measures for the retaining of his authority over the Sudreys, and "commanded all his forces to meet him at Bergen about the beginning of spring." "It was a mighty and splendid armament [the quotations that follow are all from the saga] of upwards of 120 sail that loosed from the coast of Norway on the 15th of July—the mightiest, it is said, that ever left these northern shores. During this voyage King Haco had that great vessel which he had caused to be constructed at Bergen. It was built entirely of oak, and contained twenty-seven banks of oars. It was ornamented with heads and necks of dragons beautifully overlaid with gold. He had also many other well-appointed ships." 1262 A.D.

By the time Haco had reached Kerrera, he had been joined by Magnus, King of Man, "King Dugal," and the other Hebrideans, with all their troops. But there were certain western chiefs who refused to swell the Norwegian forces. Among these were the lords of Bute, Kintyre, and Islay. The resistance of the former was, of course, to be expected, for the owner of Bute at the time was a Stewart, and he had never acknowledged the king of Norway as his overlord. It was very different with Angus Mor of Islay and South Kintyre, the chief of the Mac Donalds, who was in fact placed in a dilemma by the arrival of Haco. Seven years before he had been forced by the regents of Scotland to acknowledge his fiefs as held of the Scottish crown, while the barons of Argyll were bound, on pain of forfeiture, to hold by the royal cause if ever the lord of Islay swerved from his allegiance. News of the sailing of Haco was the signal for still further precautionary measures to be taken in the same direction, for Alexander, the son of Angus, was seized by King Alexander as a hostage, and a similar step was taken

with regard to one Margad or Murchard, who was the lord of North Kintyre. Particulars of the expenses incurred in the keeping of these hostages, and also of twenty-two who had been seized in Caithness and Skye, are to be found in the Chamberlain's Rolls, for they were detained at the king's charge.

To punish the lords of Bute, Kintyre, and Islay, Haco detached a couple of squadrons under instructions to plunder in Bute and the Mull of Kintyre, after which he sailed south to Gigha. Here he was visited by the abbot of Saddell, who begged "protection for their dwelling and Holy Church ; and this the king granted them in writing." Here also messengers came to him "from King Dugal, and said that the lords of Kintyre, Margad (Murchard), and Angus were willing to surrender the lands which they held to King Haco, and to order their dependents to join him." Hardly any other course was open to them in the circumstances than to return to their original overlord, for now, in their straits, the king of Scotland was unable to afford them protection. By Haco their submission was gladly received, and, while he ordered the plundering in Kintyre to be stayed, he "laid a fine of a thousand head of cattle on their estates. Angus yielded up Islay also to the king, and the king returned Islay to Angus upon the same terms that the other barons in the Hebrides enjoyed their lands."

But there was another of the western chiefs who steadily and sturdily refused to follow the banner of King Haco, and who found a more honourable way out of his dilemma than did Angus or Murchard. This was that King Eogan or King John, as he is called in the Saga, the chief of the Mac Dougalls, who, we saw, at an earlier date honourably refused to surrender his rightful allegiance to the king of Norway at the request of Alexander II. At Gigha he also paid a visit to King Haco, and excused himself from following that king in his invasion of the territories of the Scottish monarch on the ground that "he had sworn an oath to the Scottish king, and held of him more lands than of the Norwegian monarch ; he therefore entreated King Haco to dispose of all those estates which he had conferred upon him." In the hope that he might still prevail, Haco kept the Celtic chief by him for some time, but to all his solicitations to actively join him, Eogan remained unmoved.

Meantime the castle of Rothesay had capitulated to the Nor-

wegians, and soon the whole island was subdued and handed over to Ruari, son of Reginald, who had long claimed it, and had been outlawed because of attempts he had already made upon it. Under the leadership of Ruari, the Norwegians, who had been engaged in the capture of Bute, forthwith proceeded to the mainland and committed much mischief.

On the arrival of Haco with his fleet at Lamlash, the Scottish king, who had put many castles in a state of defence, and was now in the neighbourhood of Ayr with the greater part of his forces, sent forward ambassadors to treat with the northern king. Time and again embassies passed between the monarchs, but they were unable to come to terms, as Haco demanded possession of all the Hebrides, while Alexander absolutely refused to part with Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes. Negotiations, however, proceeded for some time yet, the Scots purposely protracting them in the expectation that, as autumn was now well advanced, stormy weather might constitute itself a valuable auxiliary. By this time the ships had sailed in past the Cumbraes and taken up a position opposite Largs. At last the truce was declared at an end, and King Haco began active operations by sending sixty ships into Loch Long. "When they came into the inlet, they took their boats, and drew them up to a great lake which is called Loch-Lomond. On the far side round the lake was an Earldom called Lennox." In this novel and audacious excursion neither life nor property was spared, and Allan, the brother of King Dugal, "the bravest of mortals," as he is called, "marched far over into Scotland," and committed great havoc.

Matters were precipitated in connection with both sections of the fleet by a storm which broke out on the night of the 30th September, and lasted for two days. So dreadful was this gale that people said it was raised by the power of magic, while the quantity of rain that fell was prodigious. Of the Loch Long fleet ten ships were dashed in pieces. On the Ayrshire coast the condition of things was quite as bad, and, on the night of the 30th, the king, fearing no human power could save them, forsook his drifting galley, took to his long boat, and rowing out to the islands ordered mass to be sung. Many ships were cast ashore, and the Northmen were forced to leave them, and fight for life. Fordun's description of the circumstances is this:—"On the very day that both the kings had appointed for battle, there arose at

sea a very violent storm which dashed the ships together; and a great part of the fleet dragged their anchors, and were roughly cast on shore whether they would or not. Then the king's army came against them and swept down many, both nobles and serfs, and a Norwegian king, Hakon's nephew, a man of great might and vigour, was killed. On account of this the king of the Norwegians himself, sorrowing deeply, hurried back in no little dismay to Orkney, and while wintering there awaiting a stronger force to fight it out with the Scots, he died." In the Saga a minute description of the fight is given from the Norwegian view point, and ends by claiming that the Norsemen held the field. In any case the invasion was a failure, and within a few days the Norwegian fleet weighed anchor and departed, never again to return. On his way north Haco again opened negotiations with Eogan, but they were fruitless, and, after the fashion of a conqueror, when they had arrived at the Calf of Mull he bestowed upon King Dugal and his brother Allan "those estates which King John [Eogan] formerly possessed." "He gave Bute to Rudri [Ruari], and Arran to Margad. To King Dugal he gave the castle in Kintyre [Dunaverty] which Guthorm Backa-Kolf had besieged and taken during the summer." Haco died at Kirkwall in the Bishop's Palace there, after a lengthened reign of forty-six years.

"And they laid thee Haco, Haco
With thy sires on the Norway shore,
And far from the isles of the sea, Haco,
That know thy name no more."

The death of Haco afforded the Scottish king the opportunity he desired, and from Fordun we learn that he lost no time in getting a strong army together preparatory to setting out with his fleet towards the Isle of Man. But matters were facilitated for him, for as he was on his way to the Galloway coast he was met at Dumfries by King Magnus of Man, who there tendered his submission on the stipulation that he should be protected from the vengeance of the Norwegian kings. At the same time Magnus guaranteed to furnish ten galleys towards the royal fleet.

The homage of this petty king having been thus secured, Alexander sent the earls of Buchan and Mar, and Alan the Hostiary (Durward), with a band of knights and natives, to the

Western Isles, "where they slew those traitors who had the year before encouraged the king of Norway to go to war with Scotland. Some of them they put to flight, and, having hanged some of the chiefs, they brought with them thence exceeding great plunder." The families of these men, however, remained in possession, and retained their positions under the Scottish king.

The next step in the formal annexation of the Isles to the Scottish kingdom was taken in July, 1266 (King Magnus of Man having died the previous year), when a treaty was concluded at Perth through the agency of the Norwegian envoys—Sir Asketin, the Chancellor, and Andrew Nicolson—by which all the islands, except those of the Orkney and Shetland groups, were ceded to the King of Scotland, on the condition that 4000 merks should be paid in four yearly instalments, besides an annual payment of one hundred merks to the Crown of Norway. By James I. this latter sum was paid in 1426, and arrangements were made by him with Eric of Norway for its continuance. According to the terms of the treaty, a general amnesty to the Islesmen was to be proclaimed, while any of the subjects of Norway who desired to quit the Sudreys were to be at perfect liberty to do so, and to take their effects with them. On the other hand, to those who chose to remain, the king of Norway sent an instruction that they should henceforth loyally serve and obey their liege lord, the king of Scotland. In 1281 Margaret, the Scottish princess, was given in marriage to Eric of Norway, and thus the bond of amity between the two kingdoms was happily strengthened. 1266 A.D.

In connection with these changes in relationships, King Alexander would appear to have dealt generously with the western chiefs. Angus Mor of Islay and Kintyre again became his vassal; Eogan of Lorn, who was already in that relationship for his mainland possessions, received a grant of those islands he had formerly held of the Norwegians; while the Mac Ruaris were confirmed in their land in the north, though they were forced to give up their claim to Bute. Skye and Lewis became the possessions of the Earls of Ross.

What proportion of purely Norse families lingered on in the Western Isles after the final separation from the Crown of Norway there is nothing to show, but this at anyrate is evident that, long as the colonisation lasted, the northern elements failed to absorb the Gaelic population as they had done that of the Orkneys and the

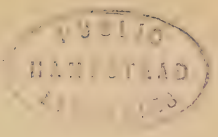
eastern portion of Caithness, and they were unable to impose the Scandinavian tongue upon them. That much Norwegian blood was infused into the Gaelic population by intermarriage there can, however, be no doubt, but the predominant element is now emphatically Celtic, and Norse characteristics are few—probably in obedience to the law that the predominant ancestral type is generally that which is native to the soil, and which by habit has so adapted itself to the climatic and geographical conditions of the country that in the racial fight it has usually been enabled to retain the upper hand. But upon the topography of these western parts the Norseman has left a lasting impression, so much so that in many districts Scandinavian place-names very largely prevail over the Celtic ones. This is more especially true as regards the natural features of the coast-line, and in connection with the names of many of the small towns. It will probably be found, however, in respect to the names of many natural features, that the Norse names were translations of the older Celtic topography, while sometimes we find both languages combined in the same word.

1283 A.D. In the year 1283 an occasion occurred in connection with an assembly convened in that year for the purpose of regulating the succession to the throne, which shows the composition of the governing body, the Estates of the Realm, at that time, and the development it had undergone during this reign. That body now represented the entire territory of Scotland. "There were," says Skene, "the earls of Buchan, Dunbar, Stratherne, Lennox, Carrick, Mar, Angus, Menteith, Ross, Sutherland, Fife, and Atholl, of whom four were Norman intruders into Celtic earldoms, and the earl of Orkney represented the earldom of Caithness; and there were twenty-four barons, of whom eighteen at least represented the Norman baronage of the kingdom; while the Celtic element [in the baronage] is represented only by Alexander of Argyll [the Lord of Lorn], Angus, son of Donald [of Islay and Kintyre], and Alan, son of Rotheric, the native rulers of Argyll and the Isles." Notwithstanding the fact that the governing body was thus extended, the special privileges of the seven leading earls for the time being were plainly recognised, as we have seen was the case, some years later, in the appeal to Edward I. Very soon, however, after that time they became

more completely merged in the "Communitas regni" or Estates of the kingdom.

During this period the Church had also attained to great place and power. The extent of land which was held by it was very large, probably amounting to a third of the whole land of the country, and it was in possession either of the bishoprics or of the great monastic institutions founded by the kings of this dynasty from Edgar downwards. The incomes of some of the higher clergy rivalled that of the king himself. The possessions of the old Celtic monasteries, which still remained with the Church, were now known as "Abthania" (Gaelic *apdaine*, abbey lands), as were also those of them that had fallen to the Crown.

With the death of Alexander III. in 1286, followed in 1290 by that of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, when on her way to take possession of her kingdom, the dynasty of Celtic monarchs in the male line came to an end; Scotland's Golden Age, as it has been justly termed, passed away—"oure gold wes changed into lede"—and the nation was launched into such a sea of troubles as it had never hitherto experienced. 1286 A.D.



CHAPTER XXI.

Relation of the Celts to the land—First special grants of land—Relationship of the tribes to each other—The seven provinces of Pictavia—The organisation of the provinces—The new order of things introduced—Gradual extinction in the male line of the old Celtic earldoms—Disintegration of the tribes—Evolution of the Clans—The people of the Clans—The Celtic element in the population of Scotland—The genealogical MSS. of the Clans—Clans dealt with in these MSS.

THE earliest references by Greek and Roman writers to the inhabitants of these islands shew them to us as a people or peoples existing in tribes, and living principally by pasturage and the chase. In those early days, as indeed into much later times, cattle constituted the chief of their possessions. Speaking of the Aryan race as a whole, Rudolph von Ihering, in his recent work on *The Evolution of the Aryan*, remarks that "A wooden house, extensive herds, a wife, and male descendants, were all that the Aryan desired." The significance of cattle as an indication of a Celt's wealth, is evidenced by the fact that in Ireland the very earliest title that we read of was the *Bo-aire* or Cow-lord—a word which, curiously enough, is to this day used in Scotland in its modern form of *Bower*, as applied to one who takes the product of dairy cows from a farmer by contract.

With the passing away of the nomad and hunting stage, the tribe would definitely settle down with their cattle in a particular territory, and enter upon a somewhat different and more advanced phase of existence. But coming down to later times, we find, as we have seen, the tribe constituting still in Scotland the social organisation of the Gaelic race. Evidence exists that that organisation, not only among the Dalriads but among the Picts also, was analogous to the Irish system, in which, founding on the belief of a common origin, the social unit was not the individual or the family, but the *Tuath* or tribe. The natural result of this idea as regards the land was that there was no private property in it. It was considered the common possession

of the tribe that settled upon it, the arable portion being annually divided into lots, while the pasture land was common. Here we have the foundation of the run-rig system, which continued into quite recent times. In those primitive days these conditions applied even to the *Ard Ri* or King, for he, like his subjects, only received his allotment, proportioned in extent, as was the practice, to the size of his herd. While monarch of his people, he was not at the same time vested in the land. In other ways, however, he was fittingly maintained at the expense of his people. The land privileges referred to were reserved for the free-men of the tribe, the *Tuath* of *Saor*, as opposed to the unfree or *Tuath* of *Daor*, who, from conquest, or as strangers, or as being hereditary bondmen, or as being unworthy from some special circumstance, were not accorded full privileges.

The first special grants of land were possibly those bestowed upon the Church for its maintenance. These were known as *Termon* lands, and in the Celtic jottings in the *Book of Deer* we find records of a series of such grants by the Mormaers, Toishechs, and the King himself, long ere formal charters were known. In process of time, too, lands came to be separated from the territory of the tribe and set apart for the maintenance of the dignity of the *Ri* or king. A step further, and the ownership of the general territory came to be vested in those chiefs or leaders who had come to the front, in the first instances at any-rate, by their natural ability. The land, however, continued to be used in common by the tribe or clan.

What the relationships of the Scottish tribes were to each other during the early centuries of the Christian era cannot be determined. That they sometimes united for purposes of defence we know from Tacitus, when he tells us that, conscious of their weakness from disunion, they, previous to the battle of Mons Granpius, united their forces under Galgacus, who, we may assume, was the renowned chief of one of their tribes. Later we read of northern and southern Picts, Caledonians and Mæatæ, Dicaledones and Vecturiones, all of which groupings point, in all probability, to a certain amount of union among the tribes.

In the legends of the Picts, Pictavia is said to have been divided by the seven sons of Cruithne, the *eponymus* or supposed founder of the race, into seven provinces bearing their names. We do not know that this tradition really implies more than that

which is an historical fact, viz., that the land occupied by the Picts or Cruithne in Scotland was, from of old, divided into seven provinces. The names borne by these provinces from a very early date were Fibh, Fidach, Fodla, Fortrenn, Cait, Ce, and Ciric. With regard to most of the districts thus distinguished, identification is not difficult. Fibh or Fiv is evidently Fife; Fodla is Atholl, an early form of which was Atfodla; Fortrenn, as we have seen, is frequently referred to in early records, and included the western parts of Perthshire; Ciric or Circin occurs also, not unfrequently, in the form of Maghcircin, which latter got corrupted into Mearns, with which it has been identified; Cait is Cathanesia or Caithness. Fidach and Ce have not been definitely identified, but they doubtless refer to those northern parts which are not included in the other five. These are the districts of Moray and Ross, and Mar and Buchan, the former constituting probably the province of Fidach, and the latter the province of Ce.

Early Scottish records referring to a time ere yet Dalriada and Pictavia had been amalgamated, speak of this same seven-fold division into provinces, and from them we learn that each province was made up of two districts—Atholl and Gowry; Angus and Mearns; *Stadeern* and *Meneted* or Strathearn and Menteath; Fif, with *Fothreve*, constituting the peninsula between the Firths of Forth and Tay; Mar and Buchan; Moreb or Moray and Ross; and the two divisions of Cathanesia. A later description written, it would appear, during the early years of William the Lyon's reign, applies to a time when Caithness was under Norwegian ascendency. That province is therefore omitted, but instead, there is included the province of Arregaithel or Ergadia on the west.

The internal organisation of the Pictish provinces has been thus succinctly summarised by Skene in his first volume of *Celtic Scotland*. He says:—"The unit was the *Tuath* or tribe; several Tuaths formed a *Mortuath* or great tribe; two or more Mortuaths a *Coicidh* or province; and at the head of each was the *Ri* or king; while each province contributed a portion of its territory, at their point of junction, to form a central district, in which the capital of the whole country was placed, and the *Ri* or king, who was elected to be its *Ardri* or sovereign, had his seat of government. In this account the provinces are termed 'regna' or

kingdoms. Under each province was the 'sub-regio' or *mortuath* with its Regulus or *Ri mortuath*, and composed, no doubt, of a certain number of *tuaths* or tribes, with their chiefs or *Ri tuaith;* and where the four southern provinces met, was the central district in which the capital, Scone, the seat of the *Ardri Albain* was placed. At the period to which the description of the provinces given us by Andrew, bishop of Caithness, belongs [1165], this organisation had been so far modified, that the title of Ri, or king, is no longer borne by the heads of the tuath or tribe, and the mortuath or subregion, but at the head of the tuath is the *Toisech*, and of the mortuath the Mormaer [the great Maer or Steward]. The latter dignity, however, was still hereditary, and in the district of Angus, which was more intimately under Scottish influence and authority, we find it descending in the male line, while in the most northern district of Alban proper the Pictish law of succession through females was still observed."

In earlier chapters we have incidentally seen how with every effective extension of the central authority, and with the introduction of Saxon and Norman elements from the time of Malcolm Ceannmor onwards, the power of the provincial Celtic magnates gradually and steadily declined, and Celtic influence at Court waned. With the reigns of the sons of Margaret the Saxonising of the old Celtic institutions made rapid strides, and organised feudalism took firm root. Celtic designations, too, gave way before Saxon titles. The Mormaers or Great Stewards became Scotland's first Comites or Earls, and the Toishech was in some instances transformed into the Thane. This latter is more particularly true as regards the forfeited territory of Moray.

The leading principle of the new order of things as regards the ownership of land was very different from that which had originally prevailed. Now, as Skene puts it, "the king was feudal superior of all the territory, and all rights to land emanated from him, all land not given out as feudal holdings was held to be Crown lands, and the tribe territories not placed under feudal lords, and now termed Thanages, were regarded as royal demesnes." These early Thanages, however, of which, according to Cosmo Innes, fifty are named in Scottish charters, preserved many of the original Celtic characteristics and privileges, just as did the early earldoms. They were held of the king on what was known as feu-farm for an annual rent or feu-duty, which

continued to be designated *Cain*, the old name for the chief land tax. But as time passed feudal holdings for military services, came to be increasingly, from military necessities, the rule throughout the land, and whenever the older holdings reverted to the Crown, as they ere long did in their entirety, the new order universally prevailed. By the termination of the Wars of Independence most of the Thanages, through confiscation and otherwise, had come into that position. They were usually, however, in these cases regranted to the Norman barons, and in their new relationship to the Crown, were known as Baronies. To the new land doctrines the Celts have never taken kindly, and they fondly cling, in spite of political economy, to their old world beliefs that the land of a country never belonged to any king to gift away at his pleasure, but that it is the birth-right of the people, being designed by Providence for those who exist upon it. Antiquated notions, but fundamentally true.

With the reign of Alexander the First the "Seven Earls of Scotland" become historical. Probably with a view to checking the influence of those powerful nobles the number of earldoms was gradually increased after the abortive attempt on King Malcolm IV. at Perth in 1160, and so we find that ere long the old provinces, instead of having each but one earl, had two, one for each division of the province; and in this way a large feudal element was speedily introduced into every district of the country. By the end of the reign of Alexander III. there were thirteen earls in Scotland.

What, however, was of still more significance as regards the earlier peoples was the fact that within comparatively few generations all the old Celtic earldoms became extinct in the male line. We have seen the ancient line of the Mormaers of Moray coming to an end, or rather, as we surmise it should be put, wrongfully dispossessed of their territories and titles early in the reign of David I. The reign of Alexander II. witnessed the decease of the last Celtic earls of Buchan, Atholl and Angus; and during the reign of his successor the Celtic line of Monteith also closed. Strathearn, in the reign of David II., Mar in that of Robert II., and Lennox in 1425, all shared a similar fate. In every instance the titles and possessions passed, by marriage with a Celtic heiress, it might be, or by royal grant, into foreign hands; Celtic influences at Court correspondingly diminished;

feudalism replaced the older tenures; and Teutonic colonisation of the more Lowland districts steadily increased.

Such supplanting as was involved in these changes could not have occurred, we may readily understand, without leading to other consequences of a far-reaching character. The first and most important of these was the disintegration of the Mortuaths, and the disorganisation of the tribes. Among the Celts, blood, or even the tradition of blood relationship, counted for everything, and under the powerful patriarchal government of their hereditary lines of Mormaers and Earls, the component parts of the Mortuaths and Tuaths were held together by the bonds of a common ancestry, or long-continued fraternisation. The great difference between this natural patriarchal condition of things, and that which characterised the feudal relationship, is well shown by Maine in his *History of Early Institutions*, where he points out the fact that the lords felt the idea of a common origin to be an insult, and the words villain, churl, miscreant, boor applied to them proves this, and are still retained in our language.

In Scotland, with the passing of the titles and overlordships to those of alien race, to men who had no blood claim to the allegiance of the people, all was changed. Local government on the old, wide basis entirely disappeared. In the eastern districts the tribal system ultimately, though gradually passed away. In the north and west, on the other hand, as among the hills and vales of the Border region, there was evolved from it, or rather came prominently into view at that time, that clan system which, for so many hundreds of years, has played such a prominent part in the history of our country. That bodies such as now emerged and became known as clans, had at all times existed as distinct units within the tribes, there can be no shadow of doubt, though it is only at this juncture when the great tribes, one by one, lose their native chiefs and become in consequence disorganised and broken up, that they appear in comparative independence under their own immediate hereditary leaders. Only in three instances do we find mention made of clans during the time when Celtic Mormaers were still in power. Two of these references occur in *The Book of Deer*. These show us Comgill mac Caennaig, Toisech of Clan Canan, and Donnachach mac Sithig, Toisech of Clan Morcunn or Morgan (probably the MacKays) concurring in

grants of land to the monastery of Deer during the reign of David I. The fact that the Toisech in both instances appears as the head of the clan may be taken as evidence that at that early period the whole tribe constituted one clan. Ere long that district became largely colonised by a Teutonic population, and we hear no more of clans in that region. In Fife, during the same reign, the Clan Mac Duff comes plainly into view in the witnessing of a charter by one Gillemichel Mac Duff, who afterwards became Earl of Fife. To the Earls of Fife belonged from an early period, according to the Scotichronicon, many privileges, among them that of placing the king on the coronation stone, and of leading the van in every battle in which the royal standard was unfurled. Theirs also was the privilege of the *Lex Clan Mac duff* by which "when ony man-slayers being within the ninth degree of kin and bluid to Mac duffe, sumetime Earle of Fife, came to that croce (the cross of Mac duff 'above the Newburgh beside Lundores'), and gave nine kye and ane colpindach [*capull-each*, a mare?] he was free of the slauchter committed be him." As late as 1421 this law was taken advantage of to the saving of the life of Hugh de Arbuthnot. It is not improbable that these special privileges point to the descent of the Mac Duffs from the royal line of Kenneth Mac Alpin, though Fordun asserts that they were accorded them in reward for the slaughter of Mac Beth by the first earl.

Not till well-nigh the close of the fourteenth century do we find mention made of clans, as such, within the Highland line. By this time the inhabitants of that area had come to be spoken of as "Highlanders," and by Fordun, who wrote between 1363 and 1383, at a time when they had long been at peace with their Lowland neighbours, we are furnished with the following description of them:—"The Highlanders and people of the Islands are a savage people and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the Anglic people and language, and, owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel. They are, however, faithful and obedient to their king and country, and easily made to submit to law, if properly governed." It may be observed that it was just this difficulty of properly governing them, resulting from the substitution of an ineffective, distant,

central authority for their accustomed effective provincial and paternal rule, which brought the Highlanders, from this time forward, so prominently into view. Fordun's characterisation, it may be remarked, is, in some respects, not such as we would be inclined to expect. Being that of one who must be considered an unsympathetic outsider, we are justified in accepting the favourable traits as probably true, though we may be equally warranted in minimising those that are not so creditable.

To what people or peoples our Highland clans owed their origin has long been a question productive of very considerable diversity of opinion. Previous to that period, 736-741, when, according to Dr. Skene, the Dalriadic Scots were well-nigh annihilated or expelled from their kingdom by Angus, king of the Picts, there can be no doubt that the Highland area was occupied by two peoples alone, viz., the Picts and the Scots, each in its own sphere. We have endeavoured to show that no effective conquest of Dalriada was made at the time referred to, or at any time, and that the Dalriads continued to occupy their territory, as they had done during the previous 240 years.

Subsequent to the period of Angus there is no evidence that any changes occurred inconsistent with the idea that these two peoples continued to constitute, within their respective territories, the main elements in the population. On the west, and particularly in the islands, the Dalriads were undoubtedly influenced to a certain degree by the presence among them of a Norwegian people during their long occupation of these parts, but it does not appear, as we have seen, that the absorption of Norwegian elements modified, to any marked extent, the essentially Celtic type of the people.

Turning to Pictavia, the question arises as to whether or not the Scottish conquest under Kenneth Mac Alpin in the ninth century had a modifying influence on the population of that kingdom existing within the Highland line. That that conquest could not have been effected, and the hold of the country maintained, without the continued support of very many Scots from Argyll, cannot be doubted, and many of them must have settled in southern Pictland, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Scone, the capital. Whether any such settlements of Kenneth's friends and kindred were made beyond the Spey, or even beyond the Mounth, is a question that will probably always be open to

discussion. All that can be said is that it is not without significance that our oldest genealogical manuscripts connect many of the northern clans, as we shall see, with the house of Loarn. In these genealogies, however, the earlier links appear to be entirely artificial, or the chains are insufficient from missing links.

There is only one subsequent occasion when it is possible that Scots, among others—Normans, Saxons, etc.—from the more central districts may have been imported into Moravia. That occasion was when, according to Fordun, Malcolm IV., in 1160, despairing of quieting the district otherwise, removed all the people of Moray "from the land of their birth, and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and on this side thereof, so that not even a native of that land abode there, and he installed therein his own peaceful people." Such a definite statement, it is impossible to doubt, must imply very extensive movements of the population at that time. Skene, however, is inclined to attach little importance to it, but says it "is probably to some extent true in so far as regards the inhabitants of the plain country, extending from the Spey along the southern shore of the Moray Firth to the river Nairn." The same writer also asserts that it was at that time the Norman families of Bisset, Thirlstane, and Lauder, were introduced into Moray, and the Flemish family of Innes into Elgin.

Whatever may have been the fate of the original inhabitants on this occasion, it would be a mistake to imagine, as is sometimes done, that in those districts which, from time to time, were put into the possession of Normans or Anglo-Normans, there was any effective displacement of the Celtic people. In the case of the Frasers, Gordons, Stewarts, and others, whose chiefs were of Norman or Anglo-Norman extraction, the original Celtic occupiers, in process of time, became their followers, and their respective clans were largely constituted of them. The "introduction," says Skene, "by marriage or royal grant of feudal overlords, with apparently feudal holdings, was purely nominal. It led to nothing like the Teutonic colonisation which characterised the Lowlands, and neither affected the Gaelic population nor the institution of clanship among them."

But even in the Lowlands, and even in the Lothians, which at so early a date became colonised by Angles, and formed a part of

the Anglic kingdom of Bernicia, there can be no doubt that the original Celtic population continued to form the foundation elements. As regards the burghs, it is true that the early burghers were almost invariably of alien extraction, but soon these were largely recruited from the surrounding Celtic population. These speedily became Teutonised by contact; the use of Gaelic was given up by them, and when surnames came to be adopted they, in many cases, took to themselves names derived from their vocation. In these ways the knowledge of their Celtic origin became obscured, and eventually obliterated both in town and country.

Celtic influence, nevertheless, continues to pervade the community of Scotland as a whole, and to leaven the other elements of the population in many fundamental respects, and to a much greater degree than is usually recognised. But this is true, though it is hardly ever given a thought to, even of England, where the Celt passed through a much more fiery ordeal in the fifth century at the hand of the Saxon than did the Celt of Scotland at any period of his history. Speaking of the evidence of that influence in literature, Morley, in his book on the English writers before Chaucer, says:—"The main current of English literature cannot be disconnected from the lively Celtic wit, in which it has one of its sources. The Celts do not form an utterly distinct part of our mixed population. But for early, frequent, and various contact with the race that, in its half-barbarous days, invented Ossian's dialogues with St. Patrick, and that quickened afterwards the Northmen's blood in France, Germanic England would not have produced a Shakespeare." And the same, in all probability, may be said of Scotland in regard to the production of a Burns. On this point Dr. Stopford Brooke is equally emphatic, and Matthew Arnold speaks to the same effect in reference to the influence of the Celt on English poetry, painting, and sculpture; and we may take it that, so far as race is responsible for the differences between an Englishman and a German, and between a Lowland Scot and both these, Celtic influence in different degrees or proportions, and not Latin influence, is the main determining factor. Lecky, in his *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, writes thus:—"Ethnologically the distribution of Celts and Teutons are questions which are far from settled: and the qualities that are supposed to belong to

each have very seldom the consistency that might be expected. Nations change profoundly in the very respects in which their characters might be thought most indelible; and the theory of race is met at every turn by perplexing exceptions." In Scotland the harmonious blending of the various race elements has been such as to produce one of the strongest national characters in Europe—a somewhat remarkable and interesting fact of not a little significance.

To the migrations we have referred to it is not improbable there should be added movements of numerous families towards the south from the home lands of Macbeth during the period of his reign, when, as we know, his hereditary lands in Moray were under the rule of Thorfinn the Norwegian.

Such considerations as these, together with the further fact that the general body of the clan was always made up of varied elements with little direct blood relationship, make it alike difficult and unwise to dogmatise as to the more exact origin of the clans. Beyond the assertion of the fact that the main elements were, during the clan period, purely Celtic, and sprung from the Picts and Scots, all that it is desirable to do here is to endeavour to indicate the earliest historical associations of their heads and leading families.

The old genealogical manuscripts referred to, and which are extremely helpful, as far as they go, in regard to the matter in hand, are all the productions of Irish Sennachies. Doubtless similar records were constructed by the old Sennachies of Scotland also, and were they but in existence now would prove of the utmost interest and value. Evidence exists that with the re-establishment of a close connection with Ireland from the thirteenth century onwards, it was the custom of the Sennachies of Scotland to proceed to Ireland for instruction in their vocation, and in the Irish Annals we read of men who are designated chief preceptors and teachers of the poets of Erin and Alban. To the Highland Clans, as to the Irish Septs, the office of the Sennachie was one of the highest importance, for upon the accuracy of his work depended, to a large extent, the rights of families. It was these pedigrees that demonstrated the relationship between individuals and the acknowledged founder of the clan, and upon that relationship depended the land each was entitled to hold. To the same end memories were burdened with long genealogical

trees. It was so also in Wales. Writing in the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis, referring to the pride of family exhibited by the Welsh, says:—"Even the common people retain their genealogy, and can not only readily recount the names of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but even refer back to the sixth or seventh generation."

The Irish records spoken of are found chiefly in the Book of Ballimote compiled in 1383, the Book of Leccan in 1407, the MS. of 1467, the Kilbride manuscript, *c.* 1540, and the General MS. of Mac Firbis. The Kilbride MS. belongs to the Faculty of Advocates. Its pedigrees give evidence of having been derived from the same source as those in the Book of Ballimote. To these fall to be added the genealogies preserved, at a later date, by Mac Vurich in the Book of Clanranald. As regards the reliability of these early pedigrees we may take it that from the recognised common ancestor forward the links are trustworthy, and in some instances the same may be said of them back to the period of Kenneth Mac Alpin. As regards the grouping, it also may be considered reliable where a common ancestor within the historic period is assigned to several clans.

Without detailing the links in the chains, we give here, in their groupings, the clans referred to in the Irish MSS., and the sources from which they are deduced.

(1) From Fergus Leith Derg, son of Nemedh, who led the Nemedian colony to Ireland—the Campbells; the Mac Leods; and the Mac Nicols.

(2) From Colla Uais, son of Eochaidh Doimlein, king of Ireland—those clans whose chiefs sprung from Somerled—the Mac Dougalls; the Mac Donalds of Sleat (the Clan Hustain); the Mac Connels or Mac Donalds of Islay and Kintyre (the Clan Eoin Mor); the Mac Donalds of Keppoch (the Clan Ranald of Lochaber); the Mac Ians of Ardnamurchan; the Clan Alaster or Mac Alisters of Loup in Kintyre; and the Mac Rorys.

(3) From the Hy Neill through Niall Glundubh, king of Ireland, slain 917—the Lamonts; the Mac Lachlans; the Clan Somairlie (unidentified), and the Mac Ewens of Otter.

(4) From Corc, son of Lughaidh, king of Munster, of the line of Heber—the old earls of Lennox and Mar said to be through *Maine Leamna* and *Cairbre Cruithneach*, sons of Corc.

(5) From Fearchar Fada, son of Fearadach of the tribe of

Loarn, king of Dalriada, died 697—the Clan Duff; the Mac Naughtons; the Mac Intoshes; the Camerons.

(6) From Fearchar Abraruadh, son of Fearadach Finn of the tribe of Loarn—the Mac Leans; the Clan Conchatha in the Lennox (probably the Colquhouns); and the Clan Consithe in Fife (unidentified).

(7) From Donald Donn, son of Fearadach Finn of the tribe of Loarn—the Mac Larens, the Clan Aid (unidentified).

(8) From Fearadach Finn through Cormac mac Airbeartach—the Rosses; the Mac Kenzies; the Mathesons; the Mac Phees.

(9) From Fearchar Abraruadh through Cormac mac Airbeartach—the Mac Nabs.

(10) From Fearchar Fada through Cormac mac Airbeartach—the Mac Gregors.

(11) From Fearchar Fada through Macbeth, son of Finlaech, and Cormac mac Airbeartach—the Mac Quarries; the Mac Kinnons; the Mac Millans; and the Mac Lennans.

What strikes us immediately upon a perusal of these genealogies is the fact that while many of the clans dealt with are occupiers of what was formerly Pictavia, not one of them is deduced from the Picts, while a large proportion of them are brought from the tribe of Loarn. That the northern Picts were not destroyed by Kenneth Mac Alpin is a fact beyond doubt, and while it is not improbable that some of the leading Scots obtained from Kenneth grants of land in their midst, it seems difficult to believe that they could have attained to such a superiority in those northern parts as is implied in the founding of so many widely distributed clans. In itself the fact that so many of them, both in northern and in southern Pictland, are deduced from the tribe of Loarn, to the exclusion of the other Dalriadic tribes, is not unreasonable, as the original situation of that tribe, and the physical characteristics of the country, would lead us to expect that what settlements were made would be made by them rather than by the others.

Our notes on the earliest historical associations of the individual clans we shall reserve for a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Clans of the Irish MSS.—The origin of the Chiefs of the other principal Clans and Surnames—The derivation of Celtic Surnames.

In the following short notices of individual clans, we will first deal with those referred to in the Irish genealogies, and in the order indicated in the last chapter.

Irish legends tell the tale that Briotan Maol, son of Fergus Leith Derg, son of Neimed, and his followers came to Dobhar and Iardobhar, in the north of Alban, where they dwelt with their posterity. From this Fergus Leith Derg, the Irish MSS., as we have seen, deduce the Clans Campbell, Mac Leod, and Mac Nicol. These traditional references and pedigrees may be taken as evidencing a belief that these clans sprung from a people who had come from Ireland at a time earlier than the coming of the Milesian Scots in the beginning of the sixth century—possibly a portion of an earlier plantation of Scots. [CAMPBELL.

In Gaelic the Campbells are known as the *Clan O'Duibhne*, and the Irish genealogies lead us back by what has all the appearance of being a reliable chain to a progenitor of that name. Sir Colin Mor Cambell of Lochow, from whom the Argyll family derive their patronymic of Mac Cailean Mor, was son of Gillespic Cambell, son of Dugald Cambel, son of Duncan, son of Gillespic, son of Malcolm, called Mac Duine, son of Duibhne, from whom the name is taken. Duncan Mac Duibhn lived in the reign of Alexander II., and in one of the Argyll charters of David II. he is referred to as having possessed the "liberties and customs" of the barony of Lochow and others not specified. This district (Lochow) was undoubtedly an early seat of the Campbells, and the formal grant of it was probably made at the time of Alexander the Second's expedition into Argyll.

The oldest spellings of the name Campbell are those found in *Ragman's Roll*, viz., Cambell and Kambel. Efforts, but not of a

successful nature, have been made time and again to derive the family name from a Norman source. The probability is that it was a Gaelic personal epithet signifying "wry-mouth" or "curved mouth" (*Cam*—crooked, *Beul*—mouth), applied to Dugald, who first bore the name. In Cearbhall, now Carrol, we have the Irish equivalent of Campbell.

Originally the Campbell clan consisted of two branches—the Mac Arthur branch and the Mac Cailean Mor branch. The former, whose original lands were principally in Garmoran, always disputed the chiefship with the Argyll family, and are considered to have been the senior branch. Later, the Mac Arthur's added Strachur, in Cowal, and a considerable part of Glendochart and Glenfalloch to their possessions, but their period of power came to an end when John Mac Arthur, their chief, who was described by Bower as a great chief and leader of a thousand men, was beheaded by James I., and most of their estates were forfeited. [MAC ARTHUR.

Natural astuteness, ability to take advantage of every wind that blew, and judicious marriages, placed the Campbells, ere long, in possession of large territories and far-reaching influence, while the many septs who became their dependents, and the numerous families which branched off from the main stem from time to time, constituted them one of the most formidable of the Highland clans. Among those septs who were closely associated with the Campbells in later times were the Mac Dougall Campbells of Craignish, who were probably sprung from the same tribe as the Mac Inneses and Mac Gillevrays of Morvern, Ardgour, and Lochaber. Holding their lands of the Argyll family, they in time adopted the name, and thus swelled the Campbell clan.

Leod, the eponymus of the Clan Mac Leod, probably lived in the middle of the thirteenth century. Between him and Alexander Mac Leod of Dunvegan, who received charters on the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1498, we find, in the genealogies, the following links—Alexander, son of William, son of John, son of William, son of Malcolm, son of Tormode, son of Leod. Their first charter was one granted by David II. conveying to Malcolm, son of "Tormode Macloyde," two parts of Glenelg, in consideration of which [MAC LEOD.

Malcolm was to provide a galley of 36 oars for the king's use when required. After the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, the Mac Leods became the most powerful of the island clans. They consisted of two branches descended from two brothers—the Siol Tormode, who were the Mac Leods of Dunvegan and Glenelg, and the Siol Torquil of Lewis. Besides their possessions in Glenelg, the former held Harris and fully two-thirds of Skye, while the latter were possessed of Lewis, Raasay, the district of Waterness in Skye, and Assynt, Cogeache, and Gerloch, on the mainland.

Traditionally the Mac Nicols or Nicolsons are said to have been descended from a certain Krycul, (*n* after *c* sounds *r*, so that Mac Nicol becomes Mac Krycul or Mac Crycul) who must have lived in the thirteenth century. In the 1467 MS. they are traced back to Gregill, who had a son called Nicail. The earliest associations are with the district of Assynt. On the marriage of the heiress of their last chief to a younger son of Mac Leod of Lewis, the territory of the Mac Nicols passed into the possession of that powerful clan. [MAC NICOL.

At earlier points in our narrative we have referred to several of the chiefs of the Mac Dougalls, and traced their origin and that of the Mac Donalds, Mac Rorys, and others from Somerled, Regulus of Argyll. The last representatives that we spoke of were Eogan, son of Duncan, son of Dugall, son of Somerled, and his son Alexander, who held a place in the Scottish Parliament of 1283, which settled the crown on the Maiden of Norway. This Alexander married the daughter of the Red Comyn, whom Bruce slew at Dumfries, as the result of which unfortunate deed Alexander continued during the wars of independence to be the mortal enemy of Bruce. Both he and his son John vigorously espoused the cause of Balliol—a course which led to their being deprived of most of their possessions and influence. [MAC DOUGALL.

Donald, the founder of this great family, was the elder son of Reginald, second son of Somerled. From the younger son, Roderic, were descended [MAC DONALD.

the family of Mac Rory of Garmoran and the North Isles. Angus Mor, son of Donald, and Allan and Dugald, sons of Roderic, we have already met with in connection with Haco's expedition, and the two former, as well as Alexander of Argyll, were members of the Scottish Parliament of 1283. The foundation for the future supremacy of the Mac Donalds as Lords of the Isles was firmly laid by Angus Oig, son of Angus Mor, when he secured from Bruce, as the reward of faithful service, Morven, Ardnamurchan, and Lochaber, together with those islands that had formerly been the possessions of the Mac Dougalls.

From Angus Mor sprang the important branch of Mac Donalds known as the Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan, their founder being a younger son John, surnamed *Sprangaich*, or the Bold. From time to time as our narrative proceeds we will take occasion to refer to the numerous clans which took their origin from Angus Oig, son of Angus Mor.

From Alexander, a younger son of Donald, son of Reginald, the Mac Alisters—the Clan Ian Dubh—would appear to have been descended. The genealogies, however, indicate also another possible line of descent, viz., from Alexander, son of Angus Mor, and grandson of Donald. The possessions of this clan would seem to have been always in Kintyre, and the chiefs were designated of Loup. Their principal offshoot was the Tarbert branch which was founded early in the sixteenth century by Donald, second son of "Angus Mhic Ean Dubh," of Loup. The heads of the family became hereditary constables of the Castle of Tarbert. [MAC ALISTER.

The early territorial association of the Lamonts, Mac Lachlans, and Mac Ewans with the district of Cowal tends to bear out that idea of a common ancestry which is attributed to them in the Irish MSS. In these genealogies they are deduced from two brothers, Duinsleibe and Gillacrist. From Duinsleibe come the Lamonts and Mac Ewens, and from Gillacrist the Mac Lachlans. The ancestry of the Lamonts becomes historical in Fearchar, son of Duinsleibe, whose son Duncan granted a charter to the monks of Paisley somewhere between the years 1230 and 1246. In it occur also the names of his grandson Malcolm, and his great-grandson Laumannus. In [LAMONT.

this Laumannus or Ladman, as he is called in the Irish MSS., we find the ancestor of the Lamonts from whom they derive their name. From their earlier progenitor Fearchar they had borne, previous to the time of Ladman, the name of Macerachar. In addition to their lands in Cowal, the Lamonts were possessed of property in the neighbourhood of Lochgilp, as is evidenced by their conferring upon the monks of Paisley, in the thirteenth century, the "penny land of Kilmore, which lies above Lochgilp, with the chapel of St. Mary built on said land."

Among the witnesses to one of the charters granted by Ladman is one who bears the name of Gilpatrick, son of Gillacrist. Lachlan Mor, who gave his name to the Mac Lachlan Clan, was son of that Gilpatrick. The name Lachlan is probably a form of Lochlin, one of the names of Scandinavia. Traditionally the Mac Lachlans are said to have received their lands through marriage with a Lamont heiress. In 1292, however, we find Gilleskel Mac Lachlan receiving from Balliol a charter of lands in Ergadia. Among them was the barony of Strathlachlan in Cowal, and as early as the year 1314 we find their stronghold "Castellachlan" referred to. [MAC LACHLAN.

Ewen, or Eogain, the progenitor of the Mac Ewens or Mac Ewans, bears to have been descended from Saveran, son of Duinsleibe, though the links in the MSS. are incomplete. To this clan belonged the northern division of the parish of Otter, and from these lands they were known as clan "Eoghan na Hoitreic" or clan Ewen of Otter. Upon a rocky promontory on the eastern shore of Loch Fyne stood their place of strength known in Gaelic as Chaistel Mhic Eobhuin or the Castle of Mac Ewen. [MAC EWEN.

When, on the passing of the earldom of Lennox from the old Celtic family into the hands of Darnley, the clans of the tribe became separate and independent, the Mac Farlanes constituted the chief clan of that district. Their descent from the old earls is undoubted. It is traced thus. By charter there was conveyed by Maldoven, third earl of Lennox, to his brother Gilchrist the [MAC FARLANE.

lands of Luss and Arrochar. From Bartholomew or Parlane (which is the Gaelic form of the name), the grandson of Gilchrist, the Clan Mac Farlane took its patronymic. In a charter, Malcolm, the son of Parlane, is designated Mac Farlane.

[MAC NAUGHTON.

By Skene this clan is, rightly or wrongly, considered to have originally constituted a portion of the tribe of Moray. Their removal south to Strathtay, with which they have been traditionally associated, he places in the reign of Malcolm IV., but there is little to be said for this or his further surmise that they were brought into their later possessions by Alexander II. at the time of his expedition into Argyll. These territories extended between the south of Loch Fyne and Loch Awe, and included Glen Ara, Glenshira, and Glenfine. Their ancient seat was Dunderawe on the shores of Loch Fyne. Nachton Mor, the eponymus of the clan, lived, it is probable, in the early part of the ninth century. His descendants first become historical in the person of Gilchrist, the son of Donald who, by Alexander III. was made keeper of the castle of "Frechelan" or Fraoch Eilan on Loch Awe, on condition that he should be properly entertained when he came that way. "The Mackenricks," says Smibert, "are ascribed to the Macnaughton line, as also families of Macknights (or Macneits), Macnayers, Macbraynes, and Maceols."

[CLAN CHATTAN.

In the year 1392 we find mention first made of the presence of a clan within the Highland line. That clan is designated the Clanqwhevil (pronounced Kevil), and it appears as a party to a raid that had been made the previous year into Angus. In 1396 this same clan reappears as bearing a part in the historical judicial combat before the king on the North Inch of Perth. In connection with a battle waged in 1429 between the royal forces and Alexander, Lord of the Isles, we find reference in Bower to the Clan Katan and Clan Cameron. By Maurice Buchanan, who wrote in 1461 regarding the same incident, they are spoken of as the *Clan de Guyllequhatan* (Gillichattan) and Clan Cameron. On this occasion a large section of both the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron deserted the Lord of the Isles on the appearance

of the royal standard—an event which was of not a little significance in the future.

Later historians identify the Clan Qwhele or Qwhevil with the Clan Chattan. Justification of this identification is found in the following consideration. In the Irish genealogies we find the name of Gillachattan Mor the eponymus of the clan, and he from whom the clan took its name of Clan Chattan. His period must have been sometime in the eleventh century. The great-grandson of this Gillachattan Mor was one Muireach, from whom the Mac Phersons take their name of the *Clan Mhuireach.* Muireach had a son Donald called [MAC PHERSON.
in Caimgilla (*Cam-gille*), and when aspirated this
word takes on the pronunciation indicated in the name Kevil or *Quhevil.* Both names of the clan may thus be derived from the appellations of two progenitors. In Gallbrait, the father of Gillachattan, and Diarmad the grandfather, who is designated Lector, we probably also find historical personages. "Tradition," says Skene, "attaches to Gillachattan the epithet of *Clerech* or Cleric, and he and his descendants, the Clan Vuireach, are said to have been hereditary lay parsons of Kingussie, one of whom, Duncan, the son of Kenneth, appears in 1438 as Duncan, parson. From him the chief of the Clan Vuireach takes his name of Mac Pherson."

Speaking of the septs of Clan Chattan,
Skene says:—"The Clan Chattan in later [MAC INTOSH.
times consisted of sixteen septs, who followed
Mac Intosh as captain of the clan, but did not recognise him as one of the race, and regarded Mac Pherson of Cluny, head of the sept called *Clan Vuireach*, as the male representative of the founder of the clan." Of the Mac Intoshes (sons of the Toisech or Thane), there was an earlier and a later family. The older sept, which possessed lands in Badenoch, seems to have taken its origin in Ferchard Mac Toschy, of whom mention is made in the year 1382. Circumstances point to his having been Thane of Rothiemurchus. "The representatives of these older Mac Intoshes were, beyond doubt," says Skene, "the Shaws of Rothiemurchus and the Farquharsons of Strathdee, who extended from Badenoch as far as Birse, and whose head in 1464 was Alexander Keir Mac Intosh." Shaw was the name of their leader at the

combat on the North Inch, and his name appears in the Irish genealogy at a corresponding period.

Of the sixteen septs, several, including the later sept of the Mac Intoshes, were not affiliated to the clan till after 1429. The earlier septs were the Mac Phersons and the Clan Day or Davidson, who were called the old Clan Chattan, and six stranger septs—the Mac Gillevrays, the Mac Beans, the *Clan Vic Govies*, the *Clan Tarrel*, the *Clan Cheanduy*, and the *Sliochd Gowchruim* or Smiths. The later family of Mac Intoshes consisted of those who in 1429 had adhered to the Lord of the Isles. Their captains were descended from Malcolm (Callum Beg), whom we find receiving in 1443 from the Lord of the Isles, to whom he was related, a charter of the forty-merk lands of Keppoch and others in the lordship of Lochaber. In 1447 Malcolm was made bailie or stewart of the lordship. Duncan, the son of Malcolm, is the first on record to bear the title of Captain of Clan Chattan—a designation which, we may say, is occasionally, at anyrate, associated with the oldest cadet, and indicates that the individual so characterised was the recognised active leader of the clan at the time. While *de jure* the Mac Phersons were entitled to be considered chiefs of the Clan Chattan, they never seem to have actively sought to exercise it till towards the end of the seventeenth century, and for several hundreds of years the head of the Mac Intoshes, the Captain of Clan Chattan, continued unchallenged to occupy that position. The Mac Intoshes of Monzievaird in Stratherne, and of Tiryny in Atholl, were derived from the Thanes of Struan and Glentilt respectively. Among the later adherents of the clan were the Mac Phails, Mac Queens, Cattanachs, and Clarks. More than twenty minor branches are described by Dr. Fraser-MacIntosh.

In the year 1222, according to Fordun, Gillespic Macohecan, the then head of the Mac William family, was aided in his insurrection by one whom he calls Gilleroth. The latter we find signing a charter along with Macohecan, under the name of Gilleroth, son of Gillemartan, and in the genealogy of 1467, Gilleroth, son of Gillemartan, finds a place as the founder of the Clan Cameron. In that genealogy this clan is referred to under the names of *Clan Maelanfhaigh* [CAMERON.

and *Clan Gillacamsroin*. Maelanfhaigh (the name signifies the servant of the prophet) was the son of Gilleroth.

By the chroniclers, the clan which fought upon the North Inch of Perth against the Clan Chattan is designated the Clan Kay, Ha, or Hay. It seems probable that tradition is correct when it identifies the latter clan with the Clan Cameron. In the aspirated form of the ultimate syllable of the name *Maelanfhaigh*, we possibly find, as is supposed by Skene, the *Hay* of the chroniclers.

The Clan Cameron consisted of four septs—(1) The *Clan Gillanfhaigh* or Gillonie (the *Gille* here displacing the *Mael* in accordance with a well-known later tendency), who were the Camerons of Invermalie and Strone; (2) the *Clan Soirlie* or Camerons of Glen Nevis; (3) the *Clan Mhic Mhartain*, or Mac Martins of Letter-finlay; (4) the Camerons of Lochiel. These latter represent that portion of the clan which, in 1429, along with a contingent of the Clan Chattan, adhered to the Lord of the Isles. Their head, later, as in the case of the Mac Intoshes, became captain of the clan, though the Mac Martins were the original chiefs.

By John Major it is asserted that the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron "were of one blood," and there is evidence from a consideration of their independent septs that there was such a connection.

Next to the Mac Donalds and the Mac Leods, the MacLeans constituted at one time the most powerful clan of the Hebrides. In the MSS. their [MAC LEAN. founder, Gilleeoin (the servant of John), is traced up to one who must have lived about the year 1100, and who is called Old Dugald of Scone. It is interesting to find that early in that century, as we learn from the Chartulary of St. Andrews, there was engaged, as one of the arbiters in a perambulation of some lands in Fortrenn, one who is designated Dufgal, son of Mocche, and who is described as being aged, just, and venerable *(senex, justus, et venerabilis)*. There is great probability that this son of Mocche and the progenitor of the Mac Leans are one and the same.

Raingce, son of Old Dugald, we gather, had three sons—*Cuduilig*, lay abbot of Lismore, whose great-grandson, Mac Rath, was father of Gilleeoin, the founder of the Clan Mac Lean;

Cuchatha (Battle hound), from whom are said to have sprung the *Clan Chonchatha* in the Lennox, by whom possibly the Colquhouns are meant; and *Cusithe* (Peace hound), from whom came the *Clan Consithe* of Fife, a clan which has not been identified. Gilleeoin is usually spoken of as Gilleeòin-na-Tuaidhe, *i.e.*, of the battle-axe.

Among those who signed Ragman's Roll in 1296 was Gillemore Macilean del Counte de Perth. John, son of the latter, had two sons — Lachlan Lubanach, from whose descendants came the families of Dowart, Coll, and Ardgour; and Eachin Reganich, who founded the Lochbuy family. At the time of the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, no one family was feudal superior of the others, but each held directly of the Lord of the Isles. In the *Exchequer Rolls* of 1326, Dofnaldus Mac Gilhon and Johannes et Nigellus filii Gilhon appear as contributing towards the building of Tarbert Castle. Closely associated with the clan were the Beatons—a worthy family, who were the hereditary physicians and sennachies of the clan, while the Rankins were attached to the Mac Leans of Coll, and were their hereditary pipers.

In the MS. of 1467, there occurs among the progenitors of the *Clan Labhran* one who is simply designated the Abbot of Achtus, without assigning to him any proper name. Achtow is a place-name in Balquhidder, the old territory of the Mac Larens, and there can be little difficulty in identifying it with "Achtus." In the abbot we almost certainly find Labhran, who gave his name to the clan. [MAC LAREN.

The Rosses are known in Gaelic as the *Clanghillandres* or *Ainnrias*. In the genealogical MSS. we find one Gillandres, the son of Martin, occupying a place among the progenitors of this family, and it was doubtless from him that the clan derived its Gaelic name. The name Ross is, of course, territorial. We are also probably correct in identifying this Gillandres with him of the same name who, according to Wyntoun, was one of the earls who besieged Malcolm IV. in Perth in 1160, and who was, in all probability, Earl of Ross. [ROSS.

The three neighbouring clans, the Rosses, the Mathesons, and the Mac Kenzies, are all brought by the MSS. from a common

ancestor, viz., *Gillaeoin-na-hairde* or Gilleeoin of the Aird, by which is meant the central mountainous district of Ross-shire. Both Rosses and Mathesons are deduced from Gilleeoin's son Cristin, while the Mathesons derived their name from Matgamna (pronounced shortly Mahan), the grandson of Cristin. In the Exchequer Rolls of 1264 there appears the name of Kermac Macmaghan, whom we may possibly identify with one who is called in the Sagas Kiarnaker, son of Mackamals, who was one of the leaders in the incursions into Skye in 1263, which Haco later sought to avenge. That the Mathesons were a powerful clan at an early period is indicated by Bower when he tells us that in the reign of James I. their chief was leader of 2000 men. [MATHESON.

Gillaeoin Og was the name of the son of Gillaeoin-na-hairde, from whom the *Clan Cainig* are deduced, and from his son Cainig or Coinneach (Fair one) the clan has derived its patronymic. The first of the family to appear in history, according to Skene, is "Murdo filius Kennethi de Kintail," to whom a charter seems to have been granted by David II. in 1362. Like the Mathesons the Mac Kenzies had attained in the reign of James I. to considerable numbers, their chief, Kenneth Mor, being recorded as leader of 2000 men in 1427. Their great opportunity, however, did not arrive till after the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, when, like the Campbells, they speedily rose to power and influence upon the ruins of the Clan Donald family. [MAC KENZIE.

The early name of the Mac Phee clan was the *Clan Mhic Duibsithi*. Under date 1164 reference is made in the *Annals of Ulster* to one Duibhside, at that time *Fearleighinn* or Lector of Iona. In the 1467 genealogical record of the progenitors of the Mac Phees there appears the same name, and it seems not improbable that this Duibsith from whom the clan took their name was the Lector of Iona. That they were an ecclesiastical family is further made probable by the fact of the comparative frequency with which, after the the time of Duibsith, such ecclesiastical names as Gillacoluim, Gillacrist, and Gillaespic occur in the genealogy. The earliest associations of the clan are with Lochaber and Colonsay. Mac [MAC PHEE.

Vuirich speaks of Mac Duibsithe of Lochaber, whose daughter bore two sons, Giollaespuig and Aonghus, to Alexander, Lord of the Isles. Writing of Colonsay in 1549 Dean Munro says:— "The Ile is brucket be ane gentle capitane called Mac Duffyhe, and pertained of auld to Clan Donald of Kintyre." Martin, who wrote in 1703, tells us that on the south side of the church of St. Columba in Colonsay there lie the tombs of Macduffie, and of the cadets of his family; there is a ship under sail and a two-handed sword engraven on the principal tombstone. It bears the following inscription:—

HIC JACET MURCHARDUS MAC DUFIE DE *Colonsa*
An. Do. 1539.

The signification of the family name of Mac Nab is beyond doubt the *son of the Abbot.* In Glen- [MAC NAB.
dochart, in which district lay the possessions of the Mac Nabs, there was founded a monastery by St. Fillan in the seventh century. The association of founders of clans with the church we have already seen in connection with the Clan Chattan, the Mac Larens, and the Mac Phees; and the Mac Nabs should probably be recognised as the lay Abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name Gillafaelan, or the servant of of St. Fillan—a fact which shows their association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighbouring earls of Atholl and Menteath.

Traditionally a common origin has been assigned to the Mac Nabs, Mac Gregors, and [MAC GREGOR.
Mac Kinnons, and this idea is countenanced by the fact that in 1606 a bond of friendship was entered into between the Mac Nabs and Mac Kinnons in which, as having come of one house, and being of one surname, Finlay Mac Nab of Bowane acknowledges Lachlan Mac Kinnon of Strathardel in Skye "as ane kynd [kindred] chieff and of ane house," while somewhat later a similar bond was entered into between Lachlan Mac Kinnon of Strathardel and James Mac Gregor of Mac Gregor, in which they are said to be "descended lawfully frae twa brethren

of auld descent." The Mac Alpines are in all probability sprung from the same stock.

By the Dean of Lismore, Gregor, the eponymus of the clan, is deduced from one whom he calls Aoidh Urchaidh or Hugh of Glenorchy. The Mac Gregors were early settled both in Glenorchy and Glendochart, and the fact that Aoidh had a son called Gillafaelan, which, as we have seen, was also the name of a progenitor of the Mac Nabs, may point to the connection between the two clans. In the Irish genealogies, however, Gregor is not deduced from the same source as that from which he is derived by the Dean of Lismore; but neither of them give countenance to the traditional idea of a royal origin from Alpin, king of the Scots, or from Grig, whom Hector Boece glorified by the title of Gregory the Great.

The last group in the genealogical MSS. comprises the Mac Quarries, the Mac Kinnons, the Mac Millans, and the Mac Lennans, descended respectively from four sons of Cormac Mac Airbertach, viz., Guaire, Fingaine, "Gillchrist called an Gillamaol," and Gillaagamnan. In Cormac we probably find a historical personage who lived in the ninth century. The possessions of the Mac Guaires or Mac Quarries consisted of Ulva and a part of Mull, but their strength was at no time considerable. The first of the family to appear in public records is John Mac Quarrie, whose name we find in the Register of the Great Seal, and who died in 1473. [MAC QUARRIE.

Fingaine, from whom are descended the Clan Fingaine or Mac Kinnons, was Abbot of Iona. To this monastery the family frequently furnished Abbots, and on the oldest date-bearing cross in Scotland, which is that at St. Oran's Chapel, Iona, we find the following inscription :— [MAC KINNON.

Hæc est crux Lacolani Mc Fingone, et ejus filii Johannis Abbatis de Y facta anno Domini.—MCCCCLXXXIX.

Portions of Mull and Skye constituted from an early date the possessions of the Mac Kinnons. As a clan they first appear in

history in 1354, in connection with an indenture between the Lord of the Isles and the Lord of Lorn, and in 1409 we find Lauchlan Macfingone, chief of the clan, witnessing a charter granted by Donald, Lord of the Isles.

In the MS. of 1467 the Mac Millan Clan is deduced from "Gillchrist called an Gillamaol [the tonsured servant] from whom are the Clan an Mail." [MAC MILLAN. In this instance also the name shows the connection of the family with the Church. Airbertach, who appears, as we have seen, in the genealogical lists of several of the preceding clans as an early progenitor, is, in the genealogy of the Mac Millans said to have "had twelve tribes (or septs) inhabiting the Norwegian territory, viz., Greagraidhe of the warriors commonly called Mull and Tiroda (Tiree) and Cruibhinis or Craobhinis," *the Island of Bushes*, by which is meant Iona. At an early date branches of the Clan Mhic Gillamaoil are found in the neighbourhood of Loch Arkaig, where they were successively dependents of the Lords of the Isles and of the Camerons; and in South Knapdale, where their chief was known as Mac Millan of Knap. Tradition has it that this latter branch was also originally settled on Loch Tay side, whence they were driven in the reign of David II. Most of their possessions in Knapdale they probably received through marriage with the heiress of the Mac Neils in the sixteenth century. 'Twas thus they became possessed of the powerful stronghold of Castle Sween, one of the towers of which bears the name of Mac Millan's tower. On the extinction of the family of Knap, the chiefship was vested in the family of Mac Millan of Dunmore, till it also became extinct.

Of the Mac Lennans or Clan Mhic Gillaagamnan as they are called in the MSS., nothing is known beyond the fact that their possessions were in Mull and the neighbouring islands. [MAC LENNAN. The signification of the name Mac Gillaagamnan is the son of the servant of Adamnan, the old Abbot of Iona. Mr. Alexander Mac Bain, however, considers that Mac Lennan is derived from Finnean, from which would come Mac Gille-fihinnein. The derivation from the genealogies seems to us the more probable one.

The extraction of, or earliest historical references to, the many other clans and surnames found from of old within the Highland line, but not included in the Irish genealogies, remain still to be spoken of. It would, however, be a lengthy task to attempt to deal with all such, and we can only indicate the more prominent families.

Beginning in the south and west we find in Kintyre, besides the Mac Donalds and Mac Alisters, the Mac Eacherns, whose head in 1493 was Colin Mac Eachern of Killelan; and the Mac Kays of Ugadale, whom we find in possession from the early part of the fourteenth century, when Robert the Bruce granted to Gilchrist Mac Imar Mac Kay certain lands in Kintyre. [MAC EACHERN. [MAC KAY.

The earliest possessors of North Kintyre and Knapdale of whom we are cognisant are the family of Syfin, or Sween, of Argyll, who have given their name to Castle Sween. We find them in possession in the middle of the thirteenth century. Later the district of Knapdale became the property of the Mac Neils. Of this clan there were two septs—Gigha and Barra. Their lands in Barra were granted by charter, in 1427, from Alexander, Lord of the Isles, to Gilleonan, son of Roderic Mac Murchard Mac Neil. The family of Gigha come first into notice in 1472, when Hector Mac Torquil Mac Neil was keeper of Castle Sween under the Lord of the Isles. [MAC NEIL.

In 1591 and 1694, in bonds of manrent, an acknowledgement of kinship with the Mac Gregors is made by the chief of the Mac Aulays of Ardencaple. Notwithstanding this fact, however, it is contended that the Mac Aulays are descended from Aulay (Olave or Amhlaibh) brother of Malduin, earl of Lennox, who lived in the thirteenth century. Another tribe bearing the same name has long been resident in the south-west of Lewis. [MAC AULAY.

The immediate ancestor of the Colquhouns appears to have been Humphrey de Kilpatrick, who, in the reign of Alexander II., obtained from Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, the lands and barony of Colquhoun in [COLQUHOUN.

the parish of West Kilpatrick. About the year 1368 the lands of Luss came into possession of the family through marriage, and Sir Robert, their then head, is designated in a charter granted in that year, dominus de Colquhoun et Luss.

[BUCHANAN. The name Buchanan is territorial, and is derived from the parish of that name in Stirlingshire. The Mac Austelans or Mac Auslans are of the same clan. As early as the year 1225 we find the family in possession of lands in the district referred to. With the Mac Millans they assert a common origin, and claim descent from Anselan O'Cainn, from whom they are designated *Clan Anselan*. In the genealogy of the Mac Millans one of their progenitors is called Cainn, and it may be that in him we find the common ancestor of the two clans. It is also probable that the older and more correct form of the name Mac Auslan is Mac Anselan.

[MAC INNES. An old sennachy of the Mac Donalds records that "the principal surnames in the country (of Morvern, Ardgour, and Lochaber), were Mac Innes and Mac Gillevrays, who were the same as the Mac Innes." "As there is," says Skene in his *Highlanders*, "a very old traditionary connection between the clan A Maisdir, or Mac Innes of Ardgour, and several of the clans descended from Anradan Mac Gillebride, it seems to establish the identity of this tribe with the old Mac Gillevrays of Morvern." Cean-loch-aluin, a ruined and romantic castle, was long the residence of the Mac Inneses. (*Aen-gus* signifies unique choice).

The many clans which derived their surnames from chiefs of Norman or Saxon extraction testify to the frequency with which, either through marriage or by Royal grant, territories within the Highland line passed into possession of the stranger. At the time when these transfers took place, viz., in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, surnames were only beginning to be employed, and this fact made easy the assumption of the name of their new head by large numbers of the original Celtic inhabitants, and thus these clans were speedily organised, and their chiefs became powerful. Ere long, too, Celtic influence and the general environment had their due effect upon the alien chiefs.

In their sympathies, their customs, and their language, they became assimilated to the Celts, and the erstwhile Norman or Saxon Baron developed into the typical Highland Chief.

Among the clans whose chiefs are usually considered as of Norman extraction, we meet with the Stewarts, first of all, in our progress northward. [STEWART. That their immediate ancestor was Walter Fitz Alan, who came into Scotland in the reign of David I., and to whom lands were gifted in Renfrewshire and other parts, there is no doubt, but it has been supposed probable by some that the Stewarts were nevertheless of Celtic extraction, and that their earlier home was in Scotland. By these writers it has been sought to trace the ancestry of the family to the Banquo of Boece and Shakespeare, who was said to have been Thane of Lochaber, and traditions of whom are still extant in that district. On the flight of Banquo and his son Fleance or Flan to escape the unkindly attentions of Mac Beth, Fleance proceeded to Wales, and thence, it is assumed, to Brittany, from which he returned in the train of William the Conqueror.

By King David I. Walter Fitz Alan was appointed hereditary Seneschal or Lord High Steward of the king. In time this powerful family became possessors of lands in many parts of the Highlands, its leading branches there being those of Lorn, Atholl, and Balquhidder.

In the reign of David I. there also appears for the first time the name of the ancestor of the Grahams. This was the Anglo-Norman knight Sir William de Grame from whom are descended the Dukes of Montrose. From King David Sir William received grants of the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith. In exchange for lands belonging to them in Galloway the Grahams received from Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, their first possessions in Stirlingshire, viz., those of Dundaff. This was in the reign of Alexander II., and they came into possession at the same time of certain lands in Strathearn. [GRAHAM.

The name of Drummond is probably territorial, and derived from Drymen or Druimin, a parish in Stirlingshire. The first bearer of the name on [DRUMMOND.

record is Malcolm Beg, or the Little, who, in the beginning of the thirteenth century occupied the office of chamberlain of the Lennox. In The Ragman Roll, the document in which is set forth the homage paid to Edward I. in his progress through Scotland in 1296, there appears the name of Gilbert de Dromund, "del County de Dunbretan." His older brother was called Sir John de Dromund.

The Murrays of Atholl are descended from Sir John de Moravia or Moray, who died about the year 1225. Sir John was supposed to have been of Flemish extraction. His grandson, Sir William, was the first of the family to possess the lands of Tullibardine. These he acquired in 1282-84 by marriage with the daughter of Malise, Seneschal of Strathearn, and early in the seventeenth century the family succeeded to the earldom of Atholl. The body of the clan, alike in Perthshire and Sutherlandshire, is doubtless Celtic, and for the most part they consist of the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Moray. [MURRAY.

The origin of the family that gave its name to the Clan Menzies is still a matter of dispute. On the one hand it is asserted that they are of Norman extraction, and that the original form of the name is Meyners, from which comes also the English Manners. On the other hand a Celtic origin is claimed for them, but, so far as appears, without anything definite to found upon. The Gaelic form of the name is "Meinearach" or "Meinnrich," but from this nothing is deducible. As early as the reign of Alexander II. they had a footing in Atholl, and in that reign we find Robert de Meyners granting a charter. In the following reign Robert de Meyners, knight, was Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland. [MENZIES.

The Clan Donnachie, as the Robertsons are called, appear in history for the first time in the persons of Thomas, Patrick, and Gibbon, surnamed Duncanson, who were leaders in 1391 in a Highland raid into Angus. The immediate ancestor of the Robertsons of Struan was Robert Duncanson, whose name appears under date 1443. By Skene (and with the greatest probability) the clan is deduced [ROBERTSON.

from the old earls of Atholl through Duncan, son of Andrew de Atholia. A family tradition, however, brings them from Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, and in the Red Book of Clanranald Mac Vuireach also asserts that the "Clann Donachaidh and Robertsons" are sprung from Aonghus na Conluighe, son of Angus Mor of the Isles.

In Glenshee and Glenisla, on the contiguous borders of Perth and Forfarshire, we find located, in the end of the sixteenth century, the Mac Thomases or Mac Tavishes, while the Fergusons and Spaldings held possessions in Atholl.

The Ogilvies, a portion of whose territory is situated within the Highland line, are understood to be descended from the Celtic earls of Angus. The name is territorial, and is derived from the barony of Ogilvie in the parish of Glamis. Ogilvies are occasionally found witnessing charters in the reigns of the second and third Alexanders. [OGILVIE.

Whether the Forbeses were of Celtic or of alien extraction has not been satisfactorily determined, though authorities would seem to favour the former origin. Mac Lauchlan tells us that the name appears in some of the earliest documents connected with Irish history. The name seems to be territorial, and to be derived from the lands of Forbois in Aberdeenshire, which lands were in possession of John de Forbes in the reign of William the Lyon. [FORBES.

Among those Normans who received grants in the North from David I. was the ancestor of the Gordons. These gifts were the lands of Gordon (anciently *Gordun* or *Gordyn*), and from them the surname was derived. Richard Gordon we find conferring certain lands in the Merse upon the monks of Kelso, between the years 1150 and 1160. The lands of Strathbogie were bestowed upon the Gordons by King Robert the Bruce. [GORDON.

Gregory le Grant, sheriff of Inverness, is the first of the name of Grant whose acquaintance we make. By marriage with the Bissets this Gregory acquired the lands of Stratherrick. His sons Laurence and Robert, "called [GRANT.

Grant," we find in the year 1258 witnessing an agreement between the bishop of Moray and John Bisset. The name is probably a personal epithet derived from the Gaelic *Grannda*, signifying ill-favoured or harsh-featured. It may, however, be territorial. Traditionally they are considered to be of the Siol Alpain, and closely allied to the Mac Gregors, and efforts were made, early in the last century, to re-unite them under the name of Mac Gregor. It will be observed that the first historic Grant bears the Christian name of Gregory.

[MAC RAE.] Away to the west in the neighbourhood of Loch Duich the Mac Raes have found a home for centuries. Of their origin little can be said further than that their association with the Mac Kenzies has always been close. From the year 1520 their chiefs, the Mac Raes of Inverinate, held for long the office of constable of Eileandonan.

[CHISHOLM.] It seems probable that the first seat of the Anglo-Norman family of Chisholm in Scotland was in Roxburghshire, for we find a "Richard de Chesehelm del county de Roxburg" signing the Ragman Roll. Their connection with Inverness-shire began towards the middle of the fourteenth century when Alexander de Chishelme married one who is called "Margaret de la Ard." In 1403 Thomas de Chishelme received through this lady his mother, certain lands, and among them a part of the barony of Ard in Inverness-shire.

[FRASER.] That the chiefs of the Frasers were of Norman origin is attested by the fact that the name appears in the roll of Battle Abbey. The early forms of the name are Frezéan, Fiézel, Frezel, Frisale, and Frizelle. As early as the reign of David I. the Frasers were in possession of estates in East Lothian and Tweeddale. During Bruce's reign they found their way northwards into the Mearns, and Aberdeenshire, and finally into Inverness-shire. The immediate ancestor of the Lovat Frasers and founder of the Highland branch of the family was Simon, the eldest son of Sir Andrew Fraser. By marriage with Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Orkney and Caithness, the latter had already acquired a large estate in Caithness-shire. Through his wife, a daughter of Graham of Lovat, Simon acquired the Lovat property. He fell at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333.

Among the sheriffs of Scotland during the wars of independence was William Urquhart, sheriff of Cromartie. He is the first historical personage bearing the name. By his wife, a daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, he had a son Adam who obtained charters of various lands. Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie, who lived in the sixteenth century, is said to have been father of twenty-five sons and eleven daughters. [URQUHART.

The Munroes (Clan Roich) are deduced from Donald who bears the patronymic of O'Cainn, and who is supposed to have lived in the time of Mac Beth. The possessions of the clan, situated on the north side of the Cromarty Firth, are known as "Fearan Donald," after the name of this progenitor. Hugh Munro, who died in 1126, is the first on record to bear the name. He is designated of Foulis, and appears to have been the grandson of Donald. Their lands of Pitlundie were held for payment of a pair of white gloves, or three pounds Scots, if required, alternately. [MUNRO.

The old earls of Sutherland were descended from Hugh Freskin of the race of Freskin de Moravia, who obtained from William the Lyon the territory of Sutherland. The clan is probably composed, to a large extent, of the descendants of those of the original Celtic inhabitants who clung to the country during the Scandinavian occupation, together with such reinforcements from Moray as may have settled in these northern parts in the reign of Malcolm IV. [SUTHERLAND.

Tradition associates the origin of the chiefs of the Gunns with the Scandinavians, and we know nothing more definite regarding them. Their original location was Caithness, but owing to repeated and desperate quarrels with the Keiths, their neighbours, they, about the middle of the sixteenth century, removed into Sutherlandshire, and placed themselves under the protection of its earls. Offshoots from the Gunns were the Wilsons, Williamsons, Henrys, Hendersons, Johnsons, and Gallies of those northern parts. [GUNN.

In the Mac Kays we probably find the descendants of the old Mormaers of Caithness. Those mountainous districts of the north in which they found their home, were at no time colonised by the Norsemen, and the original Celtic population retained possession. The Mac Kays are known as the Clan Morgan—a name derived, it is asserted, from a progenitor whose great-grandson was the first to bear the name of Mac Kay. Morgan's son Donald is said to have married the daughter of Mac Neil of Gigha, who bore him a son named Aodh (pronounced Y. or I.) Donald, the son of Aodh, was consequently Mac Aodh or Mac Kay, and gave his name to the clan. The chief of the clan in 1427 was Angus Dubh, who, with many other chiefs was in that year imprisoned in Inverness by James I. According to Bower he was a leader of 4000 men. The southern names Mackie and Mac Ghie, it may be noted, are also derived from the name Aodh. [MAC KAY.

This chapter on the origins of the more important clans and surnames may be appropriately closed by a consideration of the principles on which some of these names, and others which have not been spoken of, have been formed. Surnames beginning with *Mac* bulk largely, and nearly half of the population of the Highlands are possessed of such names. Some of them, however, are non-Gaelic in character, as Mac Alister, Mac William, Mac Quattie, Mac Railt, Mac Robert, Mac Robbie, Mac Henry, and Mac Kendrick.

The next most characteristic point is the large place which surnames of ecclesiastical origin hold among the Highland people. In Mac Nab we find the son of the Abbot, in Mac Pherson the son of the parson, in Mac Taggart the son of the priest, and in Mac Kellar or Mac Cealloir the son of the prior or superior. "Giollachattan," again, is the servant of Chattan; "Giollachriosd," the servant of Christ, hence Gilchrist and Mac Gilchrist; "Giolliosa," the servant of Jesus, hence Gillies; "Gilleaspuig," the servant of the bishop, hence Gillespie; "Giollaeoin," the servant of John, hence Mac Lean; "Gilladomnan," the servant of Adomnan, hence probably Mac Lennan; "Gillfhaolain," the servant of Faolan, hence Mac Lellan; "Gilmore," the servant of Mary, hence Gilmour; "Giollabride," the servant of St. Bridget, hence Gilbert and Mac Bride; whilst the servant of Fillan was

Gilfillan. Similarly the Gaelic word *Mael* was frequently used as a prefix. It signifies the bald or tonsured one, but was often employed in the sense of servant or slave, as in Malcolm, the servant of Columba; and in "Maol-isa," servant of Jesus, hence Malise and Mellish. The name Mac Lure, or Mac Clure, is also probably associated with the Church—"Mac Gilleabhra" meaning the son of the servant of the book.

Personal characteristics, real or supposed, supply another set of names. Luglaech, a little hero, we find in Lulach and Mac Lullich; Aodh, fire, gives Mac Kay; Finlay, the fair hero, gives Mac Kinlay; Muir-ceartach, sea-ruler or sea-warrior, gives Mac Kirdy and Mac Murchie, pronounced in Gaelic Mac Urardaigh; Niall or Niallghus, a champion, gives Mac Neilage; Ruadhraigh, the red or the strong ruler gives Mac Rory; Beatha or Beathan, life, gives Mac Beth, Mac Bean, Mac Vean; Cam-beul, crooked mouth, gives Campbell; Cam-sroin, crooked nose, gives Cameron; Fear-char, dear man, gives Mac Erachar, Farquhar and Farquharson; Domhnall, world-wielder, gives Donald and Mac Donald; Tuathgal, the valourous people, gives Dugald and Mac Dougall; Findguine, fairborn, gives Mac Kinnon; Flaithbeartach, dominion-bearing, gives Flaharty and Mac Larty; Muiredach, lord, gives Murdoch; Beg, little, gives Begg; Mor, tall, gives More and Moir; Oig, young, gives Ogg; Bane, white or fair, gives Bain and the Whites or Whytes of the Highlands; Dubh, gives Duff, Dow, and the Highland Blacks; while Donn is Englished as Brown, or Dun; Roy becomes Reid; Gorm becomes Blue; Glas becomes Gray or Glass, and Reoch (brindled) becomes Riach and Mac Illeriach.

Trade and professional names also bulked largely. Gow, a smith, survives in Gow, Mac Gown, and many a Smith; Baird, was a bard; Caird, was a craftsman; Mac Brayne, was the son of the brehon or judge; and Mac Intyre was the son of the wright.

In their personal nomenclature the early Celts have shown a marked fondness for animal names. In this connection the dog, or rather the hound, was a first favourite, for it was venerated among these and other peoples, and the use of the name was always meant to imply respect. Neither, however, in the root-forms of *Cu* or *Madadh* or derivatives from these do we find many applications of the name in modern nomenclature. It is so also with other animal names which have gone largely out of

use, but we find still Calman, a dove, surviving in Mac Calman, Mathghamhuinn, a bear, in our northern Mathesons, Sithech, a wolf, in Shaw, Keith, Mac Keith, and Mac Kichan,[1] Cullach, a boar, in Mac Culloch, and Cuag, a cuckoo, in Mac Cuaig and Mac Caig.

Territorial names are represented by Ross, Buchanan, Sutherland, Murray, Forbes, Ogilvie, Gordon, etc.

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[1] It is possible that Mac Keich and Mac Kichan are derived from *Ceathach*, mist.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Some leading characteristics of Clan organisation—The Clan proper—Septs sprung from the Clan proper—Dependent septs—Distinction between the Patriarchal and Feudal systems—Titles of Clan leaders—Burt on Highland characteristics—Bonds of Manred—The sceptre of Scotland passes to the Norman—Sheriffdoms constituted in Argyll and the Isles—The western chiefs in the Wars of Independence—Bruce's affair with the Mac Dougalls near Tyndrum—Battle in the Pass of Brander—The Highlanders at the battle of Bannockburn and at Billand Abbey—Bruce's dealings with John of Lorn—Aggrandisement of the Mac Donalds and Mac Rorys.

1290-1329 A.D.

ERE entering upon the story of the clan period proper, it will be well that the way should be further cleared for the more complete understanding of the events and circumstances that fall to be recorded, by indicating at this point a few of the leading characteristics of clan organisation. Many of these events will illustrate to us very amply the foundation fact in the idea of clanship that the bond of union between Celtic chief and people was found in the belief in a common origin. *Clann* means children or family. To the people the chief was the representative of their common ancestor, and, under ordinary circumstances, they followed him whole-heartedly as their hereditary lord.

The clan proper was made up of the chief, his more immediate kinsmen—the Duine-Uasail or gentry of the clan—and the commonalty of the same name. Closely associated with these in the bonds of clanship were, sometimes, more or less powerful dependent septs of "native-men," men who, it may be, were descendants of still older occupiers of the soil, or who were broken men from other clans who had sought the protection of the chief. Within the clan itself, also, branches or smaller septs often developed as the result of leading men becoming, in some way or other, possessed of property, and so founding families which, not unfrequently, became very powerful. In this way the oldest cadet, the representative of that branch which had been longest separated from

the main stem, sometimes came to rival in power and influence the original chief.

In the year 1587 an Act was passed "for the quieting and keeping in obedience of the disorderit subjectis inhabitants of the Borders, Highlands and Isles," and from it we gather a note or two on clan organisation. In connection with one of the rolls therein given mention is made of "the Clans that have Captains, Chiefs, and Chieftains, on whom they depend ofttimes against the will of their Landlords, as well on the Borders as the Highlands." The sentence is instructive in the first place as distinguishing between the alien landlord or feudal lord, when such an one existed, and the natural head of the clan, and it, in this way, indicates the really essential distinctive characteristic between the patriarchal system and feudalism in relation to the people. Feudalism, in short, gave a territorial dignity, clanship a personal, though both involved power over their people—a power of life and death, obedience and following. In the Highlands, the patriarchal system, which in the earlier stages of society was probably common to all races, was, owing to local causes and conditions, unusually developed and unusually prolonged in the term of its existence; and there those old-world characteristics and customs, which had at one time been common to the whole of Scotland, lingered on and were tenaciously clung to. Till a comparatively late period, as is well known, clanship remained in full force, and men continued their allegiance to their hereditary chiefs, irrespective of their place of residence, and in spite of the introduction of the holding of lands on a feudal tenure, often "against the will of their Landlords," as the Act expresses it.

In the titles captain, chief, and chieftain, spoken of also in the sentence quoted from the Act of 1587, we have three distinct positions recognised. The chief was the *Ceanncine* or *Toiseach*, the hereditary head of the tribe; the chieftain was the *Ceanntighe*, the head of a subordinate sept or house, while the Captain was the actual leader of the clan. "The chief," says Skene, "was usually also the captain [he seems to have sometimes borne this title], but when he was either set aside from incapacity, or the pre-eminent military and administrative talents of a member of the clan led to the tribe taking the unusual course of adopting him to be their leader as better able to protect them, he was

simply termed Captain of the Clan, and the position and title usually remained with his descendants, especially if he had obtained a feudal title to the lands." Arrangements of this character often led to disputes, between different branches of a clan, and are accountable for not a few disastrous and prolonged feuds.

The relationship which existed between the chief and his followers, together with several other leading features, have been happily pictured for us by Burt, who wrote his *Letters of an Officer of Engineers* about the year 1730. He says:—"The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are sub-divided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch from whence they sprang; and in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe good-will to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence one to another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. *This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands in old times were the possessions of their ancestors.*

"The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of his name; and if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of the tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest as they are landlords, but as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for

they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates. . . . On the other hand the chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay."

The position occupied by the dependent septs is best illustrated by those bonds of Manred or Manrent which, in later times, came to be duly written out as embodying the terms of agreement between the parties. Local circumstances, and particularly the oppression and encroachment of the more powerful clans, led those bodies that were specially weak to pledge their allegiance to a stronger neighbour in return for protection, and the stronger neighbour gladly received them as adding to his strength and influence. In this way some of the clans, the Campbells and others, had their power enormously reinforced. In the bond there was involved freedom of choice in the one party, and a promise of protection by the other. To the applicants lands were assigned, if they were not already in possession, while they in turn owed the chief the *Calpe* that is, on the death of the head of a family, the children or executors were bound to send to the chief "their best Aucht whether it be ane mare, or horse, or cow."

The broad question of the relation of alien landlords and chiefs to the *nativi*—the original residents in a district—is put thus by Skene in his *Highlanders* :—"When a Norman baron obtained by succession or otherwise, a Highland property, the Gaelic *nativi* remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their *calpes* to the natural chief of their clan, and followed him in war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired by the operation of the feudal succession, an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the *nativi* of another race. If these *nativi* belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation should a feud arise between the two clans. But if they belonged to no other independent clan and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possession of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of *manrent* to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow them as their chief, and make him the customary

acknowledgement of the *calpe*. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming part of that clan."

In the following extract, which is taken from "ane list of the native men of Craignish," we find a good example of a bond of Manred:—"In 1592 Malcolm Mor Makesaig [Mac Isaac] and his sons appeared at Barrichbyan, and gave to their well-beloved Ronald Campbell Mc Ean Vc Donald of Barrichbyan and his heirs their bond of manred and calpis forever, and shall follow and obey him and his heirs in whatever place he and his foresaids transport themselves in the country or without; and shall obey them as native men ought and should do to their chief; and Ronald obliges himself and his heirs to be a good chief and master to them as his native men, and to give to them their duty that they and their succession of men and women ought to have after calpis, conform to the use of the country." To the dependent party the tangible evidence of the bond seems to have been the receipt of a sword, as is shown in a bond entered into in 1617 by this same Ronald Campbell and the then representative of the Mac Intyres, in which the latter says:—"Attour I grant me, as use is, to haif gotten at the making heirof ane guid and sufficient sword, ressavit and deliverit be the said Ronald to remane as ane memorial taikin of this my band of manrent."

In the Black Book of Taymouth we have an interesting illustration of how these Manred obligations were viewed and met by Colin, Lord of Glenorchy, in 1570. It is in the form of a letter, and reads thus:—"Gregor Mc Ane, I commend me heartily to you. Mac Callum Dow has shown me how the Clan Gregour has taken up your geir and your poor Tenants geir, the which I pray you to take no thought of, for albeit I have no cattle to recompense you instantly, I shall, God willing, make you and yours sure of rooms [farms or crofts] that shall make you more profit than the geir that ye have lost at this time, you being a true faithful servant unto me. And if the poor men that want geir, dwelling under you, be true to you, take them into the place upon my expense, and give to their wives and bairns some of my victual to sustain them as you think expedient. I pray you to have the place well provided with such furnishing as you may get, and spair neither my geir nor yet your own, for, God leaving us our health, we will get geir enough," etc., etc.

1285 A.D. We shall now resume the thread of our narrative. To those of Celtic blood and Celtic sympathies, the competition which took place for the Crown of Scotland on the death of Alexander III. was of little concern, for each and all of the aspirants, and they at first numbered ten, were alike, in their estimation, alien. In none of them were the older inhabitants of the north and west specially interested, and we do not learn that they took any part in the proceedings which resulted in the preferment of John Balliol to the throne of Scotland. In the subsequent struggles, however, many of them played a patriotic part, and alike at Falkirk and Bannockburn, under Wallace and under Bruce, they wielded the patriot's sword. In the former battle, the Brandanes of Bute distinguished themselves under Sir John Stewart. Henry the Minstrel speaks thus of them :—

> "The men off But before thair lord thai stud
> Defendand him, quhen fell stremyss off blud."

In 1296, King Edward I. of England, in the course of his first march to the north, took the castles of Inverness and Glen Urquhart, and garrisoned them. After a time the English were driven out by the Scots, but in 1303 Edward again traversed the northern wilds, and re-took these castles, as well as the island fortress of Loch-in-Dorb, near Forres.

1292 A.D. One of the earliest acts of King John Balliol is of interest to us here. It is an Act passed in 1292 for the bringing of the district of Argyll and the Isles into line with the rest of Scotland by its division into sheriffdoms. These sheriffdoms were three in number—Skye, Lorn, and Kintyre. For some indefinite period before this date, the duties which now fell to be performed by the Vice Comites or Sheriffs had devolved in Kintyre and Cowal upon the Earl of Monteath, and in the rest of Argyll upon the Earl of Atholl or the Abbot of Glendochart.

Of the few western chiefs that held by the English interest during the Wars of Independence, the most powerful was that Alexander de Ergadia, head of the Mac Dougalls, of whom we have already spoken as forming one in the Assembly at Scone in 1283. By marriage he was related to Balliol. In 1304 Sir Alexander de Argyll, as he is in this instance called, was chosen by

Edward I. as one of a council appointed to assist his lieutenant in the government of Scotland as an English province. With the crowning of Robert the Bruce at Scone on the 27th day of March, 1306, the bias of Sir Alexander towards the English was greatly intensified, for some six weeks earlier the Scottish king had killed the Argyll chief's relative, the Red Comyn, at Dumfries. The effect of this untoward circumstance upon the fortunes of Bruce was early seen. According to Mac Vurich, the Mac Dougalls were at this time very powerful, for he tells us that "all the garrisons from Inbhear Feothfar [Dingwall] in the Ross to the Mull of Kintyre were in the possession of Mac Dubhgal during that time, while the tribe of Ragnall [that is, the Mac Donalds and Mac Rorys] were under the yoke of their enemies." 1306 A.D.

Whatever may have been the exact position of the Mac Donalds at this time, and more particularly the relation of Alexander of Islay to the Bruce, in Angus Oig of Kintyre, who was the younger brother of Alexander, the fugitive king, in those his days of darkness, found a right trusty friend, and one who stood by him consistently till victory crowned his efforts, and Scotland was again released from the yoke of England's king. First at Saddell, and then in the sea-bound castle of Dunaverty, in South Kintyre, Bruce found welcome security and repose, till, after a time, he betook himself to Rathlin. Of his reception by Angus, Barbour thus speaks:—

"And Anguss off Ile that tyme wes syr,
And lord and ledar off Kyntyr.
The king rycht weill resawyt he,
And wndretuk his man to be:
And him and his, on mony wyss,
He abandownyt till his serwice.
And, for mar sekyrness, gaiff him syne
Hys castell off Donavardyne,
To duell tharin, at his liking."

In Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, through whose aid the royal party were conveyed from the Firth of Clyde to the shores of Kintyre, the king also found one who remained his constant friend, and one who, in time, became his brother-in-law through marriage with Mary Bruce, the sister of the king.

Among the difficulties which Bruce had to encounter after the affair of Methven was an attack made upon him in a strait 1306 A.D.

situation at Dalry (the King's field), near Tyndrum, by the Mac Dougalls and their allies, under John of Lorn, son of Alexander. At great personal risk, and with the loss of his plaid and the historic Brooch of Lorn, the king succeeded in extricating himself and his party from their perilous position, but the check he then received was highly inconvenient, and burned deeply into his soul. Ere many years had passed, however, and ere Bannockburn had been fought, Bruce found an opportunity of revenge upon the
1308 A.D. men of Lorn for their activity against him now and on other occasions :—

"The gud king, that thoucht on the scaith,
The dispyt and felny baith,
That Jhone off Lorne had till him doyn,
His ost assemblyt he then sone ;
And towart Lorn he tuk the way,
With his men in till gud aray.
Bot Jhone off Lorne off his cummyng,
Lang or he come, had wittering.
And men on ilk sid gadryt he,
I trow twa thowsand thai mycht be,
And send thaim for to stop the way,
Quhar the gud king behowyt away."

Strongly posted on the precipitous sides of Ben Cruachan, where they guarded the narrow pass of Brander, matters looked hopeful for the Mac Dougalls, but the resources of the king ensured him a decisive victory. Under Douglas he detached a body of archers, who, making a detour round the northern side of the mountain, fell upon the enemy in the rear, while he himself vigorously assailed them in front. Upon the Bruce's men innumerable stones, great and small, were rolled down from the mountain side, but "thai stoutly clamb the hill," and, dislodging the Mac Dougalls with the aid of Douglas, routed them and killed many, while not a few were drowned in the rushing river beneath. Escaping down Loch Etive their leader sought protection in the castle of Dunstaffnage which, after a short siege, was surrendered to the Bruce—John, however, flying to the English king by whom he was, ere long, made high-admiral of his western fleet. The old chief, Sir Alexander, was permitted to retain the district of Lorn, but all his other estates were forfeited, and conferred, for the most part, upon the Mac Donalds and Mac Rorys.

Before this stage in the Wars of Independence had been reached the efforts of the English kings to complete the subjection of Scotland had the result of emphasising the national sentiment, and rousing the patriotism of the people to a pitch higher, probably, than it had ever attained before. With a few notable exceptions, Celts and Saxons and Normans stood by the national cause, and fought side by side upon that glorious day at Bannockburn, "quhare oure ald enemys gat a gret fall." General Stewart, in his *Sketches of the Highlanders*, tells us that as many as twenty-one bodies of men hailing from within the Highland line responded to the summons of the king on that occasion. Their chiefs were Stewart, Mac Donald, Mac Kay, Mac Intosh, Mac Pherson, Cameron, Sinclair, Drummond, Campbell, Menzies, Mac Lean, Sutherland, Robertson, Grant, Fraser, Mac Farlane, Ross, Mac Gregor, Munro, Mac Kenzie, and Mac Quarrie. Many of these were under the king's immediate command, as we learn from Barbour—a fact which may be taken as an evidence of confidence. 1314 A.D.

> "The ferd [fourth] bataile the noble king
> Tuk till his awne gouernyng:
> And had in till his cumpany
> The men of Carrik halely;
> And off Arghile, and off Kentyr,
> And off the Ilis, quharoff wes Syr
> Anguss of Ile an But, all tha.
> He of the plane land had alsua
> Off armyt men a mekill rout:
> His bataill stalwart wes and stout."

John Major gives a lively account of the behaviour of the "wild Scots," the Highlanders, on this memorable occasion. He says: —"The wild Scots rushed upon them [the English] in their fury as wild boars will do; hardly would any weapons make stand against their axes, handled as they knew to handle them: all around them was a very shambles of dead men, and when stung by wounds, they were yet unable by reason of the long staves of the enemy to come to close quarters, they threw off their plaids, and, as their custom was, did not hesitate to offer their naked bellies to the point of the spear. Now in close contact with the foe, no thought of theirs but of the glorious death that awaited them if only they might at the same time compass his death too. Once entered in the heat of conflict—even as one sheep will

follow another, so they, and hold cheap their lives. . . . In blood the heroes fought, yea knee-deep."

In later contests with the English, when a succession of events gave times of wonderful triumph for the small resurrected kingdom of Scotland, the men of Argyll and the Isles likewise bore a part. Of the army which in 1322 dogged the footsteps of the forces of Edward in their retreat from Scotland, they formed a considerable portion, and did good service by their activity at Billand Abbey, where the English troops were utterly routed after having been driven with great slaughter by the Highlanders from the rocky ridge which commanded the pass immediately beneath. The manœuvre was a repetition of that which had proved so effective at the pass of Brander only a few years earlier. Speaking of King Robert's evident appreciation of the active soldierly capabilities of the Highlanders on this occasion, the Duke of Argyll, in *Scotland as it Was and as it Is*, says :—"It would almost seem as if the military genius of that remarkable man and the necessities of rigid discipline which his long and arduous contest imposed upon him, had enabled him to anticipate these modern days when Highland regiments have been not only the most dashing, but the steadiest and most enduring among the battalions of the British army."

1315 A.D. Not long after the great victory at Bannockburn, Bruce's attention was once more directed to John of Lorn, Alexander of Islay, and other western chiefs who were acting, at that time, as allies of England. In his journey to the west the route taken on this occasion by the king was that across the isthmus at Tarbert, Loch Fyne. The land journey, over a primitive ship-railway constructed for the purpose, is thus picturesquely described by Barbour in the *Bruce* :—

"When he [Bruce] had conwoyit to the se
His brodyr Eduuard, and his menye,
With his shippis he maid him yare
Into the Ilis for to fayr.
Walter Stewart with him tuk he,
His maich, and with him gret menye ;
And othyr men off gret noblay.
To Tarbart thai held thair way,
In galayis ordanyt for thair far.
Bot thaim worthyt draw thair schippis thar :
And a myle wes betuix the seys ;
Bot that wes lompnyt all with treis.

The king his schippis thar gert draw.
And for the wynd couth stoutly blaw
Apon thair bak, as thai wald ga,
He gert men rapys and mastis ta,
And set thaim in the schippis hey,
And sayllis to the toppis tey;
And gert men gang thar by drawand.
The wynd thaim helpyt, that wes blawand;
Swa that, in a litill space,
Thair flote all our drawin was.

And quhen thai, that in the Ilis war,
Hard tell how the gud king had thar
Gert hys schippis with saillis ga
Owt our betuix [the] Tarbart[is] twa,
Thai war abaysit sa wtrely.
For thai wyst, throw auld prophecy,
That he that suld ger schippis sua
Betuix thai seis with saillis ga,
Suld wyne the Ilis sua till hand,
That nane with strenth suld him withstand.
Tharfor thai come all to the king.
Wes nane withstud his bidding,
Owtakyn Jhone of Lorne allayne.
Bot weill sone eftre wes he tayne."

The "auld prophecy" here referred to which had so powerfully impressed the minds of the Islesmen, probably finds its foundation in the successful stratagem of Magnus Barefoot more than two centuries before.

As is indicated by the Archdeacon, the expedition was entirely successful. Alexander of Islay and other chiefs surrendered themselves to the king at Castle Sween, while John of Lorn's fleet was dispersed, and himself seized and imprisoned, first in Dunbarton Castle, and later in the castle of Lochleven. Upon Angus Oig, the extensive estates of his elder brother Alexander were now conferred, together with certain of the forfeited possessions of the Ergadia family—Morvern and Ardnamurchan, Duror and Glencoe. To him there also fell about the same period the lordship of Lochaber, which had been forfeited by one of the powerful family of Comyn, and thus the power of the united house of Islay and Kintyre grew apace. Upon Roderic, bastard brother of Christina, daughter and heiress of Alan Mac Ruari of Garmoran and the North Isles, was bestowed Lorn proper or the greater part of it. To him also was given by Christina at this same time a large portion of her lands in Garmoran and the North Isles.

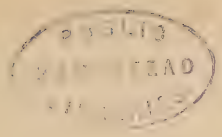
Having thus "dawntyt the Ilis," and successfully settled matters, the popular monarch proceeded to enjoy himself in these western parts, and

> "All that sesoun thar duellyt he,
> At huntyng, gamyn, and at gle."

Had later kings taken similar means of attaching their Celtic subjects to them, and gone frequently among them instead of trusting to the intervention of scheming rivals, there is distinct evidence, as we shall see, that they would have had little reason to complain of the loyalty of the men of the Highlands.

Conscious of the enormous power that was at this time placed in the hands of the Mac Donalds and Mac Rorys, Bruce took certain precautionary measures with a view to securing greater control over them. From Angus Oig he obtained the resignation of his lands in Kintyre, and bestowed them upon his nephew Robert, the son and heir of Walter the High Steward, and the Princess Marjory Bruce. To further strengthen his hands in the
1325 A.D. same region he, in 1325-26, built, or at anyrate greatly enlarged the fortifications of the castle of Tarbert. In it the king placed a royal garrison, for it was an important post in the circumstances of the time. It should be noted that the earliest Scottish Exchequer Roll extant (earlier ones were all lost or destroyed) is that contributed in 1326 by John de Lany, the Constable of Tarbert. The interest attaching to the building of the castle is added to by the fact that the details furnished constitute, according to the editors of the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, "the earliest account of any details of domestic architecture and modes of rural life in Scotland." Dunstaffnage Castle in Lorn was also reserved with a like purpose, and placed in the keeping of Arthur Campbell of the Mac Arthur branch of the Campbell Clan.

The importance of closely attaching the Isles to the Crown of Scotland was very patent to the Bruce, and he thus, in his will, according to Major, appeals to his successors:—"Inasmuch as they could thence have cattle in plenty, and stout warriors, while in the hands of others they would not readily yield allegiance to the king, whereas with the slender title of the Isles the king can hold them to the great advantage of the realm, and most of all if he should make recompence to others of a peaceful territory." Much of the work of consolidation effected by Bruce was unfortunately undone during the next four hundred years.



CHAPTER XXIV.

Coquetting of western chiefs with England—Failure of the houses of de Ergadia and Garmoran—John, first Lord of the Isles—Natural cleaving of the Highlanders to Celtic leadership—Scheming of John and other nobles—Marriage of the Lord of the Isles to the daughter of the future king, Robert II.—Burials in Iona—Rise of the houses of Glencoe, Clanranald of Garmoran, Clandonald of the South, and the Mac Donalds of Keppoch—Activity of English emissaries—Clan feuds and their causes—First clan feud on record—Statute passed for the suppression of *Caterans*—The depredations of the Wolf of Badenoch—Battle of Gasklune—Feuds in the north—The judicial combat on the North Inch of Perth.

1329-1396 A.D.

In view of future relations between the men of the Western Isles and the Crown, it is of not a little significance to find that already, ere the death of King Robert, it was stipulated in the Treaty of Northampton, concluded in the year 1328, that if the Irish rebel, the King of Scotland is not to help them; and so of the inhabitants of the Scots islands, the King of England is not to aid them in war against the King of Scotland. Notwithstanding this latter proviso, not a few attempts were made subsequently by the English to alienate the allegiance of the islanders, which, indeed, was already somewhat shaken from the apprehension that they might be crushed by the Saxons. By his conduct Roderic Mac Ruari of Garmoran had, before this time, forfeited his estates, and when, later, Edward Balliol came upon the scene, his cause was espoused both by Reginald, the son and successor of Roderic, and by John of Islay, the son and successor of Angus Oig. In 1337 1337 A.D.
the latter entered into a league with England through the medium of the then Earl of Salisbury. By thus acting, John incurred the hostility of the Scottish party, but in 1344, David II., in view of his proposed wars with England, found it politic to pardon both John and Reginald, and confirmed them in the greater part of their possessions. Kintyre, which, as we have seen, had been resigned by Angus Oig, and given to the Stewarts,

was now also re-granted to John of Islay, but Lorn proper remained in the hands of the Crown, and later was again bestowed upon the now freed John of Lorn upon his marriage with the king's niece. John of Lorn, however, died without male issue, and by his daughter Lorn was conveyed to her husband, Robert Stewart, founder of the Rosyth family, by whom, says Gregory, the lordship was sold to his brother, John Stewart of Invermeath, ancestor of the Stewarts, Lords of Lorn. Thus terminated the erstwhile powerful family of de Ergadia.

A similar fate to that of the Mac Dougalls befell the family of Garmoran and the North Isles. The wife of John of Islay was Amie, sister of Reginald Mac Ruari, and by her he had three sons —John, Godfrey, and Ranald. Reginald Mac Ruari held the lands of Kintail of the Earl of Ross, but, disagreeing on some matter,
1346 A.D. the two quarrelled at Perth in 1346, and Reginald was killed. No issue having been left by the latter, his possessions fell to John of Islay, who now became extremely powerful, and without a rival in that western region. For the first time since the days of Somerled the great majority of the western isles came now into the possession of one representative of his family, and it was now, it would appear, that there came into vogue that high-sounding title, so well known in later days, *Dominus Insularum*, or Lord of the Isles, and John of Islay was the first to bear it.

Towards the end of the reign of David II. many of the Highland chiefs, taking exception to the conduct of affairs by the Government, became turbulent and troublesome. At their head was John of the Isles. At earlier points in our narrative we have seen the cleaving of the Highlanders to Celtic leaders, and now, with the rapid springing of the Mac Donald family into place and power, they found a new centre round which to rally, with the result that from this time till the break up of their power, the Lords of the Isles became virtually the leaders of the Celtic race. With the succeeding centuries Highlander and Lowlander drifted farther apart, the conduct of the former, in imperial matters, being largely dominated by their love of independence, and of their old Celtic institutions and methods.

On the occasion to which we have referred, the Lord of the Isles was supported, among others, by the Earl of Ross, Hugh de Ross, John of Lorn, and John de Haye; and by the Parliament
1368 A.D. of 1368, John of the Isles, Gillespic Campbell, and John of Lorn

were commanded to present themselves before the king, and conform to the general laws of the State. At the next great council the two latter appeared, but affairs continued unsettled. The following year the conduct of John of the Isles urgently called for interference, and David determined on immediate action. Surrounded by the Steward and many barons and prelates, he, with quite unwonted energy, marched north to Inverness, where he met the Lord of the Isles, and secured his submission, and that of those who were acting with him. Under the penalty of forfeiting his whole possessions, John, upon oath, promised obedience to the Government, agreed to the payment of taxes and public burdens, gave hostages, and held himself responsible, not only for the good conduct of his vassals, but for the putting down of others, of whatever rank or degree, who dared to oppose the royal authority. In this latter condition we have an evidence of the prominent position which was his.

That the Lord of the Isles had sometimes pleasant relationships with King David, who was fond of hawking, is shown by the Chamberlain's accounts, which speak of John of the Isles as having brought falcons to him.

Several years before the meeting of the Lord of the Isles with the king at Inverness, the former entered into another and a most important matrimonial alliance, for he unscrupulously repudiated his first wife, Amie Mac Ruari, notwithstanding the large possessions she had brought him, and wedded the Lady Margaret, daughter of Robert the High Steward. Quite a royal retinue was his when he journeyed forth to fetch his bride, for Mac Vurich tells us that "he proceeded to the mouth of the river of Glascu, and had three score long-ships with him."

Whether or not as the result of a secret alliance concluded at the time of this marriage, we find that when, in 1370, the High Steward ascended the throne as King Robert the Second, "his influence," as Skene tells us, "led to an arrangement by which the children of the Lord of the Isles by his second marriage, who were the king's grandsons, were to be preferred to the children of the first marriage in the succession to the Isles, while the possessions of the Mac Ruari family, which he had inherited through his first wife, were to be secured to the first family as the price of their acquiescence." In consonance with this idea, King Robert, in the first year of his reign, confirmed to the Lord of the 1370 A.D.

Isles the Mac Ruari territory, which in turn was granted by the latter to Amie's youngest son, Reginald or Ranald. The following year it was confirmed to him by the king. These grants were made to Reginald, because, ere this time, John, the eldest son of Amie, had died, while Godfrey, the second son, seems to have spurned the arrangement, and maintained for a time his claim as the eldest surviving son.

John, first Lord of the Isles, died in his castle of Ardtornish. To the Church he had been a munificent patron, and he repaired
1380 A.D and furnished several chapels—that of Elan Eorsag, that of Elan Finlagan, and that of Elan Suibhne—an island in Loch Sween. "Having received the body of Christ," says Mac Vurich, "and having been anointed, his fair body was brought to Icolumcille, and the abbot and the monks and vicars came to meet him, as it was the custom to meet the body of the king of Fionnghall, and his service and waking were honourably performed during eight days and eight nights, and he was laid in the same grave with his father in Teampal Oghrain, in the year of our Lord 1380."

Than the frequent burial of notable people amid the consecrated dust of Iona, and that through many centuries, we could have no better evidence of the sanctity with which the place was regarded, and how literally was fulfilled the prophecy of Columba as to its future glory. "This place," he said, "small and mean as it appears, shall be honoured not only by the Kings of the Scots and their people, but by the rulers of strange nations and those subject to them. By the holy men also of other churches it shall be held in reverence." The *Reilig Odhrain* was the Westminster of the Middle Ages, and already we have made frequent reference to the interment of the Scottish kings within its sacred precincts. Such burials are thus pictured for us by the Duke of Argyll:—"Nor can we fail to remember, with the Reilig Odhrain at our feet, how often the beautiful galleys of that olden time came up the Sound laden with the Dead—'their dark freight a vanished life.' A grassy mound not far from the present landing-place is known as the spot on which bodies were laid when they were first carried to the shore. . . How many such processions must have wound along the path that leads to the Reilig Odhrain! How many fleets of galleys must have ridden at anchor on that bay below us, with all those expressive signs of mourning which belong to ships when Kings and Chiefs

who had died in distant lands were carried hither to be buried in this holy Isle! From Ireland, from Scotland, and from distant Norway, there came, during many centuries, many royal funerals to its shores. And at this day, by far the most interesting remains upon the Island are the curious and beautiful tombstones and crosses which lie in the Reilig Odhrain," etc., etc. Writing of the Reilig Odhrain in 1549, Donald Munro, High Dean of the Isles, says:—"Into this sanctuary there is three tombes of stane, formit like little chapels, with ane braid gray marble or quhin stane in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes. In the stane of the ane tomb there is written in Latin letters, '*Tumulus Regum Scociæ*'—that is, the tombe or grave of the Scotts kings. Within this tombe, according to our Scotts and Erische cronikels, ther layes fortey-eight crouned Scotts kings, through the quhilk this ile has been richlie dotat be the Scotts kings as we have said. The tombe on the south side forsaid has this inscription, '*Tumulus Regum Hybernicæ*'—that is, the tombe of the Irland kinges; for we have in our auld Erische cronickells that there was foure Irland kinges erdit in the said tombe. Upon the north syde of our Scotts tombe the inscription beares, '*Tumulus Regum Norwegiæ*'—that is, the tombe of the kings of Norway; in the quhilk tombe, as we find in our ancient Erish cronickells, there lays eight kings of Norroway." Till long after the time of the worthy Dean, it was the ardent desire of many a high chief and doughty warrior that their dust should be mingled with the earth which had been consecrated by the feet of the great missionary abbot.

It may be here noted that from John, surnamed *Fraoch*, half-brother of John, first Lord of the Isles, there sprang the Clan Ian of Glencoe—a name well known in later Highland history.

On the death of the Lord of the Isles in 1380 his son Reginald proved loyal to the arrangement that had been come to. From Mac Vurich we learn that "he called a meeting of the nobles of Innsigall and of his brethren at one place, and he gave the sceptre to his brother [Donald] at Cill Donan in Egg, and he was nominated Mac Donald and Domhnall of Ile contrary to the opinion of the men of Innsigall." From this last phrase we should probably conclude that the general feeling was that Godfrey was the rightful claimant. The latter, however, does not seem to have made any attempt to oust Donald, but on the death 1380 A.D.

of Reginald in 1386 he dispossessed the children of the latter of their territory, or at anyrate of a portion of it, and assumed the title of Godfrey of the Isles, Lord of Uist, under which name we find him dating a charter from Elantirim in Moidart in the year 1388. From him was descended the Siol Gorrie, a tribe which towards the end of the next century fell into decay.

From Reginald or Ranald, on the other hand, there sprang the most numerous tribe of the Clandonald, viz., the Clanranald of Garmoran, which comprehended the families of Moidart, Morar, Knoydart, and Glengarry. With the Siol Gorrie they were frequently at feud with regard to the land, and at a subsequent period when Uist and Garmoran were granted by John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, to his brother Hugh of Sleat, they, in spite of the charter, retained possession. Later they obtained from the successor of Hugh a legal title to the disputed lands.

By his full-brothers, Donald dealt generously, and both of them founded powerful houses. To his eldest brother John Mor, who is called the Tanister (*i.e.*, the prospective successor to the Lordship), he gave large grants of land in Islay and Kintyre, and from him is descended the Clandonald of the South, or as it is otherwise called the Clan Ian Mor of Islay and Kintyre. To the possessions of John were later added those of Marjory Bisset, heiress of the "Glens" in Antrim, whom he married. From his other brother Alexander de Insulis, or Alaster Carrach, are descended the Mac Donalds of Keppoch, sometimes called the Clanranald of Lochaber, in which district their possessions were located.

That Donald, second Lord of the Isles, was a man of considerable accomplishments may be inferred from the fact that, like many other young Scotsmen of those days, he was educated at Oxford, and in 1378 there was granted him by Richard II. a safe conduct to pass through his dominion of England.

In process of time Donald married Margaret, daughter of Walter Lesly, Earl of Ross—an alliance which ere long was productive of important results. During Donald's time the emissaries of England were again active among the Island chiefs, and two of his brothers, Godfrey and John, if not also he himself, would
1388 A.D. appear to have visited the English Court in 1388. The growing power of the Lords of the Isles, and their semi-independent position at this time is clearly shown in the fact that in the

truce between France and England concluded in 1389, while Scotland is included in it as a party and ally of France, the Lord of the Isles occupies a similar place as an ally of England. In connection with his English alliances Donald and one of his brothers visited that country in the year 1400, when they were 1400 A.D.
received at Court with many marks of respect. On this occasion they entered into a defensive league with Henry IV. Later in 1405 and 1408 Donald's political position was recognised by the English king when he appointed commissioners to treat with him.

Up to the last quarter of the fourteenth century the Highland area would seem, so far as the records show, to have been comparatively free from those inter-tribal feuds by which, in later centuries, it unfortunately came to be so distinguished. As has been already hinted at, so long as the accustomed patriarchal government of their great hereditary chiefs continued, and the great tribes were held together by those influences which were the outcome of the conditions under which they lived, fairly good order, and good feeling, there is every reason to believe, prevailed. But with the failure during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the old lines of Celtic earls, and the consequent breaking up of the great tribes into their constituent clans, local control was lessened, jealousies became rife, claims as to pre-eminence among the different sections with quarrels over the chief-ship were frequent, offences against individuals called loudly for revenge, feuds between clan and clan arose and often became hereditary, and thus disorder and violence reigned at only too frequent intervals.

Other circumstances there were besides the compulsion of opposing interests which tended to inter-tribal strife, and to make popular a chronic state of warfare. Among them was the natural aversion which the Duine-Uasail or gentry of the clan had to sinking to the level of the agricultural class as they did, under ordinary circumstances, once they passed the limit of the privileged branches of the clan, which were those of nearest kin to the then chief. The leading business of the Duine-Uasail was the support of the chiefs to whose service they dedicated their swords, and to men brought up thus the idea was anything but pleasing that they should degenerate into the actual labourers of the soil. In war rested the hope that they might be able, for a

time at anyrate, to avert such a fate, and by them the feud and the battle were courted. In the Gartmore MS. of 1747 we have placed before us very clearly the condition which, at that time, governed the holding of land by the Duine-Uasail or Tacksman. It says :—"These lands are set by the landlord during pleasure or a short tack to people whom they call good men, and who are of a superior station to the commonalty. These are generally the sons, brothers, cousins, or nearest relations of the landlord. This by means of a small portion and the liberality of their relations they are able to stock, and which they their children and grandchildren, possess at an easy rent, till a nearer descendant be again preferred to it. . . . At last they degenerate to be of the common people, unless some accidental acquisition of wealth supports them above their station."

That the social rank differentiated, at some periods, the aggressive fighting elements of the clan from those who laboured the soil, and held to that duty even in time of war, is evidenced in a variety of ways, and is thus referred to in a *Description of the Isles*, written towards the end of the sixteenth century (1593)—apparently an official document, probably compiled for the information of the reigning sovereign, James VI. "The common accustomat of raising of thair men is 6000. quhairof the 3^{d} pairt extending to 2000 men aucht and sould be cled with attounes and haberchounis, and knapshal bannetts,[1] as thair lawis beir. And in raising or furthbringing of thair men ony time of yeir to quhatsumevir cuntrie or weiris, na labourers of the ground are permitted to steir furth of the cuntrie quhatevir thair master have ado, except only gentlemen quhilk labouris not, that the labour belonging to the teiling of the ground and wynning of thair corns may not be left undone, albeit thai byde furth ane haill zeir, as sometimes it happens quhen ony of thair particular Ilands hes to do with Irland or neighbours, that the haill cuntriemen bides furth watching thair enemies ane zeir, half ane zeir, or thairby, as thai please. Not the less the ground is not the war labourit, nor the occupiers thairof are nather molestit, requirit, troublit, nor permittit to gang furth of thair awin cuntrie and Ile quhair thay dwell."

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[1] *Acton*, a quilted leathern jacket, worn under the armour; *habergeon*, a short sleeveless jacket of mail; *knasphal bannet*, a steel cap or helmet.

The unsettled condition of affairs in the Highlands from the fourteenth century onwards was largely accentuated by the inability of the central government to make itself continuously felt and respected among the mountains and islands of the north and west, or to afford protection to those who needed it. When a government is powerless to perform its first duty, viz., to protect its subjects, it cannot effectively demand obedience, and it need not hope to obtain it. The result, in this case, was that retrogression in civilisation rather than progression characterised the Highlanders during the next four hundred years. That the unruly condition of the Highlands was mainly due to ineffective government is proved by Fordun, who completed his Chronicle in 1383, and who tells us, as we have seen, that though given to rapine, the Highlanders were "faithful and obedient to their king and country, and easily made to submit to law if properly governed."

Notwithstanding Fordun's assertion as to the undoubted prevalence of rapine in his time the only clan feud of which we find mention before his day is one recorded by Sir Robert Gordon as having occurred early in the reign of Alexander III. On that occasion a dispute had arisen between the Earl of Ross and some Highlanders whom Sir Robert calls the Clan Iver, the Clan Talvich, and the Clan Laiwe, the result of which was that the leader of the confederacy was imprisoned by the Earl. Upon this the enemy seized the second son of the latter at Balnagowan, and a battle followed at Bealligh-na-Broig, in which the Earl was aided by the Munroes and Dingwalls. Both sides suffered severely, but the insurgents were almost exterminated, and the Earl's son was rescued. Of the Munroes no fewer than eleven of the house of Foulis, who might have succeeded to the chiefship, were slain, and the succession opened to an infant.

As the fourteenth century drew to a close, the behaviour of the Highlanders arrested the attention of the Government of the day, and the very year after the completion of Fordun's Chronicle, an Act was passed for the suppression of masterful plunderers, who, in the statute, are further designated by their Highland name of *Caterans*. Such persons were to be very summarily, though very unwisely, dealt with, for they might be seized by any one and hailed before the sheriff, and if they resisted and refused to go, the captors might kill them without having to

1384 A.D.

answer for the act—not a way calculated, we should say, to ensure respect for the law, but a method of procedure eminently fitted to create more feuds than it was helpful in quelling.

Curiously enough, some of the most serious outrages of this period were perpetrated not under the leadership of a Celtic chief, but under that of a Norman, a son of King Robert II. This leader was that Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, who, from the ferocity of his disposition, was known as the Wolf of Badenoch, in which district he had extensive estates. This fact may be taken, like many similar ones in the history of the Highlands, the Borders, and Ireland, as showing that environment and opportunity have at least as much to do with behaviour as has race. "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." Such considerations, however, have no weight with historians like Hill Burton and others, who are ever ready to magnify the innate depravity of the Celtic race, while extenuating and excusing whatever is amiss in Saxon, Norseman, or Norman. In this and in other matters relating to the Highlanders and Irish, Burton, like his forerunners, Johnson, Pinkerton, and Laing, only too often fails to exercise his usual judicial and impartial spirit, and his exhibitions of prejudice are in these instances alike unfortunate and unworthy.

The wife of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, was Euphame, Countess of Ross, and the accession of her possessions added immensely to his power. The depredations wrought by this ferocious man were many, and among them was the wrongous seizure of some lands, the heritage of the Bishop of Moray. Excommunication was the natural result of such a deed, and in retaliation for this step, the
1390 A.D. chief swept down in 1390 upon the see of Moray with a body of Highlanders—"wyld wykkyd Hielandmen," Wynton calls them—devastated portions of it, ruthlessly burned Forres, and the cathedral and religious houses of Elgin, and performed other equally vindictive and sacrilegious acts. In making his submission later to Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, with a view to the removal of his excommunication with all its disabilities, the Earl was dealt with very firmly, a clerical scribe tells us, and that in the presence of the king and many of the nobility.

Alexander had no legitimate children, but he had five natural sons, some of whom only too closely followed in the footsteps of

their father. At least one of them was involved in an invasion 1391 A.D.
of the Braes of Angus in 1391, which resulted in what is known as the battle of Gasklune. In reference to these circumstances Wyntoun says:—"There arose a great discord between Sir David Lindsay, son of Glenesk, and the Highlandmen, and that in consequence of the former sending a secret spy into the Highlands, a great company of Highlandmen, to the number of three hundred and more, came suddenly into Angus under three chieftains, Thomas, Patrick, and Gibbon, whose surname was Duncanson [Clan Donnachaidh], and encountered the sheriff at Gasklune, in the Stormonth, where the latter was slain." From Bower we learn that Duncan Stewart was at the head of the Highlanders, that the sheriff's name was Walter Ogilvy, and that of the latter's followers there were sixty slain. As the representative of the Government, the sheriff seems to have organised the defence. The fight was of a desperate nature, and it is recorded that in the attack the Highlanders resorted to that rushing method which so characterised them in later days. A circumstance related by Wyntoun well illustrates individual fortitude. By Sir David Lindsay a Highlander was run through the body and pinned to the ground, but, notwithstanding his desperate position, the victim writhed himself upwards on the spear, and dealt such a blow to his assailant with his sword as cut through the latter's stirrup and steel-boot, and wounded him so severely as to compel him to quit the field.

From a Brief issued by King Robert III. in March, 1392, putting to the horn as outlaws those who had been concerned in the slaughter of Walter de Ogilvy, Walter de Lichton, and others, we learn more particularly who the leaders were, and it is in this Brief we first find mention of a clan, as such, within the Highland line. That clan is the Clanqwhevil, which, as we have already indicated, was another name for the Clan Chattan.

A few years later, according to Sir Robert Gordon, strife raged in the more northern districts. The parties involved were the Sutherlands, under Earl Nicholas, and the Mac Kays of Strathnaver, led by Y Mac Kay and his son Donald. Already many lives had been lost on both sides, when, in 1395, the Earl 1395 A.D
proposed that a conference should be held at Dingwall, at which it was hoped an arrangement might be come to through the friendly mediation of the Lord of the Isles, who was the Earl's

father-in-law, and other neighbouring chiefs. They met, but the result was unfortunate. Angry controversy took the place of friendly accommodations, and Mac Kay and his son were killed by the Earl with his own hand. The Earl escaped, though with difficulty, and the Mac Kays were, at the time, not in a position to take revenge.

Ere long these clans were reconciled, and a few years subsequent to the above events, they unitedly resisted an invasion of the Mac Kay territory by Malcolm Mac Leod and the men of Lewis. The occasion was the asserted ill-treatment of a widowed sister of Malcolm Mac Leod, who had been wife of Angus, the successor in the chiefship of Y Mac Kay. The supposed offender was Hucheon Dubh, the younger brother of Angus, who was acting as tutor to her sons. Disappointed in obtaining satisfaction by entreaty and conference, Malcolm and his men, on their way home through Strathnaver, laid waste the country and carried off booty. Immediately the Mac Kays flew to arms, and, having been joined by a body of the Sutherlands, came up with the depredators at Tuttim-Turwigh, where a bloody fight ensued. Ere its termination Mac Leod and all his men were slain, with the exception of one severely wounded man, who succeeded in conveying the sorrowful news to his friends, but died almost immediately thereafter.

1396 A.D. In the year 1396 there was fought that singular, well-remembered historic combat upon the North Inch of Perth between the representatives of two Highland clans, of which we have now to speak. Referring to the event in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, Sir Walter Scott well says that it "marks with equal distinctness the rancour of these native feuds, and the degraded condition of the Government of the country." We shall find with sufficient frequency, as we proceed, the same governmental ineffectiveness displayed, with similarly lamentable results.

In speaking of the Clans Chattan and Cameron, we have already indicated the probability that the two clans involved were these. By Wyntoun, by Bower, by Maurice Buchanan, and in the *Chartulary of Moray*, somewhat different versions of the event are recorded, and it may be best, in such a case, to put before the reader the substance of what these, our earliest authorities, present to us. Wyntoun, who composed his

Chronicle some twenty-five years after the event, tells us that the combat took place at Saint Johnstoune or Perth, and then he proceeds :—

> "They thre score ware clannys twa,
> Clahynnhè Qwhewyl, and Clachinyha.[1]
> Of thir twa kynnys ware thay men
> Thretty again thretty then,
> And thare thai had than chiftanys twa—
> Scha Ferqwharis sone wes ane of thay,
> The tother Cristy Johnesone."

Further he says they fought within barriers with bow, and axe, knife and sword; but that who had the best of the encounter he could not say, and that fifty or more were slain, and but few escaped with life. It was a "selcouth thing," an amazing thing, he remarks, and truly it was, and unique in the history of modern nations.

Bower wrote some twenty-five years later. He transposes the names of the leaders, tells of the irreconcileableness of the clans and of the interposition of David de Lyndesay of Crawford, and of Thomas, Earl of Moray, through whom it was arranged that they should settle their quarrel before King Robert II. at Perth, by combat between thirty chosen men on each side, armed only with their swords, bows and arrows, and without their other arms or their plaids. Then he relates how before the king, the governor, and a great multitude the combat took place on the appointed day, when of the sixty all were slain except one of the "Clan Kay" and one of the "Clanquhele." By him it is noted that as the combatants were entering within the barrier, one of the number dashed into the river and escaped by swimming across, on which one of the spectators [Hal of the wynd, the Gow Chrom] offered to supply his place for half a mark, on condition that if he survived he was to be maintained during the rest of his life. The crooked smith's offer was accepted.

Maurice Buchanan's account was set down in the Book of Pluscarden in 1461. This writer was a Highlander, and it is not improbable that his version was that current within the High-

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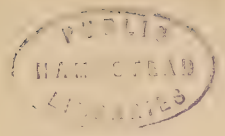
[1] *I.e.*, Clainne or Clan Qwhewyl, and Clainne or Clan Ha. The latter are identified by Dr. Fraser-Mac Intosh with the Davidsons and not with the Camerons.

land area in his day. He refers to the cause; the character of the combat, that it was of the nature of a judicial wager of battle, and therefore, we conclude, meant to determine some right or privilege that was in dispute; that it was fought before the King; that the weapons used were swords and cross bows having each three arrows only; that all the combatants were slain except seven, five on the one side and two on the other; that one of the two escaped by the river, and the other being taken was pardoned with the consent of the other party, though some say that he was hung. He speaks also of the disappearance of one of the chosen combatants at the beginning of the conflict, and tells us that another of the same clan supplied his place for forty shillings; and that he fought valiantly and escaped with his life.

To these accounts nothing material is added in that found in the Moray Chartulary, which is short. Of the "Clan Kay," it says, all were slain except one, while of the "Clan Qwhwle" ten survived—thus difficult is it to attain to historical exactitude; and to the story as thus told by the earlier chroniclers, tradition has added many embellishments. The combat was unique; and fought out as it was to the bitter end in the presence of royalty and before a vast multitude, including many distinguished visitors from England and France, it must have proved as exciting as it was singular, and in marked contrast, in its character and results, to the guarded tournaments of chivalry by which that age was distinguished.



CHAPTER XXV.

State of Scotland at the close of the fourteenth century—The Earldom of Ross and the Battle of Harlaw—Seizure of Highland chiefs by James I.—Rebellion of Alexander, Lord of the Isles.—Ignominious surrender of Alexander—Donald Balloch as temporary head of the Lordship—Release of Alexander—Incidents in northern counties—Murder of King James I.—Invasion of the Lennox by Islesmen—Intrigue of the Lord of the Isles with Douglas and Crawford.

1396-1449 A.D.

THROUGHOUT the whole of Scotland, Highland and Lowland alike, the closing years of the fourteenth century were characterised by much unrest. In the Lowlands the times were troublous and unsettled, for a succession of weak kings afforded scheming nobles ample opportunity for seeking to gratify their aggrandising tendencies at the expense of their neighbours. Upon the burghal and industrial communities the resulting disorganisation told grievously, and at length, in 1398, their appeal came before 1398 A.D.
the Estates of Parliament, by whom the blame was courageously laid upon the proper shoulders. The three communities of "the kynrik gadderit," we are told, "in general council," "Quwhare it is deliveryt that the mysgovernance of the reaulm, and the defaut of the kepyng of the common law, sulde be imput to the kynge and his officers. And tharfore gif it lyks our lorde the kynge til excuse his defautes, he may at his lyking gerre calle his officeres to the quhilks he giffyn commissione, and accuse thame in presence of his consaile. And thair answere herde, the consaile sal be redy to judge their defautes." Here we find neither fear of King nor Government, and in the same Parliament steps, though ineffective ones, were taken to place affairs on a better footing.

The summer of 1411 saw Scotland shaken to its centre by the 1411 A.D.
descent of Donald, second Lord of the Isles, upon its eastern plains. It was a formidable invasion, and the battle of Harlaw, which terminated it, impressed itself to an unusual degree upon

the popular mind, and lives in the music and ballad minstrelsy of our country. Indeed, one of our oldest ballads, one of those whose titles occur in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (1549), bears the name of "The Battel of Hayrlaw," one of the "sweet melodius sangis."

The occasion of the rising was as follows. Donald, as we have seen, had for wife Margaret, daughter of Walter Lesly, Earl of Ross. On the death of Earl Alexander, Margaret's only brother, he left as heiress an only daughter, who, however, had fled from the world, and had become a nun. To procure her renunciation of the earldom was, in the circumstances, no difficult matter, and this was speedily effected by the Regent Albany, whose daughter was the mother of the young nun. Forthwith Albany bestowed the valuable possession upon his son, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan. Meantime Donald, Lord of the Isles, in accordance with Celtic custom, had laid claim to the earldom in right of his wife, and when he learned of the success of Albany's scheming he was deeply mortified, for he contended that it was not within the right of the nun to so alienate the territory. Resenting the injustice—for injustice it assuredly was—Donald resolved on war, and soon ten thousand Highlanders—Mac Donalds, Mac Leans, Mac Intoshes, and many others—answered to the summons to arms. After brushing aside, at Dingwall, Angus Dubh Mac Kay and the Ross confederated clans, this formidable body swept rapidly across the country in the direction of Aberdeen, filling the inhabitants on the line of march and the people of Aberdeen with the utmost consternation. At Harlaw, on the borders of the low country, and within eighteen miles of Aberdeen, they were encountered by an army which, in all haste, had been mustered for defence. At its head was Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, illegitimate son of the Wolf of Badenoch. In his earlier years Alexander had known what Highland warfare was, while subsequently he had gained experience in the wars of France, and was now recognised as a distinguished commander. With him on the present occasion were the best men of Angus and Mearns, and, though his numbers were deficient, he had the advantage in being able to bring into the field many men-at-arms on whom he might confidently rely to present an effective resistance to the wild rush of the Highland host. On the 24th July the armies met, and a bloody but indecisive battle was fought,

disastrous alike to both parties. Of the army of Mar there fell five hundred men-at-arms and many of the principal gentry of the neighbourhood—Leslys, Murrays, Ogilvys, Straitons, Scrymgeours, Irvings, Abernethys, Stirlings, etc., together with the greater part of the burgesses of Aberdeen, with their provost, Sir Robert Davidson. Of the men of the Lord of the Isles, nine hundred were left dead upon the field when night put an end to the fray. Among these were the chief of the Mac Intoshes and the chief of the Mac Leans. The latter is understood to have been Eachan Ruadh ni Cath or Red Hector of the battles, son of Lachlan Lubanich. Though expecting on the morrow a renewal of the attack, the slender remains of the army of Mar found to their relief, when morning dawned, that the enemy had moved off during the night, and thus the career of Donald was checked. But, says an old ballad—

> "Mony a ane may mourn for aye
> The grim battle of the Harlaw."

What effect a decisive victory on the part of the Lord of the Isles at this time might have had on the future of Scotland it is impossible to estimate. That his first object was the making good his claim to the earldom there can be no doubt, and it is not improbable he might have been satisfied with that achievement. At any rate, there is no reason to consider, as does the Duke of Argyll and others, that a conquest of Scotland was contemplated by Donald, or that the rising had taken the definite form of a contest for supremacy between Celt and Teuton, or Highlander and Lowlander. As it was, he failed to secure the earldom, and Albany followed up the retreat of Donald by making himself master of the whole of Ross, while the Lord of the Isles retired to his island territory for the winter. Next summer, after a short period of renewed hostilities, the latter entered into a treaty with Albany at Polgillip—the modern Lochgilp—in terms of which he surrendered his claim to the earldom, and delivered hostages in security for his future good behaviour.

Donald of Harlaw, as he was now called, died about the year 1420, leaving two sons, Alexander, who succeeded him in place and power, and Angus, afterwards Bishop of the Isles. According to Mac Vurich, Donald had resigned his Lordship into the 1420 A.D.

hands of Alexander sometime prior to his death, and had become a monk. A reference to the practice of enshrining is made by the same Sennachie when he tells us that Donald "made a covering of gold and silver for the relic of the hand of Columcille." His death occurred at "Islay, and his full noble body was interred on the south side of Tempall Oghran."

1424 A.D. In 1424, on the death of John Stewart, Earl of Buchan and Ross, at the battle of Verneuil in France, the earldom of Ross fell to the Crown. The same year King James I. was released from his prolonged English captivity, and at last found himself free to assume his kingdom of Scotland. One of his earliest acts was to acknowledge the justice of the claim of the mother of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, to the Earldom, and she forthwith became Countess, while to Alexander was accorded the title of Master of the Earldom of Ross. The latter was now very powerful, for he was to all intents and purposes lord of more than one third of the whole territory of Scotland. In 1425 we find him sharing in the affairs of the kingdom, and sitting on the jury at Stirling which sealed the fate of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and his two sons, as well as the fate of the father-in-law of Albany, Duncan, Earl of Lennox—the last of its Celtic earls.

It was into a troubled, almost lawless, kingdom that King James had come, and it took all his wisdom and energy to bring a measure of order out of the chaos that prevailed. But he was resolved to accomplish it, and on first hearing of the excesses that were perpetrated he is reported to have said:—"Let God but grant me life and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it." By the enactment of salutary laws, and by vigorous repression, combined with well-ordered mercifulness, much was ere long accomplished, in this direction, within his Lowland domains. Then he turned his attention to the Highlands, and there also, though with less of ceremony and with less of considerateness, he made his power effectively felt.

From a variety of causes the western districts would appear to have been at this time in a particularly unsettled condition. Disputes between the descendants of Godfrey, Lord of Uist, and the Clanranald of Garmoran, the foundation of which we have already seen; a revived claim by the head of the Mac Arthur

Campbells to some lands in Garmoran and the North Isles, said to have been granted to an ancestor of these Campbells by the heiress of the Mac Rorys; the murder of John, Lord of Islay and Kintyre, by a certain James Campbell who is said to have received from the King a commission for the apprehension of John, all combined to produce a condition of things which urgently called for settlement. In the north also Angus Dubh, the chief of the Mac Kays, had invaded Caithness with a large force and laid the country waste. At Harpisdell he was confronted by the men of Caithness, and in the battle both sides suffered severely. But the career of Angus was unchecked, and his devastations continued.

Circumstances such as these hastened the departure of King James for the north in the year 1427, when his method of pro- 1427 A.D.
cedure was as vigorous as it was unscrupulous. It was, however, of a piece with the stratagems of the Stewarts on several other occasions. Summoning a Parliament to meet him at Inverness he invited, among others, the Highland chiefs to attend. All unsuspecting they, to the number of fifty, answered to the summons. Taking advantage of a favourable opportunity the royal forces, by a carefully planned stratagem, seized upon the chiefs, manacled them, and committed them to separate prisons. Bower, who chronicles the affair, only enumerates the names of a few of those who were secured, but his note is of interest inasmuch as it indicates the fighting power of some of those referred to. Among the prisoners were Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and his mother the Countess of Ross; Angus Duff [Mac Kay] with his four sons, leader of four thousand men of Strathnaver; Kenneth More [Mac Kenzie] with his son-in-law, leader of two thousand men; John Ross, William Lesly, Angus of Moray, and Mackmahon [Matheson], leaders of two thousand men each; and he put to death Alexander Macrewry of Garmoran, leader of a thousand men, and John Mackarthur [Campbell], a great chief among them, and likewise leader of a thousand men, who were beheaded. The rest were sent to various prisons. After a time, some of these were put to death and others liberated. The forfeiture of many estates followed and completed these proceedings, while James Campbell, the murderer of John of Islay, was also made to suffer for his crime, and was hanged at Inverness.

Neither the Lord of the Isles nor his mother the Countess was
1429 A.D. long detained in prison, and in 1429 the resentment of Alexander at the King's sharp practice found vigorous expression. Summoning his vassals to the number of ten thousand he advanced against Inverness, wasted the Crown lands, and burnt the town to the ground, for was it not there that the indignity had been put upon him!

With characteristic vigour and promptitude James set himself at the head of an army, and leading them with all speed into Lochaber, came upon the rebels ere ever he was known to be in the neighbourhood. At sight of the royal forces the Clans Chattan and Cameron, or more probably, as we think, branches of them only, deserted the Lord of the Isles and went over to the king. Taking advantage of this favourable turn of affairs James immediately attacked the enemy, and put them to flight. Being hotly pursued, Alexander sued for peace, but the king would have nothing but an unconditional surrender, and giving instructions that no effort for his apprehension should be spared, he returned to the capital. Driven to despair by the unceasing pursuit of the royal forces, and weary of a hunted life, Alexander resolved at length to cast himself upon the mercy of the king. For the erstwhile haughty lord of widely extended territories, and of almost regal power and state, the submission which he determined to make was as abject as it was dramatic. While the King and Queen with the nobles of the Court were at worship in the church at Holyrood, the hunted fugitive presented himself before them in strange guise. Almost destitute of clothing, and holding by the point a naked sword, the hilt of which he presented to the King in token of submission, he fell upon his knees and implored mercy and forgiveness. Was Alexander in this conforming to a Scottish custom? It is probable he was. In the next reign the insurgent Earl of Crawford appeared before the king under similar circumstances, attired in poor apparel, bare-headed and bare-footed, and throwing himself at the king's feet entreated the royal mercy. In the case of Alexander, the miserable condition of the fallen prince touched all hearts, and his life was spared. Under the care of William, Earl of Angus, the nephew of the king, he was kept a close prisoner in Tantallon Castle, while his mother the Countess was consigned to the monastery on Inchcolm. With the Lord of the

Isles there were also imprisoned at this time Lachlan Mc Gillane (Mac Lean), Torkell McNell, Tarlan Mac Archir, and Duncan Persoun.

Notwithstanding the imprisonment of Alexander, the Lordship of the Isles was not long left leaderless. That position was assumed by his cousin, Donald Balloch of Islay, and in 1431 the latter and his friends were again in open rebellion. At that time, with a view to over-awing the western districts, there was stationed at Inverlochy, in Lochaber, a body of royal troops under the Earls of Mar and Caithness. There they were furiously attacked by Donald Balloch, and routed with considerable slaughter. Among the slain were the Earl of Caithness and many barons and knights, while the Earl of Mar, the victor of Harlaw, was severely wounded. After this victory, Donald leisurely, but effectually, ravaged the lands of those who had sided with the royal forces when Alexander was put to flight. 1431 A.D.

The indignation of King James on receipt of tidings of these proceedings was intense, and having by Act of Parliament arranged for the raising of an extraordinary tax "for the resistance of the king's rebellers of the north," to the extent that "in all lands of the realm where the yield of twa pennies was raisit, there be now ten pennies raisit," he set himself at the head of a large expedition, and soon arrived at Dunstaffnage, whence he purposed following Donald to the Isles. Ere this, however, Donald had fled to Ireland, where, doubtless, he found a welcome on his own territory of the Glens in Antrim. At Dunstaffnage James was met by many of the western chiefs who had acted along with Donald Balloch (though unwillingly, they declared), and who were now eager to tender their submission.

After executing vengeance on some of the most noted free-booters of the west, who, to the number of three hundred, it is said, had been seized for him by the chiefs, the king returned to Edinburgh, where, shortly after, he was made the recipient of a gruesome gift. That gift was a human head, said to be that of Donald Balloch. That it was so was generally believed at the Scottish Court, for it had been ostensibly sent by Hugh Buy O'Neill, an Ulster chief, but the whole affair was but a stratagem devised by the wily Islander with a view to staying search, and leaving him free to move about in safety. Donald survived King James, and will reappear in these pages.

1431 A.D. Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, as he came now to be styled, received, after an imprisonment of two years, a free pardon for all his offences. It is not improbable that the rebellion of Donald Balloch hastened this event, and convinced both king and Parliament of the desirability, if order was to be restored and maintained in the west, of placing the tribes once again under their natural head. On this occasion the confidence of the king was not misplaced, and during the rest of his reign Alexander showed his appreciation of the leniency of his sovereign by his continued loyalty. Upon him there was also now conferred the important office of Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth, and this position he continued to hold till his death.

The position of affairs at this time in the more northern section of the kingdom was one of no little strife and lawlessness. Robbery was rampant, and the following incident illustrates well the cruelty and barbarism that might be associated with it. A notorious thief, named Donald Ross, on one occasion carried off two cows from a poor woman. On the victim expressing her determination not to wear shoes again till she had made a complaint in person to the king, the robber exclaimed, "It is false: I'll have you shod before you reach the Court," and thereupon the monster caused two horse shoes to be fixed to her feet by nails driven into the flesh. When later the king heard from her own lips the tale of suffering, he was filled with the utmost indignation, and immediately sent orders for the apprehension of the ruffian. This was speedily effected, and Ross was tried and condemned to death. Before his execution a linen shirt, on which was painted a representation of his crime, was thrown over him, in which dress he was paraded through the streets of Perth, then dragged at a horse's tail, and afterwards hanged on a gallows.

Among the chiefs who had been seized by King James at Inverness, and later liberated, was Angus Dubh, the head of the Mac Kays. In security for his good behaviour, Angus had delivered up to the king his son Neil, and for many years the latter was detained a prisoner upon the Bass Rock. From that circumstance he received the name of Neil Wasse Mac Kay. While Neil was still under restraint, Thomas, son of Neil Mac

Kay, cousin of the old chief, quarrelled with Mowat, the laird of Freshwick. To escape the vengeance of Thomas, Mowat and his party took sanctuary in the chapel of St. Duffus, near Tain; but, undeterred by the sacred character of the building, the former attacked the refugees, slew Mowat and his people, and burnt the chapel to the ground. By the king, Thomas was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and to any one who would kill or apprehend him he promised the lands of the outlaw—Spaniziedaill and Palrossie, and whatever other possessions had been his. As the result of an understanding between Angus Murray, son of Alexander Murray of Cubin, and Morgan and Neil, brothers of the outlaw, the latter was seized by the brothers at Spaniziedaill, and delivered up to Murray, who in turn presented him to the king. Murray duly received the promised reward, and Thomas was immediately executed at Inverness.

But the brothers Morgan and Neil had also to be rewarded, for they had received two promises from Angus Murray. The first of these promises was easily made good, and to the brothers he at once gave his two daughters in marriage, as arranged. The other bribe involved the seizing of lands in Strathnaver, which, though in possession of Angus Dubh, the brothers claimed as theirs. Though difficult of accomplishment, Murray determined to fulfil the terms of the agreement, and with the approbation of Robert, Earl of Sutherland, forthwith made an invasion of Strathnaver, and took possession of the coveted lands. But their hold of the territory was of short duration, for Angus Dubh immediately summoned his men to arms, and on account of his own old age he, in the absence of his son and heir, Neil Wasse Mac Kay, gave the command to his natural son, John Aberigh Mac Kay. At Drum-ne-Coub, about two miles from Tongue, the parties met, and the aged chief, desirous of avoiding a conflict, sent the brothers a friendly message, offering to surrender to them all his lands and possessions in Strathnaver, if they allowed him peaceably to retain Kintail. But the spirit of avarice had been awakened, and, confident in their strength, they refused the generous offer. Well had it been for them had they adhered to their original claim, for in the desperate conflict that ensued, Murray, Morgan, and Neil were all slain. On the side of the victors John Aberigh lost an arm, and later when, at his own request, Angus Dubh was borne to the field to search for the

bodies of his slain cousins, he was killed by an arrow from the hand of a Sutherland man who had shot from a place of concealment.

The death of the old chief placed John Aberigh for a time in the position of leader of the Mac Kays, and between him and the Earl of Sutherland many skirmishes took place. From these struggles John emerged defeated, but at length he came to terms with the Earl, after which he settled down quietly in Strathnaver, and there remained till 1437, when Neil Wasse Mac Kay was liberated from his confinement and entered upon his hereditary possessions. From Neil, John received the lands of Lochnaver in token of gratitude for assistance rendered to his father, and the two continued on friendly terms. By John was founded the branch of the Mac Kays called the Sliochd-Ian-Aberigh, or an-Abrach.

In the south, also, notwithstanding a fair promise, the passing years did not materially lessen the difficulty which, from the first, King James encountered in his government of the country. On the borders the state of unrest was no less marked than within the Highland area, while throughout Scotland generally haughty nobles and heads of families, greedy of gain and thirsting for power, schemed and quarrelled and bled. Discontent with the wise though firm government of the king, and abhorrence of the increased taxes he found it necessary to levy, induced in many, and particularly among the upper classes, a spirit of restlessness not easily stilled, till at length a sense of private wrongs endured culminated in his murder at the hands of Sir Robert
1436 A.D. Graham in 1436.

In speaking of the desertion of the Lord of the Isles in 1429 by the Clans Chattan and Cameron we have indicated the probability that only portions of those clans acted thus. The following year these branches, as we take it, quarrelled among themselves, as the clans had frequently done before. On this occasion the Clan Chattan attacked the Camerons while assembled in a church, and setting fire to the building nearly destroyed, we are told, the whole clan. That only one branch of the Camerons —probably the senior branch—is here referred to, is made almost certain by the fact that the Camerons soon again appear as a powerful clan. As regards the Clan Chattan, the favourable

treatment which was meted out to one of its leaders by the Earl of Ross in 1443 adds to the probability that at least one of its branches had adhered to him in 1429. That leader was Malcolm Mac Intosh, who is called, in a charter, his cousin. In the year indicated he received from the earl a charter of the forty merk lands of Keppoch and others in the lordship of Lochaber, and in 1447 there was conferred upon him the office of Bailie or Steward of the same lordship.

The commotions in the west after the slaughter of King James I. were contributed to in no small degree by Lachlan Mac Lean and Murdoch Gibson who, according to the Auchinleck Chronicle, invaded the mainland from the Isles in 1439, and, after devastating the coast-lands, pushed on into the Lennox, where they slew in battle Colquhoun of Luss, and converted that whole fair district into a blackened waste.

During his later years Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, became involved in the intrigues headed by the powerful Earl of Douglas, at that time acting with almost regal pomp and power as Lieutenant-General of Scotland. In 1445 Alexander, along with the Earl of Crawford, joined Douglas in a common bond which, while it bound them to make common cause against all opponents, had, apparently, for its primary object the dethronement of the youthful monarch James II. In 1449, however, and before anything of a treasonable nature was attempted to be put into execution, the Earl of Ross died at his castle of Dingwall. He was buried, not in the hallowed soil of Iona, as so many of his ancestors had been, but at the Chanonry of Ross. By his wife Elizabeth Seton, daughter of Alexander, Lord of Gordon and Huntly, he had one son John, who succeeded him as Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross. But besides John, Alexander had two other sons by different mothers, and probably the fruit of later marriages. One of these sons was Hugh, who founded the powerful house of Sleat. Hugh's mother was the daughter of Giollapadraig "the Red Priest," the last of the lay abbots of Applecross. With this lady the Earl had received the lands of Lochalsh, Lochcarron and others, and thus his power and influence had been largely increased. The other son was Celestine or Gilleaspic, the founder of the family of Lochalsh, and his mother was the daughter of "Mac Dubhsithe" or Mac Phee of Lochaber.

1445 A.D.

1449 A.D.

HAMPSTEAD

CHAPTER XXVI.

Activity of the Earl of Ross—Donald Balloch's expedition to the Firth of Clyde—Earl John sues for reconciliation with the King—The Highlanders at the siege of Roxburgh—The arming of the Highlanders—Their outdoor recreations—Earl John enters into a league with England—John ceases to be Earl of Ross—Discontent among the Mac Donalds—Activity of Angus Mac Donald—Quarrel with the Mac Kenzies—Battle of the Bloody Bay—Abduction of the son of Angus by the Earl of Atholl—Reprisal by Angus—Conflict between the Rosses and Mac Kays—Highlanders at the Battle of Sauchie—Alexander of Lochalsh—Final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles—Internal economy of the Lordship—Burdens on land among the Highlanders.

1449-1493 A.D.

John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, whose accession to power we noted at the close of our last chapter, occupies a prominent place in the political history of his time. During his earlier years of authority he enjoyed the friendship of the king, and, under his influence, took in marriage the daughter of Sir James Livingstone. From the Auchinleck Chronicle, a contemporary record, it would appear that in connection with this event John was promised by the king a grant of lands, but that promise was not kept. This disappointment may, to some extent, account for the future behaviour of Earl John. At any rate, in the year
1451 A.D. 1451, we find him associated with Douglas and Crawford in the same manner as his father had been, and when matters had come to an open rupture between the king and Douglas, as they did in that year, he broke out into rebellion, and seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, demolishing Ruthven, and committing Urquhart to the keeping of Sir James Livingstone, his father-in-law, by whom he had been joined. By the king no steps were taken to checkmate or to chastise the rebels, for he had too much on hand in other quarters, but the importance he attached to the bond between the Earls, and his desire to have it undone, is evidenced by his dealings with Douglas the following year, when, on the latter refusing to renounce his confederates, he, in a fit of passion, slew that nobleman with his own hand in the royal castle of Stirling.

Another of the rebels, the Earl of Crawford, was also soon afterwards effectively dealt with by the king through the agency of the Gordons, the future "Cocks of the North," who were just at that time coming into prominence. Earl John was thus the only one of the three friends on whom the royal vengeance had not as yet fallen. Nor did he seem to fear it, for, notwithstanding the fate of the others, he was not deterred from actively espousing the cause of the new Earl of Douglas, and giving him shelter when, in 1455, after his defeat at Arkinholme, in Annandale, by 1455 A.D.
the Earl of Angus, he made his escape into the Western Highlands, along with his only surviving brother, Sir John Douglas of Balvany.

With little loss of time the Earl of Ross determined to make a diversion in favour of his friends, and to that end he, as speedily as might be, sent out towards the south, under his kinsman, Donald Balloch, of Islay, a powerful expedition consisting of one hundred galleys, manned with five thousand men. It is probable that in thus acting, the hope was entertained that by attacking the Ayrshire coast, as they now did, the Douglas party might be induced once again to fly to arms, but the activity of the royal forces rendered the idea impossible of execution, and the expedition failed of its object. On this occasion considerable restraint must have been exercised by the Highlanders, for although they enriched themselves with plunder, their actions were accompanied with comparatively little loss of life. "There were slain," says the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, "of good men, fifteen; of women, two or three; of children, three or four. The plunder included five or six hundred horses, ten thousand oxen and kine, and more than a thousand sheep and goats. At the same time they burnt down several mansions in Inverkip around the church, harried all Arran, stormed and levelled with the ground the castle of Brodick, and wasted with fire and sword the islands of the Cumrays. They also levied tribute upon Bute, carrying away a hundred bolls of malt, a hundred marts, and a hundred marks of silver." From the terms of a later Act of Parliament, it would seem as if Rothesay Castle had also at this time been besieged, and that circumstance is charged against the Earl of Ross in 1475, when it was purposed putting him upon his trial in Edinburgh. Returning northward, the Admiral wound up his adventure by endeavouring to chastise Lauder, Bishop of Argyll,

who, three years previously, had been at strife with the Celtic officials attached to the diocese—among them Sir Gilbert Mac Lachlan and Sir Morice Mac Fadyen, the chancellor and treasurer of the cathedral—and who had set his seal to the instrument of forfeiture of the Douglases. Many of the Bishop's attendants were slain, but he himself took refuge in sanctuary and was safe.

On the retiral of the Earl of Douglas into England shortly after the conclusion of this abortive expedition, the Earl of Ross saw the wisdom, now that he was left to stand alone, of endeavouring to make his peace with the king. By his royal master, however, the humbled chief was at first by no means warmly welcomed, but instead was informed that he must prove by deeds the sincerity of his contrition and submission ere he was fully absolved and reinstated in the royal favour. That John was not long in effecting this is made manifest by the fact that, in the
1457 A.D. year 1457, he was acting as one of the Wardens of the Marches —a somewhat unusual office for such as he to hold. The appointment would doubtless, however, serve a useful purpose by withdrawing him frequently from that sphere where his real strength lay, and thus lessening his power for evil in the west. John was also at this time one of the nobles who were a party to the truce with England.

1460 A.D. By the year 1460 that truce had come to an end, and King James, ere attempting an invasion of England, determined, if possible, to clear the English out of those castles which they still held in Scotland, viz., those of Berwick and Roxburgh. At the siege of the latter, which was conducted in that year by the King in person, the Earl of Ross made a further effort to ingratiate himself with James, and prove his loyalty by joining the royal army with three thousand of his vassals. By the king he was well received. Pitscottie tells us that he arrived with "ane great army of men, all armed in the Highland fashion, with halbershownes [coats of mail], bows and axes; and promised to the king, if he pleased to pass any farther into the bounds of England, that he and his company should pass ane large mile before the host, and take upon them the press and dint of the battle." Though the broad-sword is not here referred to by Pitscottie, there can be no doubt that now, as in earlier and later times, it constituted a favourite weapon of the Highland soldier. What the fashion of arming was among them in some-

what later days we learn from a variety of sources. Writing in 1512 John Major says: "They always carry a bow and arrows, a very broad sword with a small halbert, a large dagger, sharpened on one side only, but very sharp, under the belt. In time of war they cover their whole body with a shirt of mail of iron rings, and fight in that." Lesly (1578) tells us that their weapons consisted of a lance, or arrows, and a two edged sword. "For defence they use a coat of mail woven of iron rings, which they wear over a leathern jerkin, stout and of handsome appearance, which we call an Acton. Their whole armour was light, that they might the more easily slip from their enemies' hands if they chanced to fall into such a straight." A few years later (1583), the following account was penned by Nicolay d' Arfeville: —"Their arms are the bow and arrow and some darts, which they throw with some dexterity, and a large sword, with a single edged dagger. They are very swift of foot, and there is no horse so swift as to outstrip them, as I have seen proved several times both in England and Scotland." "They fight with broadswords and axes," says the author of *Certain curious matters regarding Scotland*. He wrote in 1597. Moneypennie, under date 1617, notes that "Their armour, wherewith they cover their bodies in time of warre, is an yron bonnet, and an habbergion, side almost even to their heels. . . . Some of them fight with broad swords and axes."

In an Act of Parliament of the year 1540 we have furnished us the materials of comparison of the above notes of the weapons and armour of the Highlanders with those that were recognised by that Parliament for use by Scotsmen generally, when every man had to provide the instruments of death and the means of defence at his own charges. All persons whose fortune was below a hundred pounds of yearly rent, it was enacted, were each to have a jack or a halkrick (corslet) or brigantine, and gloves of plate, with *pesane* (purse) and gorget; while no weapons were to be admitted by the muster officer except spears, pikes of six ells length, Leith axes, halberds, hand-bows and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords.[1] The characteristics of Scot-

[1] "Hacquetbutis, bowis, havirshonis, swerdis, darlochis, and targeis" constituted the equipment which, in 1597, a levy from the shire of Tarbert for service against the Border thieves, were instructed, by proclamation, to provide themselves with.

tish swords at this time were thus described by Patten the English chronicler of the battle of Pinkie:—"Swoordes, all notably brode and thin, of exceedinge good temper, and universally so made to slyce, that, as I never saw none so good, so think I it hard to devyse the better."

The following statement by Holinshed may be instructively placed alongside the remark of Nicolay d' Arfeville as to the speed of foot of the men of the bens and the glens. He says:—"Whensoever they had entered into league and amities with their enemies, they would not live in such security that thereby they would suffer their bodies and forces to degenerate, but they did keep themselves in their former activitie and nimbleness of lives either with continual huntinge (againe greatly esteemed among our ancestors) or with running from the hills into the valleys, or from the valleys unto the hills, or with wrestling and such kind of pastymes, whereby they were never idle." In our Highland games, still so popular among us, we have the living evidence of the special features which characterised the active recreations of the Highlanders of other days.

1460 A.D. While the king was engaged in the siege of the castle (Roxburgh), foraging parties were sent out into the north of England by the Earl of Ross. The Highlanders in this way proved of great service to the army, but the unfortunate death of James, by the bursting of one of his own cannon, stayed the execution of any formidable invasion across the border, and the Scottish forces contented themselves with the successful prosecution of the siege. The accident thus deprived the Earl of the opportunity he seemed to long for of still further proving his loyalty. If, however, we may judge him by his future line of action we will have some difficulty in avoiding the conclusion that even now his devotion was not characterised by marked sincerity.

1461 A.D. The following year (1461) the Lord of the Isles, together with all the island chiefs, attended a meeting of the Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh. No record exists of the doings of that Parliament, but, whatever may have then occurred, that same year witnessed the initiation of negotiations between the Lord of the Isles and the English government of Edward IV.—negotiations inspired by the banished Douglases, and which culminated in the concluding of a league of a very far-reaching character. In connection with this matter Ross met with his principal kins-

men and vassals on the 19th October, 1461, at Ardtornish, and with their consent and advice appointed deputies to confer with the representatives of the English king. The necessary commissions were granted by John, as by an independent prince, to his trusty and well-beloved cousins Ranald of the Isles, and Duncan, Archdean of the Isles, and in the following year these deputies met at Westminster in conference with the English commissioners—Lawrence, Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Worcester, the Prior of St. John, Lord Wenlock, and Robert Stillington, Keeper of the Privy Seal, who, in terms of their Commission, were empowered to treat with "our beloved kinsman the Earl of Ross, and our choice and faithful Donald Balagh, or their ambassadors, commissioners or messengers."

Not till thirteen years later (1475) did the terms of the treaty that was now arranged come to light, but, when they were made manifest, their significance was fully appreciated, for nothing less than the entire conquest of Scotland was to be essayed by Ross and his allies, English and Scottish. In the words of Donald Gregory "The Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and John the son and heir of Donald, agreed, upon the payment to each of a stipulated sum of money, to become forever the sworn vassals of England, along with all their retainers, and to assist Edward in his wars in Ireland as well as elsewhere." To the Earl was to be given annually in time of war £200, and one hundred merks in time of peace; to Donald Balloch £40, and to John, his son, £20 in time of war, and half these sums respectively when peace reigned. "In the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland by the Earls of Ross and Douglas," says Gregory, "the whole of the kingdom to the north of the Forth was to be divided equally between the two Earls and Donald Balloch, whilst Douglas was to be restored to the possession of those estates between the Forth and the Borders of England from which he was now excluded; and, upon such partition and restoration being carried into effect, the salaries payable to Ross and his associates as the wages of their defection were to cease."

Anticipating the completion of these negotiations, the Earl of Ross in 1461 initiated a revolutionary forward movement. 1461 A.D.
Under the command of Angus, his bastard son, assisted by the veteran Donald Balloch, he pushed towards the north a large force, which speedily captured the castle of Inverness. By pro-

clamations the Lord of the Isles was at once declared as supreme over the whole north of Scotland, and Angus was constituted his lieutenant. To the latter all men were called upon to render obedience under pain of death; to him all the taxes formerly paid to the Crown were in future to be rendered; and allegiance to King James III. was henceforth to cease.

It is at this date impossible to determine what means were employed to bring to nought this attempt to set up royal authority. John, we know, was summoned to Parliament, there to answer to a charge of treason, but he heeded not the call. The effort, in any case, was short-lived, and there is no evidence that force had been actually used against him. Nor, notwithstanding his disobedience, was he disturbed just yet in the
1475 A.D. possession of his estates. But with the year 1475 affairs assumed a new aspect, when, for the first time, the Government became aware of the terms of the treasonable treaty with England. Again Ross was summoned to Parliament to answer to the charges against him, and again did he fail to comply. Forthwith a decree of forfeiture of his whole estates was declared, and to Colin, Earl of Argyll, was given the commission to prosecute it. Already the family of Argyll had attained to considerable power. Early in this century its head, Sir Duncan Campbell, who, later, was created first Lord Campbell, was a wealthy baron—one of the two wealthiest in Scotland, it was believed—while his grandson Colin, the first Earl, he of whom we now speak, added by marriage the Lordship of Lorn to his possessions, and for long was Chancellor of Scotland.

In the Government's dealing with the Lord of the Isles on the present occasion, the most thorough measures were resolved to be resorted to, and ere long a formidable force, both naval and military, was placed under the command of the Earls of Crawford and Athole. With such determined measures Ross was not prepared to cope, and, on the advice of friends, he agreed to appear in person and humbly crave the royal mercy. On his arrival in Edinburgh his appeal was supported by the Queen and the Estates of Parliament, with the result that the king forgave him his offences, grievous though they were, and on the 1st of
1476 A.D. July, 1476, the Parliament restored to him his forfeited estates in their entirety.

But the beginning of the end had, even now, come. Volun-

tarily Earl John resigned to the Crown the Earldom of Ross, and he was the last of his race to bear that title. But this did not comprise the whole of his concessions, for he at the same time also surrendered his rights to the lands of Kintyre and Knapdale, with all their castles. What an enormous sacrifice all this involved, and how much it was calculated to lessen his future power, can be readily understood. In connection with the earldom, the Mac Kenzies, Munroes, Rosses, Dingwalls, Urquharts, and Rosses had been vassals of the Lords of the Isles for about half-a-century. Now they held directly of the Crown, and owned no other superior. In the new adjustment of affairs the Mac Kenzies sprang into power, for they received large grants of territory out of the forfeited earldom. In the south, Argyll also profited, for there was now conferred upon him much of Knapdale, with the keeping of Castle Sween.

In return for the concessions made by John, he was created a Baron Banrent and Peer of Parliament, under the title of Lord of the Isles. An additional favour was granted him at the same time by the king, who secured to his only sons, Angus and John, who were illegitimate, the succession to the estates and to the new title. And thus was the old Celtic Lordship of the Isles converted into a feudal barony in 1476.

That the old glory of their name should be thus dimmed was hard to be borne by the descendants of an ancient and powerful race, and with the chiefs descended of the family of the Isles the sacrifices made by John were most unpopular. Against him they had a further cause of complaint, for to other clans within the Lordship—the Mac Leans, Mac Leods, Mac Neils, and others—he had given many grants of territory. In Angus, who ere this time had been married to a daughter of the Earl of Argyll, the malcontents found a vigorous and unscrupulous leader, and round him rallied the Mac Donalds and their offshoots, while the clans just mentioned adhered to the old lord.

So much annoyance did Angus ere long cause the Government in Kintyre and Knapdale, that in 1478 the Lord of the Isles was cited once again upon a charge of treason, but he was able to convince the authorities that the proceedings complained of were not his, while at the same time he succeeded in procuring the pardon of his son. Angus, nevertheless, went on his way, and with the aid of those who adhered to him, engaged in many

1478 A.D.

feuds. With the Mac Kenzies he found a source of quarrel in the fact that at this time his sister, "Lady Margaret of the Isles," had been repudiated by her husband, Kenneth Mac Kenzie of Kintail. Invading Ross, which he doubtless hoped to bring back
1480 A.D. into the possession of his family, he, in 1480, met and defeated a body of the Mac Kenzies at a place called Lagebread. Gaining confidence by this victory, his insurrection took such a formidable shape that the Earls of Crawford, Huntly, Argyll, and Atholl were commissioned to reduce him to obedience. The measures taken by these noblemen seem to have resulted in his expulsion from Ross and his retiral to the Isles. At the instigation of the old lord, an interview was afterwards secured between him and Angus by the Earls of Argyll and Atholl, but no reconciliation was effected, and ere long a desperate sea-battle was fought between the parties of father and son. In tradition the fight is known as the battle of the Bloody Bay, and its scene is near Tobermory. It was a fierce conflict, and resulted in the utter rout of the adherents of the Lord of the Isles.

After this affair matters were still further complicated by the action of the Earl of Atholl, who privately crossed over to Islay and carried off the infant son of Angus, whom he delivered into the custody of the Earl of Argyll, who was universally believed by the Highlanders to be the babe's grandfather. By Argyll the child, who in later days was known as Donald Dubh, was carefully guarded in the Castle of Inchconnell on Lochawe. For his part in this unworthy transaction the vengeance of Angus fell swift and decisive upon the Earl of Atholl. Mustering his adherents Angus sailed to the neighbourhood of Inverlochy, and thence, with a considerable force, swept suddenly into Atholl, which he ravaged with fire and with sword. In haste the Earl and Countess sought the protection of the chapel of St. Bride, but its sanctuary was invaded by the island chief, and they were both made prisoners.

Laden with plunder, and bearing with them their prisoners, the islanders set out upon their return journey, but on their way to Islay many of their galleys were overwhelmed in a dreadful storm, and their rich booty was consigned to the deep—a punishment, says Tytler, which "was universally ascribed to the wrath of Heaven, which had armed the elements against the abettor of sacrilege and murder." That the warring of the elements had

powerfully affected Angus is made evident by his immediate action, for, notwithstanding the grief which he must have endured at the kidnapping and continued absence of his son and heir, he speedily liberated his prisoners, and, proceeding to the chapel, the sanctity of which he had violated, he, together with his principal followers, bare-footed and almost naked, performed before the altar a characteristic and ignominious penance.

With every success of Angus the influence of the old Lord of the Isles among the Mac Donalds had correspondingly diminished, and, practically, to the former belonged, at this time, the superiority over the lordship. About the year 1490, however, 1490 A.D.
the career of Angus was sharply terminated. Mac Vurich states thus the manner of his death: "Aonghus Og had a large entertainment with the men of the north side at Inbhearnis [Inverness], when he was murdered by Mac I Cairbre, his own harper, who cut his throat with a long knife."

During the fifty years immediately preceding the period at which we have now arrived no feuds of any consequence seem to have occurred among the more northern clans. For some time, however, before the year 1487 the Mac Kays had been cherishing in their breasts "the sacred duty of revenge" against the Rosses, for by a member of that clan Angus Mac Kay, son of Neil of the Bass, had been murdered at Tarbet. In 1487 the fitting opportunity had come, and, aided by the Aberigh branch of the clan and by Robert Sutherland, uncle of the Earl, and his men, the Mac Kays invaded Strathoikell, and carried fire and sword through it and other portions of the territories of the Rosses. At length the invaders were confronted at Aldy-charrish by Alexander Ross of Balnagown and his followers, when a desperate, and, for a time, dubious conflict was waged. Ultimately the fall of the chief of the Rosses and seventeen of the leading gentlemen threw the survivors of that clan into confusion, and they were defeated with great slaughter.

After the division of the large booty that now came into the hands of the allies, some of the Assynt men were tempted, through their avarice, to the commission of perfidious deeds. Their base design, assented to by their leader John Riabhaich, was to turn upon their Sutherland allies, kill the whole party, and seize their share of the spoil, in the expectation that the

Earl of Sutherland would come to the conclusion that his uncle and his men were all slain in the battle with the Rosses. Shocked at the contemplated barbarity Uilleam-Dubh, son of Ian Abaraich, divulged the plot to Robert Sutherland, with the result that the latter immediately concentrated his men, and put them on their guard, thus frustrating the diabolical purpose.

In the more central affairs of the kingdom we find the Highlanders bearing a part in the year 1488. In the battle of Sauchie which was fought in that year, and in connection with which King James III. lost his life, the monarch was supported by ten thousand Highlanders, who occupied the van, under the leadership of Huntly and Atholl. With a shower of arrows the Highlanders repulsed the attack upon the vanguard by the Homes and Hepburns, but on other portions of the field the royalist forces were borne down by the spearmen of Liddesdale and Annandale. King James was no warrior, and this repulse induced him to seek safety in flight. He had not gone far, however, ere he was thrown from his horse close by Bannockburn. By the people of the neighbourhood the royal fugitive was borne into the house of Beaton, a miller, and laid, all bruised and helpless, upon the bed, and there, by an unknown hand, he was, shortly afterwards, foully stabbed to death.

In the west, to the affairs of which we now return, the death of Angus did not bring lasting peace. Lord John was now aged, and though he once again resumed possession of his estates, the actual leadership devolved upon his nephew Alexander of Lochalsh, son of his half-brother Celestine. The estates of Alexander—Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom—being portions of the old earldom of Ross, constituted this scion of the Mac Donalds a very influential factor in that region, and, with or without the approbation of his uncle, he deliberately set himself, it would appear, to endeavour to recover possession of the earldom, that thus he might bring back to his people the glory which had lately
1491 A.D. been dimmed. In this effort, which was made in 1491, Alexander was assisted not only by the Clanranald of Garmoran, and the Clanranald of Lochaber, but by the Clan Cameron, the Clan Chattan, and Hugh Rose, younger, of Kilravock. Advancing on Inverness, a body of men led by Farquhar Mac Intosh, son and heir of the captain of Clan Chattan, stormed the castle and took

it. Leaving a garrison in possession the rebels pressed forward, and found a rich booty in the lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty. "It is probable," says Gregory, "that at this time Lochalsh had divided his force into two parts, one being sent home with the booty already acquired, whilst with the other he proceeded to Strathconan, for the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mac Kenzies. The latter clan, under their chief Kenneth, having assembled their forces, surprised and routed the invaders, who had encamped near the river Conan at a place called Park, whence the conflict has received the name of Blair-na-Park. Alexander of Lochalsh was wounded, and, as some say, taken prisoner in this battle, and his followers were expelled from Ross." By the victors the lands of Rose of Kilravock as well as those of William Munro of Foulis, who was also a sympathiser with Lochalsh, were now so ravaged in turn, and so many excesses were committed, that the Earl of Huntly, the King's Lieutenant in the North, was compelled to act against them with the royal forces.

From this invasion by Alexander of Lochalsh resulted the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles. In May 1493 Parliament sat at Edinburgh, and John, fourth and last Lord of the Isles, was there and then deprived of his titles and estates. The following year he appeared before James IV., and went through the form of making a voluntary surrender of his lordship. The later years of the aged chief would seem to have been spent first in the king's household, where he enjoyed a pension, and afterwards in the monastery of Paisley. From a note in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts, however, it would appear that the aged nobleman died in Dundee, and that he was buried at the expense of the Government. The entry is as follows:— "February 5th, 1498, item—To Pate Sinclair, to send to Dundee to pay for John of the Isles furthbringing and berying, and to lones his gere." John of the Isles was buried, at his own request, in the tomb of his ancestor Robert II. in the Abbey of Paisley, and thus passed from view the last leading actor in an important era of Highland history. 1493 A.D.

Not much light, unfortunately, can be thrown on the method of government practised by those great Celtic lords within their extended domains, for in this connection also the loss of the early records limits our knowledge. This we know, that on many

occasions they exercised almost regal power, granting charters to confederate clans, entering into treaties as independent princes, claiming the allegiance of those whose territories they had overrun, and insisting on the payment to them of the imperial taxes. John, the last legitimate lord, would appear to have kept great state in his heyday of power, and many of the chiefs were closely associated with his household. Mac Lean of Ardgour was his treasurer; Munro of Fowlis was his chamberlain; Cawdor was his armour-bearer; while Mac Lean of Duart, Mac Neil of Barra, and Mac Donald of Largie, held offices in his Court. Some of the old usages are preserved for us by Hugh Mac Donald, the old Sennachie of Sleat. He says:—"The constitution or government of the Isles was thus: Mac Donald had his council at Island Finlaggan in Isla, to the number of sixteen; viz., four thanes, four armins (that is to say, freemen, lords, or sub-thanes), four bastards (*i.e.*, squires or men of competent estates who could not come up with armins or thanes, that is, freeholders), four . . . . or men that had their lands in factory, as Macghee of the Rhinds of Isla; Mac Nicoll in Portree, in Sky; and Maceachern and Macgillevray in Mull, Macillemhaol or Mac Millan, etc. There was a table of stone where the council sat in the Isle of Finlaggan, the which table, with the stone on which Mac Donald sat, was carried away by Argyll, with the bells that were at Icolmkill. Moreover, there was a judge in every isle for the discussion of all controversies, who had lands from Mac Donald for their trouble, and likewise the eleventh part of every action decided; but there might still be an appeal to the council of the Isles. Macfinnon was obliged to see weights and measures adjusted, and Macduffie or Macphie of Colonsay kept the records of the Isles." Here we have at least the foundation elements of good government, and there can be no doubt that while the power of the Lords of the Isles continued unimpaired, respect was had to the rights of the subject, justice was administered, and internal peace reigned within the confederacy. With the falling to pieces of the lordship, however, discord entered, struggles for the supremacy and for the land supervened, and a condition of chronic unrest continued, as we shall see, for a lengthened period. In the sixteenth century official *Description of the Isles*, already quoted from, Mac Kinnon's position is also referred to, and in the single sentence which deals with it we find a little light shed on the

habits of the time. It says: "Ane pairt of this Ile of Sky callit Strathvardeill pertenis to ane Laird callit Mc Kynvin, given to him by Mc Conneill for to be judge and decide all questionnis and debaitts that happenis to fall between pairties throw playing at cairtis or dyce or sic uther pastime."

A few pages back reference has been made to the uplifting of taxes within the earldom of Ross. Holding by Celtic tenure, we may take the present opportunity of noting, implied certain burdens upon the land. The principal of these was the tax known as *Cain* or *Can*—a word the primary meaning of which is Law. We find the term employed in a Jacobite song thus :—

"When the brown cock crows day,
Upon the mottled brae,
Then shall our gallant prince hail the horn
That tells both to wood and cleuch,
O'er all Badenoch,
Who's to pay kane to the king the morn."

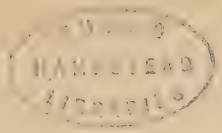
In the case of arable land, the *Can* consisted of a portion of the produce of the land in grain, while in respect to pasture land it was paid in cattle and pigs. For its exaction special arrangements were made; it was paid by every occupier to his superior, and only ceased when the person was feudally invested in the land.

A second burden was designated Conveth, *Cuairt* or visitation, or, as it was more frequently called in the Highlands and Islands, *Cuidoidche* or *Cuddiche*, signifying a night's entertainment. Here the under-lying idea was the duty which lay upon every territorial occupant to entertain his chief in his progress each year among his people. In the sixteenth century *Description of the Western Isles*, an interesting record of these exactions is given with respect to the individual islands. There we find, for example, that Lewis, a forty-pound land, pays yearly "eighteen score chalders of victuall, 58 score of ky, 32 score of wedderis, and great quantity of fishe, poultry, and white plaiding by their *Cuidichies*—that is, feasting their master when he pleases to come in the country, each one their night or two nights about according to their land or labour." In Uist each merk land paid twenty bolls victual, besides other customs which were paid at the landlord's coming to the Isle "to his *Cudicht*," and in

Mull each merk land paid yearly five bolls bear, eight bolls meal, twenty stones of cheese, four stones of butter, four marts, eight wedders, two marks of silver, and two dozen of poultry by *Cuddiche*, whenever their master came to them. As late as the year 1719 the *Cuidoidche* was exacted in Atholl.

The position of the king with regard to this tax is interestingly set forth in a report furnished to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in 1498 by Don Pedro de Ayala, special ambassador to the Court of James IV. Among many other important observations, we find the following :—"The kings live little in cities and towns. They pass their time generally in castles and abbeys, where they find lodgings for all their officers. They do not remain long in one place. The reason thereof is twofold. In the first place, they move often about in order to visit their kingdom, to administer justice, and to establish police where it is wanted. The second reason is that they have rents in kind in every province, and they wish to consume them. While travelling, neither the king nor any of his officers have any expenses, nor do they carry provisions with them. They go from house to house, to lords, bishops, and abbots, where they receive all that is necessary. The greatest favour the king can do to his subjects is to go to their houses."

Other burdens on land partook of the nature of personal service, and were known as *Feacht* and *Sluaged*, or expedition and hosting. These involved the service which the tribes were in duty bound to render to the Ardri and the chiefs in time of war, the number of men contributed being regulated by the davach of land.



CHAPTER XXVII.

Royal expeditions to the western sea-board—Execution of Sir John Mac Donald of Islay and his four sons—Fosterage—Measures for the promotion of law and order—Slaughter of Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Lochalsh—King James holds his Court at Campbeltown in 1498—A chief's relationship to the elders of his clan –Summary revocation of charters and its consequences—Insurrection under Donald Dubh—Capture of Donald Dubh—A bevy of clan feuds— Law and order measures—Popularity of King James with the Highlanders—Battle of Flodden.

1493-1513 A.D.

After the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1493 the youthful monarch James IV. took the earliest possible opportunity of making the acquaintance of the West Highland chiefs, and securing the submission of the vassals of the lordship. That same year he set out upon his journey, and received a friendly welcome. In August he was at Dunstaffnage, and in October at Mingarry in Ardnamurchan, from both of which castles we find him dating charters. Among the chiefs who, at this time made their submission, were Alexander of Lochalsh, John Cathanach of Islay, grandson and successor of Donald Balloch, John Mac Lean of Lochbuy, and Duncan Mac Intosh, captain of the Clanchattan. To each of these their former possessions were confirmed by royal charter, and now, for the first time, they held directly of the Crown, and were independent of any other overlord. On this occasion the King seems to have acted with great considerateness and clemency, and notwithstanding the fact that Alexander of Lochalsh had been the leader of the very last rebellion he conferred upon him a special mark of favour by making him the recipient of the honour of knighthood, while at Alexander's request he promised to secure all the tenants of the Isles in their present holdings. Upon John of Islay there was also, at this time, conferred the rank of knighthood. 1493 A.D.

With the work of conciliation which he had begun thus well King James energetically persevered, and as there were still

many powerful vassals who delayed their submission he, early
1494 A.D. in the following year, reappeared among the Isles with great pomp and state. In view of a more important demonstration later in the year he, on this occasion, repaired and garrisoned the Castle of Tarbert, provided it with artillery and skilful gunners, and laid in a stock of gunpowder. In July he was back at Tarbert with the *Christopher* and other ships, and here he was met by the lords of the east, south, and west. After seeing further to the repair of the castle, victualling it, and garrisoning it, James proceeded to the south of Kintyre, where he seized the Castle of Dunaverty, and provided it with artillery and a body of defenders.

It is not improbable that it was only now the Mac Donald territory in Kintyre was formally taken possession of by the Crown, though, as we have seen, it had been surrendered along with the district of Knapdale in 1476 when the earldom of Ross was also given over into the hands of the Crown by John the last Earl. At anyrate, Sir John of Islay was highly indignant at the action of the King in now taking possession of his old castle, and so bitterly did he resent it that, immediately the greater part of the royal forces had been withdrawn that they might be sent on other expeditions, he stormed the castle, and, in the sight of the King and his fleet, hung the governor from the wall.

For the moment Sir John escaped punishment for this daring defiance of the royal authority. In August he was cited to appear before the King to answer to a charge of "treason in Kintyre." This, however, he treated with disdain, but ere long such steps were taken as led to his capture. Together with four of his sons he was seized in Islay by Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan, and brought to Edinburgh, where they were all found guilty of high treason, and executed on the Boroughmuir, where the suburb of Morningside now stands.

Besides John Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan the only other western chief who, during this year, tendered his submission was Roderick Mac Leod of Lewis.

1495 A.D. The following year (1495) King James assembled an army at Glasgow, and made yet another expedition into the western regions, where much still remained to be done. By the 18th of May he was once again at the Castle of Mingarry, and in con-

nection with this expedition the submission of the following chiefs seems to have been secured—John Huchonson, of Sleat; Donald Angusson, of Keppoch; Allan Mac Ruari, of Moydert, chief of the Clanranald; Hector Mac Lean, of Duart; Ewin Allanson, of Lochiel; and Gilleonan Mac Neill of Barra. This same year Kenneth Oig Mac Kenzie of Kintail, and Farquhair, the heir of the Mac Intosh, were apprehended and lodged in the Castle of Edinburgh. Why they should have been thus treated we cannot tell, unless it was because of their close relationships to former Earls of Ross, both of them being descended of daughters of that house. Till 1497 they remained in close confinement, but in that year they made their escape, and fled towards the Highlands. At the Torwood, however, they were treacherously attacked by the Laird of Buchanan, when Mac Intosh was taken prisoner, while Mac Kenzie was slain and decapitated. By Buchanan the head of Mac Kenzie was presented to the king, and Mac Intosh was again committed to the dungeon—the captor being also duly rewarded. According to tradition Buchanan was at a later date rewarded after a different fashion by Donald Dubh Mac Gillecrist Mhic Gillereoch, foster-brother of Kenneth Oig. In the retreat after Flodden, Donald Dubh overheard some one near him uttering the words "Alas Laird! thou hast fallen." Learning that the Laird was Buchanan, he seized the opportunity of revenge, and, with the words "If he hath not fallen, he shall fall," killed him on the spot.

"Kindred to twenty degrees, fosterage to a hundred," was an old Gaelic saying expressive of the devoted fidelity with which a young chief was served by his foster-brothers, and the warm attachment that existed between him and them. One of the brothers usually filled the coveted position of henchman, shielding the chief from every danger irrespective of personal risk, and serving him with the utmost devotion. Like many other customs which in time became peculiar to the Highlands fosterage was at one period common to the whole of Scotland, and indeed to the whole of the British Isles, and was practised even by royalty. The nature of the contract we can best learn from those that were committed to writing, but no uniform conditions were followed. The underlying idea in all cases was that the child from a very early age was received into the family of the foster-father, by whom he was reared and affectionately tended. When

the foster-father "took him to his bosom" he set apart a certain amount of stock (*sealbh*) to be put to increase for the benefit of the child, and a similar course was followed by the father. Sometimes the foster-child was a daughter, as in the case of Isobell Campbell, who was given in fosterage by her father, George Campbell of Airds, to Donald Dow M'Ewin in Ardmastill and his wife. In addition to the *sealbh* given in this case by the foster-father, it was provided that the latter and his spouse give the foster-child a bairn's part and portion of their whole goods and gear which shall belong to them at their decease, as if she was their own lawful child.

1496 A.D. In the year 1496 there was passed by the Lords of Council an Act of an important and far-reaching, but arbitrary character. About this time so frequent were robbery and murder throughout Scotland generally that it was found necessary, in 1488, to divide the whole country into districts, that they might be committed to the care of earls and barons, who promised on oath to use their diligence in the detection and punishment of offenders. In the Highlands, so wide were the areas of jurisdiction, and so difficult of access, that little success attended this effort, and so in 1496 it was determined to make the chief of each clan answerable for the due execution of summonses and other writs against those of his own tribe, under the penalty of being made liable himself to the party bringing the action. That same year there appeared before the Lords of Council Hector Mac Lean of Duart, John Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan, Allan Mac Ruari of Moydert, Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, and Donald Angusson of Keppoch, all of whom bound themselves, "by the extension of their hands" to the Earl of Argyll, on behalf of the King, to abstain from mutual injuries and molestation, each under a penalty of five hundred pounds.

1497 A.D The following year (1497) Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Lochalsh was slain. The circumstances were these: On the seizure of Sir John of Islay and four of his sons by Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan in 1494, two sons of the former, named Alasdair and Angus Ileach fled from the reach of Mac Ian to their property of the Glens of Antrim. By the year 1497 Mac Ian effected a reconciliation with Alasdair, and gave him his daughter in marriage. That same year Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, on some pretext or other, invaded Ross, as we have seen him do before, and was

met by the Mac Kenzies and Munroes, by whom he was defeated at Drumchat, and driven out of Ross. In an attempt to recruit his forces among the more southern Isles, Sir Alexander met with no success, and Mac Ian, assisted, it is traditionally said, by his son-in-law, Alasdair of Islay, surprised Lochalsh in Oronsay, and put him to death. By services such as these Mac Ian ingratiated himself with the King, and secured tokens of royal favour. Sir Alexander's children were all young, and they were received, it would appear, into the King's household, where they were educated. Donald, the eldest son, became a great favourite with the King, who confirmed him in at least the greater portion of his father's estates, and knighted him on Flodden's field. By his fellow Highlanders he was called Donald *Galda*, or the foreigner, from his long residence in the south. A few years later Ronald, the heir of Clanranald, was another youthful Highlander who, while much loved by his own people, obtained for a time high favour at court.

After an interval of three years the energetic King James found himself again upon the western sea-board, and in the royal castle which he had just completed at the head of Loch Kilkerran (Campbeltown loch), he held his court in the summer of 1498. 1498 A.D.
On this occasion he took measures to arrest a feud which had raged for long between the Clanhuistein of Sleat and the Clanranald of Moydert, who both laid claim to the lands of Garmoran and Uist; and he also received the submission of Alexander Mac Leod of Harris, and Torquil Mac Leod, the new Lord of Lewis. With a view to making provision for the strongholds at Loch Kilkerran and Tarbert, the King, sometime after this visit, sent "ane cole man to pas in Kintyre to vesy gif cols may be wonnyne thare." The collier sent was a Dunbarton man, to whom eighteen shillings were paid, that he might furnish himself with working tools, and proceed into Kintyre.

In the year 1498 there occurred an incident which well illustrates the control which the clans exercised over their chiefs when circumstances seemed to them to demand it. Reverence of the chief and filial obedience were natural and hereditary characteristics of every Highlander, for was the chief not the head of the family, their leader, and their judge? But the chief had in turn to show himself worthy of their devotion and homage, for they would not brook oppression where they looked for kindness and

protection. Besides, he was by no means an arbitrary authority. "Nothing," says Mrs. Grant in her *Superstitions of the Highlanders*, "can be more erroneous than the prevalent idea that a Highland chief was an ignorant and unprincipled tyrant, who rewarded the abject submission of his followers with relentless cruelty and rigorous oppression. If ferocious in disposition or weak in understanding, he was curbed aud directed by the elders of his tribe, who, by inviolable custom, were his standing counsellors, without whose advice no measure of any kind was decided." As a rule the chief rose to the dignity of his position, and by courteous and kindly demeanour secured the devoted allegiance and attachment of his people. In reference to this Pennant says: "On the side of a chieftain no art of affability, generosity, or friendship, which could inspire love and esteem, was left untried to secure a full and a willing obedience." But when the chief, in one way or other, proved his unfitness for his position, the clan showed that its sense of independence was by no means extinguished, and acted with decision. About 1460, for example, the head of the family of Stewart of Garth was, on account of his passionate and furious disposition and conduct, not only deprived of his authority by his people, but imprisoned for life. And now, in 1498, John of Keppoch was deposed by the elders of his tribe, to whom he had made himself obnoxious by delivering up to Mac Intosh, who was Steward of Lochaber, one of his own clan who had fled to him for protection after the commission of some crime. Such an action was not in keeping with Highland ideas, and Keppoch paid the penalty. After negotiation Donald Glas, cousin-german and heir-male presumptive of the deposed chief, was raised to the vacant place of authority, and from him has sprung the later chiefs of Keppoch.

After the visit of King James, in 1498, to his western dominions, affairs in that region looked more hopeful, and promised times of peace, but within a very few months circumstances, the nature of which we do not know, occurred which resulted in revolutionary changes of a very grave character. These were
1499 A.D. nothing less than the summary revocation by the King of all the charters granted by him within the last five years to the western chiefs, and the placing of the greater part of the territory dealt with under the immediate superiority of Archibald, Earl of Argyll. How grave a step this was to take can readily be

imagined. It was one which could only be justified by the occurrence of very serious offences, and yet there is nothing at all to indicate that such had been committed. Of the western chiefs the only two who seem to have retained the royal favour were Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan, who received valuable concessions, and Duncan Stewart of Appin, on whom were bestowed the lands of Duror and Glencoe.

With little loss of time the new arrangements were set in motion. In April, 1499, we find the King again at Tarbert 1499 A.D.
"when," Gregory tells us, "he gave commission to [his chancellor] Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and others, for letting on lease, for the term of three years, the entire Lordship of the Isles as possessed by the last Lord, both in the Isles and on the mainland, excepting only the island of Islay, and the lands of North and South Kintyre. Argyll received also a commission of Lieutenandry, with the fullest powers, over the Lordship of the Isles; and, some months later, was appointed Keeper of the Castle of Tarbert, and Bailie and Governor of the King's lands in Knapdale." What all this practically meant was the expulsion of very many of the original possessors, and by the year 1501 the 1501 A.D.
necessary legal steps were taken, preparatory to the execution of the project. In this same connection numerous lands in Lochaber were granted in the year 1500 to Alexander, Lord of Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly.

But, as might be imagined, neither in the Highlands nor anywhere else within the bounds of the kingdom could such a drastic process of ejectment as this be contemplated without producing in the victims a spirit of active and combined resistance. Such was the course of events now, and in Donald Dubh, grandson of John the last Lord of the Isles, who had, about this time, been rescued by the men of Glencoe from his long imprisonment in the Castle of Inchconnel, they found a leader round whom they rallied. Donald they hailed as the legitimate son of Angus by his wife a daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, and though the government disputed the legitimacy, it was firmly believed in by the Highlanders generally, and more particularly by Torquil Mac Leod of Lewis, who was married to Katherine, sister of the wife of Angus. By Torquil, Donald was warmly received as representing the family of the Isles, and with him he meanwhile remained in the island of Lewis.

Recognising the danger associated with the liberation of Donald, the government at once demanded that he should be surrendered to them, but Torquil, in spite of threats, refused to yield him up, and he was thereupon denounced as a rebel, and his
1502 A.D. lands forfeited. The following year these lands and the King's lands in Lochaber and Mamore were ordered to be let for a term of five years to "true men," while all broken men were to be expelled from these districts. In the circumstances that then existed this also practically meant that the whole original population was to be cleared out; but although the commission had been placed in the hands of such good king's men as the Earl of Huntly, Lord Lovat, and William Munro of Fowlis, little seems to have been done in the way of carrying out its terms. Nor had the King any better success in his efforts by negotiation with the chiefs of Lochiel and Duart, to break up the confederacy, which, by the end of 1502, had attained to considerable dimen-
1503 A.D. sions, and in March, 1503, the following proclamation was made by Parliament:—"If any one should apprehend and bring to the King, Mac Lean of Lochbuy, great Mac Leod of Lewis, or Mac Neil of Barra, they shall receive the half of these rebels lands; and if they capture and bring to the King any other head-men or any Highland man whatever connected with the rebellion, they shall be rewarded therefor according to the value of the land and the goods of the person taken." Of its purpose this proclamation entirely failed, and towards the end of the year the anticipated insurrection broke out, and the chiefs gathered round their new-found leader. Ere the end of December, Badenoch was plundered and wasted with fire and sword. This district was the possession of Huntly, but it was occupied by the Clan Chattan, who refrained from joining in the rebellion lest their chief, Farquhar MacIntosh, who had been long a prisoner, might be sacrificed. This beginning of things so alarmed the government that they at once took strong measures for the suppression of the insurrection, and ere long numerous forces raised north of the Forth were in a position to take the field. Meanwhile Lauchlan Mac Lean of Duart, and Ewin Cameron of Lochiel, who, along with Mac Leod of Lewis, had been foremost in proclaiming Donald Dubh, Lord of the Isles, were forfeited as traitors, and later John Mac Lean of Lochbuy, Dunslaff Mac Quarrie of Ulva, Gilleonan Mac Neill of

Barra, and Donald Mac Ranaldbane of Largie, were summoned to answer for their support of the rebels. To others of the principal chiefs warnings were sent, while at the same time rewards were promised to such as should actively assist in quelling the insurrection by arresting any of the rebels.

Of the actual course of the insurrection we know little, but it took two years to quell it. Argyll, Huntly, Arran, Crawford, Marischall, Lovat, and ultimately the King himself, were all engaged in its suppression. During 1504 Huntly appears to have 1504 A.D.
beseiged and taken the castles of Strone and Eilandonan, while from Dunbarton, which was the head-quarters of the southern forces, ordnance with "gun stanes," or stone bullets, were forwarded in April for the siege of Carneburg fort in Mull. To the Earl of Arran were issued two Commissions against the Isles, but altogether little of moment seems to have been effected. The following year, however, when the rebellious districts were invaded by the King from the south and Huntly from the north, the back of the insurrection was broken. Among the Isles those famous naval officers, Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton, did effective service in reducing Carneburg, and in other ways that impressed the insurgents, and ere long Mac Lean of Duart, Mac Lean of Lochbuy, Mac Donald of Largie, Mac Neill of Barra, and Mac Quarrie of Ulva all tendered their submission. It took, nevertheless, another campaign in 1506 to completely 1506 A.D.
quell the rebellion, but that terminated with the capture of Donald Dubh and his committal to Edinburgh Castle. By Huntly, assisted by Y Mac Kay of Strathnaver, the castle of Stornoway was taken and the whole island of Lewis subdued. The fate of Mac Leod is uncertain, but his lands of Assynt and Coigach were granted in life-rent to Mac Kay in reward for his valued services. As regards other portions of the original lordship we do not find that any actual steps were taken towards carrying out the project of supplanting the original possessors by "true men," and matters went on very much the same as before the rebellion. Even the lands of Torquil Mac Leod, arch-rebel though he was, were restored in 1511 to his brother Malcolm.

During the reign of James IV. quarrels within the Clans and inter-tribal feuds were, unfortunately, all too common. For some years previous to 1506, Donald Gallach (so called from his having

been reared in Caithness by his mother's relations of the Clan Gunn), chief of the Clan Huistein of Sleat, was in rebellion, owing to the fact that the territory of the clan had been alienated by the former chief, John, who was his half-brother. John died childless, and he bestowed the clan territory upon the Clanranald, with whom he, at an earlier period, had been at strife over disputed lands. This alienation was naturally resented by the Clan Huistein, but the efforts of Donald towards their recovery were cut short about the year 1506 by his own bastard brother, Archibald Dubh, by whom he was murdered. Archibald's next step was to endeavour to seize, on his own account, the lands of Sleat, but he was expelled by Ranald, the heir of Moydert, son of the new possessor. Flying to the South Isles, he for a time engaged in piracy, and then gave further evidence of his unscrupulousness by procuring his own pardon at the expense of some of his associates, whom he delivered up to justice. By
1510 A.D. the year 1510 he had so far succeeded in establishing his claim to the chiefship that he obtained Government recognition, and acted as bailie of the district of Trouterness in Skye. A few years later Archibald Dubh was killed by those nephews whom he had made fatherless, and thus met the fate he so richly merited.

Between the Mac Leans and the Camerons feuds had existed for many years regarding the lands of Lochiel, and destructive reprisals were of frequent occurrence. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the differences were for a time adjusted through the influence of Argyll, and when, later, towards the end of the reign of James IV., strife had recurred, a more peaceable spirit was engendered in the rival clans through the good offices of that King. Similarly a bitter feud between Dowart and Lochbuy regarding their adjoining lands in Morvern and Tiree was crushed by the watchful and politic monarch. Between the Camerons and the Mac Intoshes much bad blood had also existed through the forcible occupation of Glenluy and Lochaber by the former, and in the same neighbourhood the encroachments of the Stewarts of Appin from the other side, under the protection of Argyll, increased the difficulties of the situation, and led to much bitterness.

Further north the Clan Mac Kenzie involved themselves in feuds with the Munros and other neighbours during the minority

of John, the young chief of Kintail; and within the Clan strife also reigned. From 1497, when Kenneth Oig was killed by the Laird of Buchanan, Hector Roy Mac Kenzie acted as chief of the clan and nominal guardian of John. Latterly his general conduct and his behaviour towards the young chief made him obnoxious to the government, and raised the suspicions of the clan, and by a process of law he was compelled to give way to the young chief. Subsequently Hector entered on a feud with the Mac Leods of Raasay, and snatched from them a portion of the lands of Gairloch, which formed the nucleus of large possessions owned later by his descendants.

Still further north the Earl of Sutherland, provoked by two of his nephews, who braved him to his face, killed one of them with his own hand, while the other, who fled, was overtaken and slain at the Clayside, near Dunrobin—such was the lawlessness of the times, and the ready method of securing satisfaction only too often resorted to.

To assist in the establishment of law and order in the north and west during these troublous times various devices, other than those of force, were resorted to by the government, with more or less success. At least as early as the year 1480 a sheriffdom of Tarbert had been established, and in the early years of the next century, sheriffs were specially appointed to the North and South Isles. In the north, the Earl of Huntly was in 1508 appointed to the heritable sheriffship of Inverness, which embraced the counties of Inverness, Ross, and Caithness, and his power in that region, together with the organised appointment of deputies in certain districts, did much to restore order, and a feeling of rest and security. At this time also Huntly was made Governor of the Royal Castle of Inverness, with grants of land for the support of the garrison. Already the old castle of Inverlochy was his, and on its site he, at a somewhat later date, erected the present castle—"a tower and strength with a barmekyn" (barbican). Huntly in the north, and Argyll in the west—these were the men who now, and for long afterwards, made themselves at once of the greatest importance to the Crown, and the aggrandisers of their families. On them and their successors fell the divided mantle of the old Lords of the Isles.

In connection with this matter of law and order we find an interesting grant made by the King, which testifies to his eagerness

for the pacification of the country. The grant was one of Crown lands in the Isle of Skye to one Kenneth Williamson to support him at the schools with a view to his becoming a trained lawyer —one who should afterwards practise within the bounds of the Isles, and assist in the administration of justice. This action of the King, which was probably not a solitary one, was the extension of an idea which found expression in an Act of Parliament passed in 1496 by which it was enacted that throughout the kingdom all barons and freeholders whose fortunes permitted it should send their sons to school and afterwards to the Universities for a term of three years (St. Andrews and Glasgow Universities had by that time been founded), that they might be instructed in the knowledge of the laws, and fitted to act as sheriffs and judges throughout the realm. In this way it is hoped, says the statute, that the "poor people of the land will not be obliged, in every trifling offence, to seek redress from the King's principal council."

After the suppression of the insurrection headed by Donald Dubh, King James became as popular among the Highlanders as he had already been among the Lowlanders, and up to the period of his death no further general disturbances arose. Notwithstanding occasional severity, his natural affability, his vigour, his manly bearing, his passion for sailing, hunting, and other recreations, and his habit of personal superintendence made him a great favourite everywhere, and we can imagine his popularity to have been not a little enhanced among the Highlanders by his knowledge of Gaelic, and his ability to converse with those his subjects in their mother tongue. That James was a good linguist we learn from Don Pedro de Ayala, the accomplished Spanish ambassador, who tells us that "His knowledge of languages is wonderful." "He speaks the following foreign languages: Latin very well, French, German, Flemish, Italian and Spanish. . . . The King speaks, besides, the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and on the islands." Had the accomplished grandee of Spain had a personal acquaintance with the "savages" it is probable that he would not have found them by any means so barbarous as lowland report so frequently pictured them during those centuries.

Unless for the levying of a creach, not since the battle of Harlaw had the Highlanders intruded in offensive fashion upon

the territory of their Lowland neighbours. Occasionally they took their place in the armies of the King, and sometimes they played a subordinate part along with Lowlanders in scenes of strife in the south, by both of which means the two sections were kept to a slight degree in touch, but up till now, and for a considerable time afterwards, the Highlanders otherwise kept within the shadow of their own mountains. Their next meeting was as friendly as it was unfortunate, for in the year 1513 they stood side by side as fellow-soldiers in the army of the King, and together went to ruin on the fatal field of Flodden. Among the slain on that day of dule were the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Atholl, and Montrose, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Lauchlan Mac Lean of Duart, and Campbell of Lawers. 1513 A.D.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Distractions during the minority—Sir Donald of Lochalsh proclaimed Lord of the Isles—Aggrandisement of Argyll—Northern clan-feuds—The Lady of the Rock—Grants from Regency declared null—Rebellion of western chiefs—Suspicion of the methods of the Argylls—Submission of the chiefs—Argyll deprived of his offices and imprisoned—The Hebridean colony in Ulster—Expeditions of James V. into the Highlands—Insurrection under Donald Gorm of Sleat—Capture of Highland chiefs by the King—Annexation to the Crown of the Lordship of the Isles, etc.—The Highland garb.

1513-1542 A.D.

After the death of James IV., the evils attendant upon a minority became painfully evident alike in the Lowlands and the Highlands, and the demon of anarchy was once more unloosed. Bands of robbers traversed the country in Atholl and other northern districts, while throughout the kingdom generally unrest and turbulence prevailed instead of the prosperity and tranquillity which seemed established through the vigorous but conciliatory policy of the late king. In Sir David Lindsay's "Dreme" we have a trenchant picture of the abuses of the times. In the Highlands and Islands the occasion seemed opportune for the setting up once more of a Lord of the Isles in the person of Sir Donald of Lochalsh (Donald Dubh was still in confinement), and soon after the return of the chiefs from Flodden, Sir Donald, assisted by Alexander Mac Ranald of Glengarry and Willand Chisholm of Comer, and a large body of Highlanders, seized Castle Urquhart and plundered the lands of John the Grant of Freuchy, while Dowart, another ally, captured the Royal Castle of Carneburg, close by Mull. With the aid of Mac Leod of Dunvegan, Dowart also took possession of Dunskaich, in Sleat. This effected, Sir Donald was immediately proclaimed Lord of the Isles.

To Colin, third Earl of Argyll, was entrusted the execution of the measures deemed necessary for coping with this new movement. At the same time an act of Council was passed appoint-

ing local lieutenants for the northern shires, and letters were written calling upon the loyal men of the north and west to resist within their own territories an invasion of the rebels, on the pain of being considered in the same category themselves if they refrained. Some of the insurgents would appear to have taken refuge in Bute, and to have been followed there by Argyll, who committed certain ravages in his quest of them, for the which he received remission from the inhabitants on 26th May, 1518. Otherwise, little seems to have been done by Argyll of an active nature, and in 1515, MacIan of Ardnamurchan was commissioned to treat with some of the less culpable of the rebels, the principal ones being expressly excepted. Matters were somewhat complicated in the north by MacKenzie of Kintail seizing, on his own account, the royal castle of Dingwall, but ere long he agreed to surrender it to the Regent; while in the west Argyll prevailed upon the insurgents to come to Court and arrange the terms of pardon and restoration to favour. In 1516, Sir Donald, relying on a safe conduct, appeared frequently before the Council, and so amicably had matters been arranged that on 24th September of that year he, "Monsieur de Ylis," as well as the Earl of Argyll, was summoned to join the Royal army that was about to proceed to the Borders. 1514 A.D. 1516 A.D.

But not many months had passed ere Sir Donald was once again in active rebellion as a partisan of the Angus party, and raising a considerable force on the strength that he had been made, as he asserted, Lieutenant of the Isles, he attacked Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan, took his Castle of Mingary, and expelled that chief from the district. To the repeated orders of the Council to deliver up the Castle to Mac Ian, Sir Donald ultimately replied by razing it to the ground, and ravaging the land. Ere long, however, the chiefs became aware that he had deceived them as to the Lieutenancy, and as his methods were reckless, and his conduct of affairs head-strong, some of them determined to be done with him, and, in fact, to hand him over to the Regent. By Mac Lean of Duart and Mac Leod of Dunvegan, Sir Donald's two brothers were speedily seized, but he himself escaped. 1517 A.D.

The principal supporters of Sir Donald were now the Clan Ian Mhor of Islay, and in connection with this breaking up of the confederacy through the action of Duart and Dunvegan, supported by Argyll, petitions were forwarded to the Council by the latter,

and also by the two chiefs. By the Earl, certain powers were asked for, and these were granted in large measure, for the very sufficient reason that he alone was in a position to effectively serve the Government in those parts. For a period of three years he was made Lieutenant over all the Isles and adjacent mainland with the exception of Bute, Arran, and Lochaber. Powers were also conferred upon him to pursue Sir Donald and the other rebels with fire and sword, and to demand hostages of the Clan Ian Mhor. Should the latter refuse to comply, they were to be severely dealt with, but should they submit, they were to receive Crown lands in the Isles to the annual value of one hundred merks to enable them to live honestly. Their original possessions were considered forfeited since the execution of Sir John Cathanach and his four sons in 1494. All others who had been involved in the rebellion Argyll was instructed, on his own suggestion, to treat leniently, if they submitted to him, promised better behaviour in the future, and gave hostages for the punctual payment of the usual rent and duties.

Agreeably to the prayer of his petition, Lachlan MacLean of Duart, "his kin, men, servants, and par-takers"—MacNeils,
1517 A.D. MacQuarries, MacKinnons—were pardoned on the promise of the chief to make good damage done during the insurrection to Argyll and MacIan. With new-born zeal MacLean now desired that Sir Donald of Lochalsh and his friends should be treated as traitors, and their lands forfeited. The two brothers of Sir Donald, who were at that time his prisoners, he would have "justified," that is, executed. How completely this arch-rebel had turned from his old friends is shown in his expressed desire that "the wicked blood of the Isles" should be destroyed; "for," he proceeds, "as long as that blood reigns, the King shall never have the Isles in peace, whenever they find an opportunity to break loose, as is evident from daily experience." For services done and to be done, Duart desired, on his own behoof, certain lands in Tiree and Mull free from all duties. These he was granted, but only till the King should attain his majority. MacLean of Lochbuy and MacLeod of Dunvegan and Harris similarly received remissions for past offences.

Notwithstanding the desertion of these powerful chiefs, Sir Donald was still in a position to strike an effective blow. Against MacIan of Ardnamurchan, as we know, both Sir Donald and

Alexander of Islay cherished an unrelenting hate, as the active agent in bringing about the death of their fathers, and now in 1518 they sought and found an ample revenge. Uniting their 1518 A.D.
forces with those of the MacLeods of Lewis and Raasay, they invaded Morven, and attacked MacIan at Craiganairgid, or the Silver Craig, slaying the chief and his two sons, John Sunoirtich and Angus, along with many of his followers. So threatening did matters now seem, and so largely increased were Sir Donald's followers, that Argyll, whose powers were, in fact, more nominal than real, advised the forfeiture of the island potentate, but his advice was not acted upon, nor did he receive the supplies that had been promised him at an earlier date—circumstances which led him to lay a solemn protest before Parliament declining responsibility for future mischief. Sir Donald, however, died the following year (1519), and thus the rebellion which had 1519 A.D.
lasted for about five years was brought to an abrupt termination.

During the interval of peace which followed upon the death of Lochalsh, Argyll, aided particularly by his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder (he who married "the red-haired lass that brought Calder to Argyll"), and Archibald Campbell of Skipness, took every opportunity of establishing his influence among the vassals of the Isles by the conclusion of bonds of manred and otherwise. From Mac Lean of Lochbuy Sir John acquired the rights the former had long claimed to the lands of Lochiel, Duror, and Glencoe, and so availed himself of his opportunities and the influence of the Earl that, though at first strenuously resisted by the Camerons and the Stewarts of Appin, he eventually, through the arbitration of friends, succeeded in securing bonds of manred both from Lochiel and from Alan Stewart of Duror.

Further north the period of the minority of James V. was equally productive of strife and unrest, and Sir Robert Gordon indicates the spirit of the times when he tells us that "everie man thought to escape unpunished, and chiefly those who were remotest from the seat of justice."

> "Wo to the realme that hes ouer young ane King."

exclaims Sir David Lindsay, as he ponders over these distractions;

> "Thare is nocht ellis bot ilk man for hym self;"

"Quhen the heides ar nocht delygent,
The membris mon, on neid be negligent;"

"Wanting of justice, government and peace,
Ar cause of their unhappynes, alace!"

Among the Mac Kays quarrels as to the succession to the chiefship in 1516 between the bastard sons of Y-Roy-Mac Kay, the late chief, and their father's brother, Neil Mac Kay terminated, after much bloodshed, in the latter casting himself on the mercy of his two nephews, who forthwith beheaded him. The following year John Mac Kay, one of the nephews, assisted by a large force of Mac Kays and their allies, the Siol-Phaill and the Siol-Thomais among others, invaded the lands of the Earl of Sutherland during the absence of the latter in Edinburgh. Aided by John Murray of Aberscors and a contingent of the Gunns, Alexander Sutherland, bastard brother of the Earl, undertook the defence, and, encountering the Mac Kays at a place near Rogart called Torran-Dubh, inflicted upon them a severe defeat, the fight being, according to Sir Robert Gordon, "the greatest conflict that hitherto has been foughten between the inhabitants of these countreyes, or within the diocy of Catteynes, to our knowledge." Exasperated at John Murray for assisting the Sutherlands, John Mac Kay shortly afterwards sent two separate expeditions against him, but on both occasions his parties were defeated with great loss, and Mac Kay saw the wisdom of immediately submitting himself to the Earl of Sutherland on his return, and granting him his bond of service.

Some years previous to the time at which we have now arrived Alexander Sutherland, referred to above, had laid claim to the Earldom of Sutherland on the death of his father, Earl John, asserting that the latter had entered into a contract of marriage with his mother, and that he, Alexander, was therefore legitimate and the rightful heir. By arrangement, however, he formally and judicially, in 1509, renounced his claim at Inverness, and no
1519 A.D. more was heard of it till 1519, when he married John Mac Kay's sister. Instigated by Mac Kay and the Earl of Caithness, and supported by a party of the Sutherlands, Alexander now renewed his claims, and, declining to renounce them, though offered favourable conditions by Earl Adam, he flew to arms, and speedily took possession of Dunrobin Castle. Relinquishing that stronghold, he

retired into Strathnaver, whence he shortly returned with augmented forces, and committed considerable depredations, but in a warm contest, which ere long ensued, he was taken prisoner, beheaded, and his head stuck on a spear, which was placed on the great tower of Dunrobin Castle—thus, after a fashion, verifying the prophecy of certain witches, who had assured him that "his head should be the highest that ever wes of the Sutherlands."

Mac Kay, still restless and thirsting for revenge, made two several attempts in 1522 to commit depredations in Sutherland, 1522 A.D. but was check-mated on both occasions by the Sutherlands and their friends the Murrays and the Leslies of Kinninuvy, who, latterly carried the war into his own territory, and once more secured his submission and bond of manred. John Mac Kay died in 1529 without occasioning further trouble.

About the year 1518, an incident occurred in Sutherlandshire which affords us a striking illustration of long deferred revenge sharply executed. Many years before the date mentioned a meeting had been arranged between the chiefs of the Clans Keith and Gunn, with a view to bringing to an amicable termination a long-existing feud. The meeting place selected was the Chapel of Saint Tayr in Caithness, and the parties were fixed at twelve horsemen a side. In due time the twelve men of the Clan Gunn arrived and entered the church, but, while engaged at their devotions, double the number of Keiths appeared, two being mounted on each horse, and, immediately entering the chapel, set upon the Gunns, who, being taken unawares, were all killed. On account of this treacherous massacre the Clan Gunn retired from Caithness, and placed themselves under the protection of the Earl of Sutherland. At the time referred to, the chief of the Gunns was known as Cruner or Coroner Gunn, from his holding that office, and now, about the year 1518, the opportunity for revenge arrived, when William Cattigh, the grandson of the Cruner, assailed George Keith of Aikregell and his son, and twelve of their followers as they were travelling from Inverugie to Caithness, and killed them all.

Lachlan Mac Intosh, chief of the Clan Chattan, "a verrie honest and wyse gentleman," says Bishop Lesley, was put to death in the year 1526 by a party within his clan who were "impacient of vertuous living." At the head of this small party of mal-contents was John Malcolmson. After the murder of the

1526 A.D. chief, John took refuge on the island of the loch of Rothiemurchus, but he was tracked to his lair by the well-affected in the clan, and speedily despatched. During the minority of Lachlan's heir the clan leadership was assigned to Hector the bastard brother of the late chief, while the up-bringing of the young chief was entrusted to his relatives the Ogilvies of Durnens, by his uncle and guardian the Earl of Moray. By Hector every effort was ere long made to get the child into his possession, and, when ordinary means failed, he had recourse to arms, overthrowing the fort of Dykes; plundering, burning, and killing; laying siege to Tarnoway Castle, and capturing the Castle of Pettens which belonged to the Ogilvies. In connection with this latter event, twenty-four gentlemen of the name of Ogilvie were massacred, and still the devastation went on. In the year 1528 the triumphant career of the marauders was arrested by the Earl of Moray, who was instructed by the Council "to invade them to their utter destruction, by slaughter, burning, drowning, and other ways, and leave no creature living of that clan, except priests, women, and bairns." Further the "women and bairns" were to be taken to "some parts of the sea nearest land, quhair ships salbe forsene on our expenses, to sail with them furth of our realme, and land with them in Jesland, Zesland, or Norway; because it were inhumanity to put hands in the blood of women and bairns." Fortunately the dreadful intention of the Council was not carried out, but by the Earl of Moray the party of the Mac Intoshes was surprised, and Hector's brother William was captured, together with three hundred of his men, all of whom were straightway hanged. Hector himself escaped, nor could threats or promises avail to draw from his clansmen the place of his retreat. "Ther faith," says Sir Robert Gordon, "wes so true to ther captane, that they could not be persuaded, either by fair means, or by any terror of death to break the same or to betray their master." Later, Hector submitted himself to the king, and was received into the royal favour, but was shortly thereafter assassinated at St. Andrews by a monk named James Spence, who, in turn, paid the penalty with his life. To be "impacient of vertuous living" seems to have continued to be a characteristic of the Mac Intoshes of that period, for when in due time the young chief took up the leadership of his clan, and strove to follow in the

footsteps of his father, he also fell a victim to a conspiracy, his "honestie and civile policye" not being conform to the ideas of mâny of his people.

Upon the west coast a highly dramatic incident occurred in 1527, which was in later years productive of much strife and 1527 A.D.
blood-shed. The scene of it was a rock at the south end of Lismore, and the chief actors Lachlan Cattanach Mac Lean of Duart, and his wife the Lady Elizabeth, sister of the then Earl of Argyll. The union of this couple proved unhappy, and, as the eye of the chief fell upon a daughter of Mac Lean of Treshinish, a comely lady of his own clan, he conceived the idea of ridding himself of the Lady Elizabeth by exposing her on an isolated rock which, at high water, was deeply covered. With the aid of several clansmen the savage chief placed her on the rock in the evening hour and, on this place of certain death, left her to her fate. But just as the waves were breaking over her, a deliverer came, and she was rescued by the crew of a boat sent out by one of the chief's body-guard, who had come to hear of the villainy that was being perpetrated. By these men the unhappy lady was taken to the mainland, and escorted to her brother's stronghold at Inveraray. Of the rescue, Lachlan knew nothing, but communicated to the Earl the news of the death of his sister from natural causes, and his desire that she should be interred in the tomb of her ancestors. For the time the Earl kept his counsel, and within a few days the tearful husband, accompanied by many followers, arrived at the castle, bearing a coffin containing a lay figure. But the tables were turned upon the thunderstruck monster when, on being ushered into the dining-hall where the family sat at dinner, he found the Lady Elizabeth seated at the head of the table. Cattanach was allowed to escape, and no dramatic catastrophe occurred, but the resentment of the Campbells at the odious act burned deeply into their souls. Many years afterwards, when Mac Lean was an old man of eighty years, that resentment found expression in his murder at the hands of Sir John Campbell of Calder, brother of the Lady Elizabeth. The deed of vengeance was perpetrated while the aged chief was resting in his bed in Edinburgh, to which city he had come under letters of protection. Campbell gives a version of the tale in his ballad of "Glenara."

During the period of power of the Earl of Angus, many liberties were taken with the Crown lands, and very numerous grants were made both in the Lowlands and in the Highlands. These concessions were made, of course, with a view to adding
1528 A.D. to the number of the Earl's adherents. In 1528, however, the King, now in his seventeenth year, found his freedom, and one of the earliest acts of his new Privy Council was to declare all such grants null, while they also made it plain that in future no such grants would be bestowed in the Isles but by the advice of the Privy Council and of the Earl of Argyll. Both in the north and south isles, where many of these grants had been made, this declaration led to much dispeace. In connection with this matter Argyll, as Lieutenant, found himself engaged in a work which was highly favourable to his own interests, but in his efforts to prosecute it he drove Alexander of Islay into insurrection—an insurrection in which he was very gladly joined by the Mac Leans. In 1529 Roseneath, Craignish, and other Campbell lands were ravaged with fire and sword, while the Campbells, on their part, laid waste much of Mull, Tiree, and Morvern. While
1529 A.D. these proceedings were being enacted, Sir John Campbell of Calder, on behalf of Argyll, demanded from the Council additional and extraordinary powers. His request was that all the substantial householders of the shires of Dunbarton and Renfrew, and of the bailliaries of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, might be commanded to come to Argyll at Lochranza in Arran, with provisions for twenty days, and from thence assist him against the Islesmen. On account of the approaching harvest this request was not complied with, and, meanwhile, from a suspicion of the methods of Argyll, a herald "of wisdom and discretion," named Robert Hart, was sent by the Council that he might make a direct appeal to Alexander of Islay, and try to bring him to lay down his arms, to wait upon the King, and arrange personally his future relationship with his sovereign. Within a month the pursuivant reported to the Council the ineffectiveness of his appeal, and Argyll was forthwith instructed to proceed against Alexander and his adherents.

1530 A.D. The following spring (1530) preparations were set on foot for an extensive expedition. It was arranged that the whole west coast array should be commanded to assemble to the assistance of Argyll, while the tenants of the Isles were to be summoned to

appear before the King on the 24th of May, "to commune with his majesty for good rule of the Isles." That month Hector Mac Lean of Duart presented himself before his sovereign and tendered the submission of nine of the principal islanders, with the result that a protection was granted them against the Earl of Argyll and others, on the condition that they came to the Court before the 20th of June, and remained in attendance as long as required. Meantime Colin Earl of Argyll fell ill, and all active proceedings were in consequence delayed. Later in the year he died, but all his offices were conveyed to his son Archibald. As regards the expedition to the Isles, however, it was determined that the following summer the King should proceed in person against the rebels, and that, as a preliminary, a Parliament should be convened on the 24th of April to pass sentence of forfeiture on all who should, up to that time, have failed to submit.

The magnitude of the preparation, north and south, for the coming expedition was so great that Alexander of Islay and Hector Mac Lean became alarmed, and, having secured a promise of protection, appeared before the King at Stirling, and tendered their submission. In these circumstances it was now deemed unnecessary that the King should accompany the expedition, and the quieting process was entrusted in the north to the Earl of Moray, who was natural brother to his Majesty and Lieutenant of the north, and to the Earl of Argyll in the south. By both Argyll and Moray certain proposals were made before proceeding on their task. Among other things Argyll engaged, as Gregory puts it, to "endeavour to prevail upon the inhabitants, by fair means, to take their lands on lease from the King's commissioners, and to pay the rents yearly to his Majesty's comptroller; and in the event of their refusal, he pledged himself, with his own kinsmen, friends, and followers, to compel them to obedience, *or else to destroy them, root and branch*, and quiet the Isles in that way, without creating any burden upon the rest of the country." Further, he desired that his behaviour in this matter should be observed by two of the King's household, that in future his advice should be followed regarding rewards and punishments in these parts, and that he should again be appointed Lieutenant over the South Isles and Kintyre. Ere long, however, all the principal chiefs followed the example set them by Alexander of Islay and Mac Lean of Duart, and made their submission in per- 1531 A.D.

son to the King, into whose favour they were received upon promise of future obedience. By generous treatment and free personal intercourse, King James speedily acquired great influence over the island chiefs, and this he fostered by encouraging them to have direct dealings with himself in the future. To Alexander of Islay all offences were remitted, and he was given a new grant, during the King's pleasure, of lands in Kintyre and the South Isles which had formerly been his through the favour of the regency. Alexander, on his part, promised to assist in every way in securing good government, to aid in collecting the Crown rents, to support and maintain the Church, and to set at liberty all prisoners that were in his custody.

At this time a certain amount of distrust seems to have been entertained by the King and some of the Privy Council towards Argyll, as towards his father in his latter years, and they became jealous of his increasing power, which they, doubtless, dreaded might, sooner or later, make him as troublesome as the Lords of the Isles had often been. "These feelings," says Gregory, "seem to have gradually ripened into a suspicion that many of the disturbances in the Isles were secretly fomented by the Lieutenant, in the hope of benefiting by the forfeitures which were expected to follow." This suspicion deepened shortly into a certainty, for it soon became very evident that the ready submission of the chiefs and their reception into royal favour were anything but pleasing to Argyll. Failing in various endeavours to irritate the chiefs sufficiently to cause them to break the peace and thus afford him a pretext for proceeding against them, the Earl made certain serious accusations against Alexander of Islay of crimes committed since his restoration to royal favour. Alexander was
1531 A.D. in consequence summoned to the royal presence, and, contrary to Argyll's expectation, immediately made his appearance at court. This was the more note-worthy as his accuser deliberately remained away. After waiting long for the latter to appear, the chief of Islay framed a written statement which put matters in a very different light from that in which they were represented by the western Earl. In that statement Alexander solemnly denied the crimes of which he stood accused, offered anew to carry out his previous engagements, asserted his ability through the number of his followers to do more for the king, either in England or in Scotland, than Argyll could possibly effect, and threw the

blame for the unsettled state of the Isles on the Argylls past and present.

The result of the enquiry that followed on the presentation of this statement was that Argyll was deprived of his offices, and, for a time, committed to prison, while Alexander of Islay rose very considerably in the Royal favour, and, in connection with the struggle with England, was soon after sent into Ulster with a 1532 A.D. body of seven or eight thousand men, to assist O'Donnell in his efforts to shake off the yoke of England. There the islanders committed great depredations, and added, it would seem, to their possessions. This interference of the Mac Donalds in the affairs of Ireland was by no means a solitary event, for, from the time when John Mor of Islay acquired the property of the Glens of Antrim through his marriage with the heiress of the Bissets, their intercourse with Ulster was close, and their participation in the political concerns of that district not infrequent. From time to time, also, many cadets of the family settled there, and by judicious marriages into some of the leading families so strengthened their position and added to their territory that, ere long, an important Hebridean colony was established and flourished. Frequent feuds with the Irish of Ulster, and occasionally with the English forces, brought the Hebridean Scots often to the aid of their brethren in the Glens, while the intercourse was made still more close by the fact that sometimes their services as auxiliaries were sought by rival chiefs in their private quarrels. From the Irish historians we hear of some of their doings. From these we learn that in 1501 the Scots or *Albani* encountered the O'Neills in battle, when a son of the Laird of *Aig*, the three sons of Coll Mac Alexander, and about sixty other Scots were slain. Twenty years later, the Scottish Islanders were so active in their rapine and piracy that the Governor found it necessary to apply to Wolsey for five or six vessels by which he hoped to check their proceedings, and now, in 1532, using their original territories as a base of operations, we find them aiding O'Donnell, and adding, apparently, to their possessions the lands of the Mac Quillans, the district of *Route*. As we proceed, we shall take occasion to refer to the later dealings of the Hebridean Scots in the northern districts of Ireland, and meantime we return to the affairs of Scotland.

Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, was not long detained in

prison, but, after his release, his mortification at the turn affairs had taken served to throw him for a short time into the English interest. But this Earl was not the only nobleman whose treatment of the Highlander at this time had met with the king's strong disapproval, for the Earl of Moray's conduct of affairs in the north was also hotly censured. A step of considerable importance was likewise taken by James at this time, when, in order to add to his influence over Islay's chief, and to prepare his heir for his future duties, he took upon him the education of Alexander's eldest son James, and placed him under the charge of William Henderson, Dean of Holyrood. But by making expeditions into Argyllshire, as he did in 1532 and again in 1534, the King did much more to deepen and to extend his influence among the chiefs, and the result of this personal intercourse was eminently satisfactory.

1532 A.D. In connection with the earlier of these expeditions, Tytler affords us an interesting and picturesque description of the elegance to which, under special circumstances, social life might attain at this time within the central Highlands. He says:— "In the meantime, the King resolved to set out on a summer progress through his dominions, in the course of which an entertainment was given to the yet youthful monarch by the Earl of Atholl, which is strikingly illustrative of the times. This potent highland chieftain, who perhaps indulged in the hope of succeeding to a portion of the power so lately wrested from Argyll, received his sovereign at his residence in Atholl, with a magnificence which rivalled the creations of romance. A rural palace curiously framed of green timber, was raised in a meadow defended at each angle by a high tower, hung in its various chambers with tapestry of silk and gold, lighted by windows of stained glass, and surrounded by a moat, in the manner of a feudal fortress. In this fairy mansion the king was lodged more sumptuously than in any of his own palaces; he slept on the softest down; listened to the sweetest music; saw the fountains around him flowing with muscadel and hippocras; angled for the most delicate fish which gleamed in the little streams and lakes in the meadow; or pursued the pastime of the chase amid woods and mountains which abounded with every species of game. The queen-mother accompanied her son; and an ambassador from the papal court

having arrived shortly before, was invited to join in the royal progress. The splendour, profusion, and delicacy of this feudal entertainment, given by those whom he had been accustomed to consider barbarians, appeared almost miraculous, even to the warmth of an Italian imagination; and his astonishment was not diminished, when Atholl, at the departure of the royal cavalcade, declared that the palace which had given delight to his sovereign should never be profaned by a subject, and commanded the whole fabric, with its innumerable luxuries, to be given to the flames." On this occasion the King reached at least as far as Inveraray, and in the same year we find the Earl of Argyll and ninety-two of his followers obtaining a remission for "fire-raising in the Islands, with his standard unfurled," on condition that he satisfied the claims of those that had been injured.

The quietness, which from this time reigned in the Western Highlands for several years, was in the year 1539 somewhat broken by the action of Donald Gorm of Sleat, chief of the Clanhuistein. Had there been no forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, and had there been a certainty of the illegitimacy of Donald Dubh, who was still strictly confined in prison, Donald Gorm would have been the heir male to the Lordship. As it was, the chief of Sleat determined to strike a blow in his own favour, and by force of arms assert his right to the Earldom of Ross and the Lordship of the Isles. At the period in question the district of Trouterness in Skye, which during recent years had passed successively into the hands of several chiefs, was in the possession of Alexander Mac Leod of Dunvegan. This district Donald laid claim to, and he began proceedings now by laying it waste. In this invasion he was aided by his friends the Mac Leods of Lewis, and soon was supported by the majority of the Island chiefs. From Skye he crossed to the mainland, ravaging the district of Kinlochew, and thence sweeping into Kintail, he laid siege to the Castle of Eilandonan, which belonged to Mac Kenzie, who had not countenanced either his claims or his proceedings. The garrison was small, but here his course was stayed, for, exposing himself rashly near the wall, he was shot at by Mac Rae, the constable of the castle, and so wounded in the foot by a barbed arrow that he bled to death. After burning all the boats in Kintail that they could find, the disconsolate invaders returned

1539 A.D.

to Skye, and thus this abortive west-land episode came to a speedy end.

1540 A.D. But its results were by no means at an end, for it led to the King entering upon another royal progress among the Isles in the summer of the following year. On this occasion the expedition was both formidable and imposing, carried as it was in twelve well-appointed ships, provided with artillery. In the Treasurer's accounts we find mention made of damask and silk hangings for two cabins and beds,—for the King loved magnificence,—while pavilions were provided for erection on such islands as he and his attendants might land on. Among those in command of bodies of troops were Cardinal Beaton and the Earls of Huntly and Arran. On the other hand, the Earl of Argyll does not seem to have borne any part in these transactions.

Towards the end of May, 1540, the fleet loosed from the Firth of Forth, and sailed northward till the Orkneys were reached. Thence, passing through the Pentland Firth, they coasted in a series of stages all down the west coast and among the Hebrides, holding courts of justice in convenient centres, and punishing, says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "both thief and traitor according to their deserts." But the main object of King James in this expedition was to get into his power as many of the chiefs as possible, and this he effected in large measure, and that without striking a blow. By the time the fleet had reached the Firth of Clyde the following chiefs had come to him of their own free will, or had been constrained to join the royal progress :—Donald Mac Kay of Strathnaver, Ruari Mac Leod of Lewis, Alexander Mac Leod of Dunvegan, John Moydertach, captain of Clanranald, Alexander of Glengarry, John Mac Kenzie of Kintail, Hector Mac Lean of Dowart, James Mac Donald of Islay, and many minor chiefs and chieftains. On this extended tour the sterner duties of the monarch were agreeably varied by the delights of the chase, while to future navigators a most useful service was rendered by the inclusion on his staff of Alexander Lindsay, a man distinguished in his day in nautical science. By Lindsay, the leading, and especially the dangerous topographical features of the sea-board, were noted with very great precision, and, later, these notes were worked up and systematised by Nicholay d'Arville, cosmographer to the King of France.

Arrived at Dunbarton the King landed, after which the fleet

returned to the Firth of Forth, where the captive chiefs were debarked and conveyed to Edinburgh. Upon giving hostages, some of them were speedily liberated, while others of the more turbulent type were detained in confinement, and, indeed, were not set free till some time after the King's death.

For securing the future peace of the Isles yet other measures were taken at this time. Among these was the inalienable annexation to the Crown of the Lordship of the Isles together with the whole of Kintyre north and south, and the placing of royal garrisons in several of the fortresses of the west under commanders of the King's appointing. Dunaverty in South Kintyre, and Dunyveg in Islay were thus occupied by royal forces, the latter being placed in the keeping of Archibald Stewart of the family of Bute, a gentleman who subsequently was appointed Governor and Sheriff of Islay. In various other parts of Scotland many extensive estates were similarly annexed to the Crown with a view to adding to its power and influence. These were strong measures, and even the well-disposed among the nobility trembled at the thought of what might possibly be in store for themselves, for the King of the Commons, though affectionately regarded by the people, was by no means popular with the greater part of the nobility, whose lawlessness, pride, and self-seeking he took every opportunity of curbing. 1540 A.D.

Certain references to the use of tartan by James V. afford us an opportunity of introducing, at this point, some further remarks upon the garb of the Highlanders. In a previous chapter (xv.) occasion has been taken to refer to early notices of tartan and the bare legs of the Scots, and from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, sufficiently numerous references exist in literature to enable us to form a pretty accurate idea of the dress of the Highlanders in its several forms and developments. What seems very evident from these notices is that the foundation and essential elements of the dress of an ordinary clansman up to comparatively modern times were a particular form of shirt known in the Lowlands as a "Heland sark," and the *Feile* or covering which was usually of chequered or tartan material, and hence called the *Breacan-feile*. All else beside—jacket, waistcoat, head-gear, and foot-covering—were not considered absolute necessities, and were only worn as occasion demanded. By the

Highlanders, the shirt was known as the *leni-croich* from the fact of its being, among the higher classes, dyed with saffron. According to Major the typical shirt of the ordinary male was "a linen garment manifoldly sewed [plaited] and painted or daubed with pitch." John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, writing in 1578, speaks thus of it. "They made also of linen, very large shirts, with numerous folds and wide sleeves, which flowed abroad loosely to their knees. These the rich coloured with saffron, and others smeared with some grease to preserve them longer clean among the toils and exercises of a camp, which they held it of the highest consequence to practise continually. In the manufacture of these, ornament and a certain attention to taste were not altogether neglected, and they joined the different parts of their shirts very neatly with silk threads, chiefly of a green or red colour." Martin, who wrote in 1703, tells us that the islanders had ceased wearing the *leni-croich* about a hundred years before the date of his visit. In the blue-shirt of the West Highland fishermen we probably find one of its legitimate successors.

Speaking of the Breacan-feile or belted plaid when used both as a kilt and mantle, Martin says :—"When they travel on foot, the plaid is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood, . . . the plaid is tied round the middle with a leather belt; it is pleated from the belt to the knee very nicely; this dress for footmen is found much easier and lighter than breeches, or trowis." Lesley thus refers to this portion of their covering :—"Their clothing was made for use (being chiefly suited to war), and not for ornament. All, both nobles and common people, wore mantles of one sort (except that the nobles preferred those of several colours). These were long and flowing, but capable of being neatly gathered up at pleasure into folds. . . . Wrapped up in these for their only covering they would sleep comfortably."

It seems to be satisfactorily established that the feile-beg or little covering—the kilt detached from the plaid—is a comparatively modern evolution of convenience, dating from the early part of the eighteenth century. The transition period is perhaps borne witness to by Gough in the following rather inelegant extract from his contemporary additions to Camden's *Britannia* :—"The dress of the men is the *brechan* or plaid, 12 or 13 yards of narrow stuff wrapped round the middle, and reaching to the knees, often

girt round the waist, and in cold weather covering the whole body, even on the open hills, all night, and fastened on the shoulders with a brooch . . . *kilt* or fillibeg, g.d., little plaid, or short petticoat, reaching to the knees, substituted of late to the longer end of the plaid; and lastly, the pouch of badger or other skins, with tassels hanging before them."

Few references exist to the use of the jacket in association with the kilt. Major (1512) tells us that the common people went into battle with a covering of deerskin, while Lesley speaks of a "short woolen jacket, with the sleeves open below for the convenience of throwing their darts." As regards the protection for the head, Nicolay d' Arfeville (1583) records that in ordinary life "they go with bare heads, and allow the hair to grow very long." When we do hear of a head-covering, early in the seventeenth century, it is spoken of as a blue bonnet, though at the beginning of the eighteenth century both black and gray ones were also in use. They were often effectively ornamented round the lower edge.

In a communication from John Elder, a Highland priest, to Henry VIII. in 1543, many interesting references are made to Highland characteristics. Among others he speaks of the Highlander's contempt of cold which enabled them to go both summer and winter with feet and legs uncovered, "excepte when the froest is most vehemonte." The snow they cared not for, even when it reached their girdles, but in intense frost "we go a huntynge, and after that we have slayne redd deir, we flaye off the skyne, bey and bey, and setting of our bare foot on the insyde therof, for neide of cunnyge shoemakers, by your Grace's pardon, we play the sutters; compasinge and mesuringe so moche thereof, as shall retche up to our anclers, pryckynge the upper part thereof also with holis, that the water may repas when it entres, and stretchide up with a stronge thwange of the same, meitand above our said ancklers, so, and please your noble Grace, we make our shoois." Sometimes the foot-coverings were made to reach to considerably above the ankles. They were then called *cuaran*, and from the use of this reddish hairy covering the name of Red-shanks was, at times, applied to the Highlanders. From Martin we learn that at the beginning of the eighteenth century "the generality now wear shoes having one thin sole only, and shaped after the right and left foot; so that what is

for one foot will not serve the other." As a rule, stockings or short hose were considered still more of a superfluity than brogues. When they were used they were made of tartan cloth and tied up, sometimes with a broad knitted garter of divers colours, at other times with a rough and ready band of straw or hay.

In the letter above referred to Elder indicates that, though accustomed to go about their ordinary affairs somewhat sparsely, and, it might be said, meanly attired, they were able, in the sixteenth century, and, when occasion demanded, to present themselves in goodly array. He says, ". . . when we come to the courte . . . waiting on our Lordes and maisters, who also, for velvettis and silkis, be right well araide, we have as good garmentis as some of our fellowis which gyve attendaunce in the court every day." Doubtless at all times, but more particularly in later centuries, the garb, so romantic and picturesque in its essential character, differed in quality and ornamental display according to the rank and taste of the wearer. Among the wealthier classes silver was largely used in the shape of buttons and other decoration, a principal reason for the lavish display being that, should the wearer die far from home, their value might pay the charges of a decent funeral.

In the manufacture of tartan no pains were spared to produce satisfactory results, and much art was displayed in the composition of the various patterns. Speaking of this Martin says:— "There is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at much pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a small rod, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it." The materials used in dyeing they found among their native hills, and the colours produced are found to have stood admirably. Bark of alder was used for black, and that of willow produced a flesh colour. *Crotil geal*, a lichen found on stone, yielded a pretty crimson, and *crotil dubh* gave a permanent philamot, while a root called rue was much used for red.

The references to the use of tartan by James V., of which we have spoken, are to be found in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, under date August, 1538. They are of special interest as introducing us, for the first time in Scottish literature, to another form of Highland dress, viz., the *truise*, with the

Highland shirt and Highland coat. The principal entries are as follows :—

"Item in the first for ii elnis ane quarter elne of variant cullorit velvet to be the Kingis Grace ane schort *Heland* coit. . . .

"Item for iij elnis of *Heland tartane* to be hoiss to the Kingis Grace. . . [The truis is here meant ; the stockings were short hose].

"Item for xv elnis of holland claith to be syde Heland sarkis to the Kingis Grace. . . ."

As Taylor the Water Poet tells us (1618), the Highlanders expected those who went a hunting in their country to go in the dress of the country, and, "if men be kind unto them and be in their habit, then are they conquered with kindnesse, and the sport will be plentiful." The items represented in the above entries constituted, we may believe, the principal parts of the dress of the King in his excursion in 1540 into the Highlands. The following quotation from Burt (1730) gives us a good idea of this form of dress. He says :—"The Highland dress consists of a bonnet made of thrum without a brim, a short coat, a waistcoat, longer by five or six inches, short stockings, and brogues, or pumps without heels." (In the case of the better clad Highlanders the above articles were used in Burt's day indifferently with kilt or truise.) Then he proceeds :—"Few besides gentlemen wear the *trowze*,—that is the breeches and stockings all of one piece, and drawn on together ; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan or plaiding : this, with the sword and pistol, is called a *full dress*, and, to a well-proportioned man, with any tolerable air, it makes an agreeable figure."

Lieutenant Colonel Cleland, in his satirical poem upon the expedition of the Highland host in 1678, thus refers to the dress and accoutrements of the officers :—

"But those who were their chief Commanders,
As such who bore the pirnie standards,
Who led the van, and drove the rear,
Were right well mounted of their gear ;
With brogues, trues, and pirnie plaides,
With good blue bonnets on their heads,
Which on the one side had a flipe
Adorn'd with a tobacco pipe,

With durk, and snap work, and snuff mill,
A bagg which they with onions fill,
And, as their strik observers say,
A tupe horn fill'd with usquebay;
A slasht out coat beneath her plaids,
A targe of timber, nails, and hides;
With a long two-handed sword,
As good's the country can afford."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Disorder rampant—Release of Highland Chiefs—English Expedition to the West coast—Donald Dubh's negotiations with the English King—The Islanders in force at Knockfergus—Contemplated Second Expedition under Lennox—Death of Donald Dubh—Election of James Mac Donald as Lord of the Isles—Battle of "Blar-na-leine"—Execution of the Chiefs of Lochiel and Keppoch—The Highlanders at the Battle of Pinkie—The Fiery Cross—Chiefs summoned to Courts of Justice at Aberdeen—Proceedings against several Chiefs—Imprisonment of Huntly—Courts of Justice at Inverness—Imprisonment of the Earl of Caithness—Commission granted against the Mac Kays.

1542-1558.

ANOTHER period of minority consequent on the early death of King James V. in 1542, brought the kingdom once again into a state of distraction. For this condition of affairs the vacillating character of the Regent Arran and the intrigues of Henry VIII. of England were largely responsible. It was a time too when the religious opinions of the people were in a state of flux as between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism; and the actions of the leading men of the nation, when they were not controlled entirely by selfish personal considerations, were influenced, on the one hand, by the views they took of the demands of the English monarch, and on the other, by their leanings towards the established religion or towards the reformed. At this particular period in our history the two leading noblemen in the Highlands, the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, adhered unwaveringly to the national cause, and in so doing were, for a time, the allies of Cardinal Beaton, who, while championing the cause of Roman Catholicism, became the most active supporter of Scotland's independence.

To the Scottish barons who favoured the English interest it was of the utmost importance that the ability of Argyll and Huntly to assist the Cardinal should be lessened as far as might be, and to this end they made use of the natural enemies of these

noblemen in the Highlands and Islands. It was at this time that Donald Dubh, son of Angus and grandson of John, the last Lord of the Isles, once again, but by some means unknown, attained his liberty. Since 1506 this unfortunate chief had languished in a Lowland prison, but his spirit was still unsubdued, and now when he appeared once more among his people, he was welcomed with enthusiasm, and hailed as their legitimate leader. But the time was not opportune for engaging in active operations for the expulsion of Argyll and Huntly from those portions of the old Lordship of which they had become possessed, for the chiefs and hostages who had been imprisoned by James V. in 1540 were still in confinement, and a truce was therefore concluded between Donald Dubh and Argyll which should continue till May-day, 1543.

1543 A.D. During that year the chiefs and hostages were all liberated by the Regent at the instigation of Glencairn, and that with the express intention that they should harass the territories of Argyll, and so prevent the co-operation of the latter with the Cardinal. Of that purpose Glencairn was not disappointed, for in the month of August Donald Dubh led a force of eighteen hundred men into the country of Argyll, slaying many of his vassals and carrying off much plunder. Similar treatment seems to have been meted out, about the same time, to the vassals of the Earl of Huntly.

The following year the efforts of Henry of England for the renewal of the marriage treaty between the infant Queen of Scots and his son Edward, the which treaty had been ruptured by Henry's own violence, were supported by two maritime expeditions, one on the east coast, the other on the west. To follow the progress of the first of these expeditions does not come within our province, but it may be remarked that the brutal manner in which it was conducted, and that in conformity with the express injunctions of England's king, might well put to silence all unfavourable criticism as to the methods of warfare employed by the so-called savages of the Highlands. Even Burton thus characterises it :—" Unless we may find some parallel in Tartar or African history to the career of this expedition, it will scarce be possible to point to any so thoroughly destitute of all features of heroism or chivalry."

1544 A.D. The expedition to the west coast sailed in August from Bristol

under the command of the Earl of Lennox, and consisted of ten or twelve ships, having on board some six hundred soldiers—hackbutteers, archers, and pikemen. Operations were commenced by plundering Arran, and razing to the ground the Castle of Brodick, after which Bute, with the Castle of Rothesay, was taken possession of and retained by Sir Rise Mausell and Richard Broke for their royal master of England. Thence the Earl proceeded to his own district of the Lennox with the intention of taking over the Castle of Dunbarton from its governor, Stirling of Glorat, who was one of his own retainers, and whom he hoped to bribe with English gold. During his absence in England, however, the relationship of Glencairn and the Douglases to to Henry's cause had undergone a change, and a plot was laid for the entrapping of Lennox, to which Stirling was privy. Accompanied by a small retinue the Earl sought and found admission to the Castle, and then entered upon the preliminary negotiations, but observing certain suspicious circumstances, he quitted it hastily, leaving his gold behind. Nor had he gone any too soon, for shortly thereafter Sir George Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus, entered the town with four thousand Scots sent expressly to apprehend him. Ere quitting the Lennox there came to the Earl, Hollinshed tells us, seven score of Highlanders from the remoter parts of his earldom, under the command of Walter Mac Farlane of Tarbet—men who could speak the "Irishe and the English Scottish tongues—light footmen, well armed in shirtes of mayle, with bowes and two-handed swords." In the future operations these men were of much service.

Meantime the Earl of Argyll, with seven hundred men, had occupied the Castle of Dunoon, and, as Lennox was returning to Bute, he opened fire upon him with his artillery. Under cover of his ships Lennox landed, beat back the forces of Argyll with considerable loss to the latter, burnt the village, and plundered the church, into which the country people had, for safety, removed their goods and ornaments. A few days later he landed on other parts of the same coast, and there, as well as in Kintyre, Kyle, and Carrick, he did much damage, paying special attention to the territories of his quondam friend, the Earl of Glencairn.

Ere this expedition had sailed from the Western Islands, and set out on its return voyage to Bristol, Lennox laid the foundation of an alliance between the English King and the Islesmen.

It was an alliance that admirably suited both parties, for Donald Dubh was still bent on recovering those portions of the lordship which were owned by Huntly and Argyll, and, indeed, at this juncture took the opportunity of again ravaging these territories; while by Henry the desirableness of keeping these influential nobles actively employed within their own districts was recognised to the full, for it lessened their power at the centre of affairs to circumvent his projects. He therefore spared no pains to keep them so engaged. English gold had its value in the eyes of the Islesmen, as well as in the eyes of only too many of the Scottish nobility at that time, and there can be no doubt that it, as well as hatred to Argyll, and deep attachment to the representative of their old leaders, had much to do with the condition of affairs that now existed among the western Islesmen.

1545 A.D. The following year (1545) Lennox resumed negotiations with the Islesmen through one of his trusted vassals, Patrick Colquhoun, who had been for many years king's chamberlain in the Isles. These proceedings and the ravages of Donald and his friends were well known to the Government, and in June they issued a proclamation warning them against their treasonable proceedings, and setting forth that if they continued obstinate they would be invaded by "the whole body of the realm of Scotland, with the succours lately come from France." This proclamation, if it had any effect at all, simply hastened the alliance with England, and, realising its ineffectiveness, the Government with all speed set about the execution of processes of treason against the principal rebels.

Meantime Donald Dubh, who was known among his people as Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, pressed forward vigorously his negotiations with the English King, and on the 28th of July, with the consent of his barons and council, he granted a commission to two plenipotentiaries who should, under the guidance of the Earl of Lennox, treat with that monarch. The original document is, as remarked by Tytler, a diplomatic curiosity, not one of the eighteen chiefs—Mac Donalds, Mac Leans, Mac Leods, Mac Neil, Mac Kinnon, Mac Quarrie—whose names are appended, being able to write his own name. From this it is very evident that the effort made in 1496 towards the resuscitation of education in Scotland had little effect in the Highlands, and that the descendants of those who had been educated in the Columban

monasteries of the olden times had distinctly retrograded. The plenipotentiaries were, however, men of education—Ruari Mac Allaster Mac Donald (brother of John of Moydert), Dean of Morvern; and Patrick Mac Lean (brother to Mac Lean of Duart), Justiciar of the Isles, and Bailie of Icolmkill.

A week after this commission had been granted we find the Chiefs of the Isles at Knockfergus, in Ireland, where they arrived with a force of four thousand men, and a hundred and eighty galleys. There, in presence of two commissioners sent by the Earl of Lennox, and of the constable, mayor, and magistrates of that town, they took the oath of allegiance to the King of England, "at the command of the said Earl of Lennox," who claimed the regency of Scotland, and whose claim they had already and consistently acknowledged as *de jure* Regent.

At this time some eight thousand men of the Isles were in arms, four thousand having been also marshalled for home service, with a view to keeping in check the Earls of Huntly and Argyll. Those who had gone to Ireland we find described in the original despatches of the Irish Privy Council to Henry as "three thousand of them very tall men, clothed, for the most part, in habergeons of mail, armed with long swords and long bows, but with few guns; the other thousand, tall maryners, that rowed in the galleys."

In connection with these proceedings Donald Dubh had already received from Henry a gift of one thousand crowns, and the promise of a pension of two thousand crowns a year, besides "certaine rich apparel of cloth of gold and silver" from the Earl of Lennox; and when the plenipotentiaries had arrived at the English Court with letters from the Island Lord, definite arrangements for the future were made on the 4th September. These arrangements 1545 A.D.
bore that Donald Dubh should assist the Earl of Lennox with a force of eight thousand men in a contemplated expedition against Scotland. Of these forces three thousand of them were to receive pay from the King of England for two months, while to Donald Dubh his annual pension was confirmed, and Henry engaged that in any treaty that might be contracted between England and Scotland he and his followers should be included.

Meantime the island forces tarried in Ireland daily expecting the Earl of Lennox, whose presence was at the same time equally necessary on the Borders, where Hertford was entering upon a

second barbarous invasion. Impatient at the delay, and anxious about home affairs, the Lord of the Isles returned with his forces to Scotland, and shortly thereafter disputes among the chiefs as to the distribution of the English pay which had just been landed in Mull, led to the break up of the army, and the consequent collapse of the contemplated expedition.

To Lennox the turn affairs had now taken was mortifying in the extreme, and his first step on his arrival in Dublin, was to despatch Patrick Colquhoun to ascertain the exact position of affairs, and to assist, if that were practicable, in bringing the isles-
1545 A.D. men together again. On the 17th of November he himself loosed from Dublin with the Irish squadron, but how far he proceeded towards his contemplated destination is not known. That destination was Dunbarton, the castle of which he was still extremely desirous of securing. Already he had despatched his brother, the ex-Bishop of Caithness, to endeavour to arrange with the Constable for its delivery, but Stirling was, for the time being, incorruptible, and declared his intention to hold it against all parties for his youthful Queen alone.

Learning of the presence of the Bishop in the Castle it was immediately besieged by Arran, Huntly and Argyll, but they failed to take it, and recourse was had by Cardinal Beaton and Huntly to a stronger means still of opening castle gates, viz., bribery. By promises of high reward Stirling was corrupted and yielded up the fortress, while even the ex-Bishop was induced to prove false to his own brother by the promise of restoration to his former see. A knowledge of this important event seems to have led to Lennox and Ormond's immediate return to Ireland, without accomplishing anything, while about the same time Donald Dubh died of a fever at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin. That same year the estates of Lennox were forfeited by Parliament, and large portions of them were conferred on the Earl of Argyll, in recognition of his faithful adherence to the cause of his country.

Donald Dubh left no legitimate issue, but there was a bastard son, on whose behalf, however, no claim to the succession seems to have been made. In these circumstances, the representation of the Lords of the Isles centred in the chief of the family of Sleat, but he was a minor, and this fact, with other considerations, induced the Islanders to choose for their leader at this

juncture, one who had not been, actively at least, engaged with them in recent affairs, though his brother Angus had been involved in them. This was James Mac Donald of Islay, a man of considerable power and influence—"a brave young man, with great strength of kinsmen," as he is described by Ewin Allanson of Lochiel. But the new self-styled Lord of the Isles had by no means the same support as his predecessor, and many of the chiefs, recognising the altered circumstances, made their peace with the Regent.

At the expense of the King of England, Donald Dubh was buried in Ireland by the Earl of Lennox, amid great magnificence. This accomplished, Lennox despatched messengers to the Isles with the news of the event, and on the 10th of February, 1546, 1546 A.D. these couriers returned to Dublin accompanied by an envoy from James Mac Donald with a view to his being taken to the English king, to whom he was instructed to submit certain proposals. At this time it was the purpose of Lennox to engage in yet another expedition to the west coast of Scotland, and in this the new lord was perfectly ready to join him with his kinsmen and allies—the Clanranald, the Clancameron, the Clanian, the Clandonald, north and south, and Alan Mac Lean of Gigha and Torloisk, brother to Mac Lean of Duart, and better known as the free-booter Alein-nan-sop, or Alan of the Straw. In return for this assistance, James Mac Donald desired that the pension settled upon his predecessor should be granted to him, but nothing came of the proposals, and ere long Mac Donald dropped the title of Lord of the Isles, and became again an obedient subject. He was the last to bear the once proud title, and from this time no attempt seems to have been made to revive the ancient dynasty of the Isles. Henceforth dissension increasingly prevailed among the constituent tribes of the Lordship, and, having no common object, and no common head to give them unity of purpose and bind them together, each sought alone the welfare of his own clan, and each clan fattened on the misfortunes of the other.

Two years earlier than the date of these last events, Huntly was called upon, as Lieutenant in the north, to actively interfere in a clan quarrel between the Clanranald of Moydert and the Frasers. The circumstances were these. Among the chiefs who

had been captured by James V. in 1540, and detained in prison for several years, was John Moydertach, the elected chief of the Clan Ranald. John's father was Alaster Allanson, uncle of Dugald Mac Ranald who, while chief, had been assassinated by his clan on account of his cruelties. This Dugald left several children, but, as they were young, Alaster was elected to the chiefship, and on his death was succeeded by his bastard son John Moydertach, who was successful in procuring charters to the estates. When, in 1540, John was placed in confinement, there appeared another claimant to the estates in the person of Ranald Galda, half-brother of Dugald Mac Ranald. Ranald's mother was a Fraser. Carefully concealing the fact that certain sons of Dugald were in life, Lord Lovat and the Frasers succeeded in procuring a conveyance of the estates by new charters to Ranald Galda, but on the liberation of John Moydertach, Ranald, who was not popular, was expelled from Moydert, while John was again acknowledged as chief, and accepted even by the sons of Dugald, the eldest of whom—Allan—acquired Morar, and transmitted it to his descendants. Learning that Lovat purposed reasserting by force the rights of his kinsman Ranald Galda, the Clanranald determined to anticipate him, and, assisted by the Keppoch tribe and by the Camerons of Lochiel, speedily overran the Fraser territory of Abertarf and Stratherrick, and the Grant lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, possessing themselves of Castle Urquhart, and giving evidence of their intention of permanently occupying these districts. Such an invasion demanded the intervention of Huntly, and supported by Lord Lovat, the Laird of Grant, and Ranald Galda he set forward, only to find that the intruders had retreated to the hills. The Lieutenant's forces had therefore little difficulty in penetrating as far as Inverlochy, and in nominally restoring Moydert into the possession of Ranald.

His main object accomplished, Huntly now retraced his steps and proceeded towards Strathspey by the Braes of Lochaber and Badenoch. Till their arrival at the mouth of Glenspean all the Royal forces retired in company, but here Lord Lovat, contrary to advice, and reckless of probable consequences, broke off from the main body with his vassals numbering some four hundred men, and determined to proceed by the shorter road through his own lands of Abertarf and Stratherrick. Ranald Galda accom-

panied him, but they had not proceeded far ere they had reason to regret their temerity, for to the Clanranald their intentions were well known from close observation, and the splendid opportunity which presented itself of intercepting and cutting off those who were his enemies, was too good to be let slip by John Moydertach. Accordingly, in seven companies, with banners displayed, he pushed forward his force of five hundred men towards the head of Loch Lochy, and soon the conviction was forced upon Lovat that nothing remained for him but to fight. Hoping to secure his retreat in case of defeat, he took the precaution of despatching a body of men about one hundred strong to occupy a pass in the hills, but their commander missed his way, and was not able to render the main body any assistance when, later, they were obliged to seek safety in flight. The fight was one to the death, only one gentleman of the name of Fraser (James Fraser of Foyers, who was left for dead) and four ordinary clansmen surviving the bloody encounter. But the Frasers, who were in large proportion gentlemen of the clan, and consequently better armed than their opponents, sold their lives dearly, and the Clanranald suffered very severely, though none of their leaders seem to have fallen. From the fact that the combatants, after discharging their arrows, threw off their upper garments on account of the great heat, and fought in their shirts, the battle-field received the name of "Blar-na-leine," or the battle-field of shirts. Though the scene of strife received this distinctive name, the circumstance which gave rise to it was no solitary example, for it was quite a common custom for the Highlanders, more particularly in warm weather, to disencumber themselves of at least a portion of their upper garments ere entering upon the fight at close quarters. The peculiarly simple adjustment of the Highland dress afforded, of course, special advantages for thus conveniently giving freedom to their movements. Alexander Mac Donald, the brilliant Gaelic poet of the middle years of the eighteenth century, thus characterises it:—

> "Who is so trim as a kilted laddie?
> Tight his gear, and light his adorning.
> With only a buckle his breast to fasten
> When he leaps to his feet in the morning."

A similar circumstance to that witnessed at Blar-na-leine characterised the action of the Scots at the battle of Mechlin in

Holland, fought some years later (1578), and is commemorated in the historical plan of the battle by the explanatory note, "Here the Scots fought naked." But, indeed, fighting with little clothing seems to have been an early characteristic of the Celtæ, and Diodorus tells us that they despised death, and fought with only a slight covering around the loins.

On learning of the disaster to Lovat, Huntly retraced his steps to Lochaber and wasted the lands of the rebels, but failed to capture any of the leaders.

1546 A.D. Two years later, however, vengeance overtook two of them, viz., Ewin Cameron of Lochiel and Ranald Mac Donald Glas of Keppoch, both of whom had been again active in more recent rebellions. The instrument of their capture was William Mac Intosh, captain of the Clanchattan. Before a jury of landed gentlemen they were tried at Elgin on a charge of high treason, and found guilty. Both of them were beheaded and their heads set over the gates of the town as a warning to others, while several of their followers were at the same time hanged. In the course of this year processes of treason which had, in the previous year, been instituted against the Island chiefs, were departed from, and quieter times ensued. Till the year 1548, however, when circumstances of State induced the Regent to pardon them, John Moydertach and the others who had been concerned in the slaughter of the Frasers, were looked upon as outlaws.

1547 A.D. In the year 1547 there was fought the disastrous battle of Pinkie. Anticipating difficulties in the matter of marshalling a sufficient army to repel the English, on account of the fatigue of perpetual fighting to which the people had been subjected for several years, Arran, in the summoning of his army, had recourse to an expedient which, doubtless, was in earlier times frequently resorted to throughout Scotland generally, but by this time had ceased to be employed in the Lowlands. The expedient was the Fiery Cross. "Fastened to the point of a spear the Celtic gathering symbol," says Tytler, "was transmitted by the heralds and pursuivants throughout every part of the realm: from town to town, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, the ensanguined symbol flew with astonishing rapidity; and such was its effect, that in a wonderfully short space of time an army

of thirty-six thousand men assembled near Musselburgh." Speaking of the cross the same writer says it was "constructed of two slender rods of hazel formed into the shape of a cross, the extremities seared in the fire, and extinguished, when red and blazing, in the blood of a goat slain for the occasion." Its characteristics are somewhat differently described by General Stewart in his *Sketches*. He says:—"The Cross Teine, or Fiery Cross [was] a piece of wood burnt or burning at one end, with a piece of linen or white cloth stained with blood hanging from the other." That this old warlike symbol took its origin in pagan times there can be little doubt, and on many a momentous occasion when, with wonderful celerity, it passed from hand to hand along the straths and among the hills, the awe with which it was regarded was evidenced by the willing obedience that was rendered to its summons.

In connection with the battle of Pinkie, it is not a little surprising to find a considerable body of Highlanders and Islanders engaged in it, and that under the command of the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, who were the relentless enemies of many of them. On the right wing were four thousand West Highlanders under Argyll, and on the left the Islesmen with Mac Leod of Dunvegan, Mac Gregor, and other chiefs. Beague thus speaks of their bearing on this occasion:—"The Highlanders, who show their courage on all occasions, gave proof of their conduct at this time, for they kept together in one body, and made a very handsome and orderly retreat. They are armed with broadswords, large bows and targets."

Under the inspiration of the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, who was desirous of increasing the power of the Government over the Highland chiefs by means somewhat on the lines of those adopted by James V., the Regent summoned the chiefs to meet him at Aberdeen, where he proposed holding, on the 17th June, 1552, Courts of Justice, "rather," says Lesley, "for staying of troubles in tymes to cum than for rigorous punishment of any offences by-past." Neither at Aberdeen nor at a court held the following month in Inverness, did John Moydertach or Ewin Beg, chief of the Camerons, present themselves. Indeed, both of them would seem to have treated the summons with proud contempt. To punish these chiefs, commissions were granted both to Argyll 1552 A.D.

and Huntly, the former to act against the Clanranald, and the latter against the Clancameron. In prosecution of his commission, Huntly passed into Lochaber in August. Whether or not Ewin Beg was executed by Huntly we cannot tell, as the proceedings of the latter are not recorded, but in any case the chief died about this time, and was succeeded by his brother Donald Dubh. As regards John Moydertach, proceedings against him were deferred till the following February, on the understanding that he would appear, according to promise, before the Privy Council by that time, failing which Argyll was anew instructed to carry out the original commands.

But time passed and others had to be dealt with besides John Moydertach, for the heir of Sleat, Mac Leod of Lewis, and certain associates had failed to forward their hostages conform to conditions imposed upon them in the summer of 1552. Accord-
1554 A.D. ingly in June, 1554, shortly after the Queen Dowager had definitely assumed the regency, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll were commanded to proceed against these clans, by sea and land, and promptly to exterminate them. In spite of these instructions little was accomplished. Why Argyll should have failed we know not, as he was supplied by the Regent with a ship and artillery. Huntly's failure was due in large measure to a circumstance which had occurred in the year 1550. In that year Huntly accompanied the Queen-mother to France. Just as he was on the eve of leaving for the south, however, intimation was made to him of a conspiracy that was being hatched against him, of which conspiracy William Mac Intosh, captain of the Clanchattan, was the head. This chief was seized by the Earl, convicted by a jury at Aberdeen, and sentenced to death, his lands being also forfeited. "Notwithstanding," says Gregory, "a pledge to the contrary, Mac Intosh was executed soon after by the Countess of Huntly, and, as was generally believed, at the instigation of the Earl. By an Act of Parliament, 14th December, 1557, the above sentence against Mac Intosh was reversed as illegal." On the person who was believed to have been the betrayer of Mac Intosh, a near kinsman named Lachlan Mac Intosh, the clan speedily took summary vengeance, for they put him to death in his castle of Pettie, and capped their idea of justice by banishing all his dependants from the clan territory.

This circumstance of the death of the Captain of Clanchattan

it was which was mainly responsible for Huntly's inability to carry out his instructions against the recalcitrant chiefs. In the ranks of his army were many of the Clanchattan, and a considerable number of Lowlanders. These latter when asked to proceed into the Highlands refused, unless they could go mounted, and this the nature of the country did not permit of. The result was the disbanding of the forces at Abertarf, for Huntly would not, in these circumstances, trust himself with the Clanchattan, whose feelings of resentment he well knew.

On his return south Huntly was imprisoned, and, in consequence of the enquiry into his general conduct which followed, he was made to renounce some of his more recent acquisitions—the Earldoms of Mar and Moray, and the gift of the ward and marriage of Mary Mac Leod, the heiress of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, which he had received from the Regent Arran. His punishment involved also his banishment to France for five years, but a payment of five thousand pounds relieved him of this necessity, and he was liberated the following March.

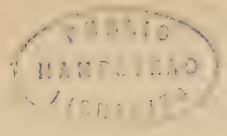
In the month of June, 1555, the Earls of Argyll and Atholl were granted a commission over the Isles. Two months earlier a process of treason had been instituted against Ruari Mac Leod of Lewis, and shortly after the appointment of Argyll and Atholl a respite was given to Ruari in respect of certain offers he had made through Argyll. Through the agency of Atholl, John Moydertach, two of his sons, and some of his kinsmen, voluntarily appeared before the Regent, who graciously forgave them their past offences. They were, however, ordered to remain meantime, some at Perth, and some at the castle of Methven, till they should receive further commands; but a short time of this semi-imprisonment sufficed for the freedom-loving Highlanders, and they made their escape to the west—a proceeding which by no means gratified the Regent. 1555 A.D.

As the result of this abuse of leniency the Regent, accompanied by the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, and Atholl, the Earl Marischal, the Bishops of Ross and Orkney, and others of the Privy Council, repaired in July, 1556, to Inverness, where Courts of Justice were held, and severe punishment meted out to all offenders on whom hands could be laid. For the production of the subordinate criminals the chiefs were, in accordance with earlier regulations, strictly held responsible, and there can be no doubt that much 1556 A.D.

good was effected by this visit to the north, although John Moydertach seems to have escaped.

1556 A.D. Among the noblemen of the north who came to the Regent at Inverness were John, Earl of Sutherland, and George, Earl of Caithness. The latter, having neglected or declined to bring the delinquents among his people to justice, was committed to prison at Inverness, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh successively, and it was not till he had paid a considerable sum that he regained his liberty. A worse offender was Y Mac Kay of Farr, who, though summoned to appear to answer for deeds of spoliation committed by him in Sutherland, while Earl John was absent in France, declined to do so. To the Earl a commission was thereupon granted to bring Mac Kay to justice. Mac Kay ultimately surrendered himself prisoner, but not till much mutual ravaging of territory had been committed, with the total demolition also of the castle of Borve, the principal strength of the Mac Kays in Strathnaver, and the hanging of its commander. But notwithstanding the imprisonment of their chief, the Mac Kays were not intimidated, and under their new leader, John Mor Mac Kay, they took advantage of the Earl's absence in the south, to spoil and waste the eastern corner of the shire, and to burn the chapel of St. Ninian. But matters assumed a different aspect when, under cover of a fog, the Sutherlands surprised and attacked the invaders at the foot of Ben Mor in Berriedale, and, after an obstinate resistance, defeated them with great slaughter.

On release from imprisonment Y Mac Kay joined the Scottish army on the Borders, and did good service against the English. But later he committed sins of the deepest dye by murdering a neighbouring chieftain in order that he might gratify his lust. Yet he seems to have escaped punishment at the hands of the law, and to have submitted himself to the Earl of Sutherland, with whom he continued to live in peace.



CHAPTER XXX.

Argyll's relations with Mary Mac Leod, the heiress of Harris—The Hebridean Scots in Ireland—Duart's molestation of Coll—Feud between the Mac Donalds of Islay and the Mac Leans—Queen Mary's excursions to the North—Great Royal Hunt in Glen Tilt—Retiral of Moray into Argyllshire—Clan quarrels in Mary's reign—Poisoning of the Earl and Countess of Sutherland—Miserable intrigues of the Earl of Caithness—The Highlanders at the Battle of Langside—Issue of the first book printed in a Celtic tongue—Bishop Carswell's labours—His reference to Ossianic literature—The bards and their poetry—The place of the Celt in literature—The Book of the Dean of Lismore—Subsequent publications of Ossianic poetry—Other early Gaelic literature.

1558-1568 A.D.

ARCHIBALD, fourth Earl of Argyll, died in the year 1558, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, Lord Lorne, by whom the cause of the Reformation was taken up with great zeal. To embroil the new Earl with the Islanders and thus, if possible, to lessen his influence, the Regent bestowed the disposal of the heiress Mary Mac Leod (to whom we have already referred) upon James Mac Donald of the Isles, who was married to the Lady Agnes Campbell, sister to the late Earl. The move, however, failed of its purpose, and uncle and nephew continued on a footing of friendship.

A few years later Mary Mac Leod was a maid of honour to Queen Mary, and was possibly one of the Queen's celebrated *Maries*. The formal guardianship of this lady was finally made over by James Mac Donald to the Earl of Argyll, whose father, indeed, had been set on securing her wardship from Huntly for a large sum of money, but had been unsuccessful in his overtures. By Argyll she was now given in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck. In connection with this transaction Argyll, in characteristic fashion, secured from Tormod Mac Leod, the natural leader of the clan, his bond of service and that of his clan, in consideration of which, and the renouncement in the Earl's favour of his claim to the lands occupied by the Clan-

donald in Sleat, Trouterness, and North Uist, together with the payment of one thousand merks towards the dowry of his niece, Argyll engaged to secure from the heiress a surrender of her title, and to obtain for Tormod a Crown charter to the clan estates.

With the affairs of Scotland James Mac Donald had very little concern after the time when he surrendered his claim to the Lordship of the Isles. In connection with his relationship with the North of Ireland, however, he found, on several occasions, congenial occupation for his clansmen. In 1549 a body of Hebridean Scots came to the help of the Irish rebels against the English, but the effort was of little significance, as the rebellion was quelled on the defeat of two hundred of the Scots. Two years later James Mac Donald and his brother Coll occupied, with their followers, the island of Rathlin. There they were attacked by an officer named Bagnall, one of whose ships was wrecked and many of his men slain, while he himself was taken prisoner. To the Mac Donalds the capture was of importance, for it enabled them to exchange him speedily for a brother of the chief, who had been for some time in the hands of the English. A few years later (1555) an attempt to take the town of Knockfergus by a body of Hebridean Scots, acting in league with several of the leading Irish chiefs, were frustrated by the garrison. Some months later a force of Highlanders was sent by the Earl of Argyll to the assistance of Calvagh O'Donnell, who was at strife with his father, Mánus O'Donnell, Earl of Tirconnell, and in the month of November the latter was captured and committed to prison, where he remained till his death. Ere their dismissal in the following May, the Scots appear to have been engaged in a skirmish with the Captain of Claneboy, when the latter was slain.

The following year the Islanders were active in Ulster, but they sustained a severe defeat at the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant with a loss of two thousand slain and many prisoners. Nor did this serious loss check their incursions. Next year they were as forward as ever in the fight, and so persistent were their efforts, and so seriously were these efforts viewed, that an enactment was procured constituting it high treason for Scots to come into Ireland, or for any of the natives to receive them; while intermarriage without the Lord-Lieutenant's permission was to

be reckoned a felony. Of course such Acts did not answer expectation, and in August 1557 Sussex was compelled to march once more against the Scots, who were in force in their old quarters, under the command of James Mac Donald. The latter evaded the English, and allowed them free scope to despoil his territory to their heart's content. The year after, representations 1558 A.D.
were made to the Lord Lieutenant by Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, insisting on further active measures being taken for the expulsion of the Hebrideans, and suggesting that it should be effected through the united action of certain of their Irish neighbours—O'Donnell, O'Neill, and O'Cahan. But Sussex chose another method and, setting sail with a considerable force, he invaded and wasted Rathlin, after which he committed great ravages in Kintyre, Arran, and the Cumbraes; and then, on his way back to Dublin, "plundered and burnt several villages inhabited by the Scots in the County of Antrim." Notwithstanding these reprisals, we find a body of Islanders in Connaught later in the same year assisting the Bourkes against the Earl of Clanricarde, but the result was unfavourable to the Confederates, who were defeated with great slaughter. With a view to placing their relations on a better footing, Sussex opened negotiations with James Mac Donald through his brother, Sorley Buy Mac Donald, but these fell through, and ere long the Islanders were again in arms against the Irish Government.

Meantime certain disturbances in the Hebrides fall to be noticed. In the year 1561 Mac Lean of Dowart, taking advantage of the 1561 A.D.
absence of Mac Lean of Coll, caused the lands of the latter to be over-run and wasted, and his tenants to be imprisoned. The reason of this proceeding is to be found in the fact that Coll had definitely declined to follow and serve Dowart, the generally acknowledged head of the clan, in his private quarrels, as he held his lands directly of the Crown, and, as a free baron, owed service to it alone. For several years Coll was so harassed by Dowart that his people were almost brought to ruin, while the great influence of the chief made it difficult for the head of the subordinate house to get the situation inquired into. At length the Privy Council took the matter in hand and decided in favour of Coll. To him full reparation was to be made by Dowart, who was also instructed to cease molestation for the future.

Between the Mac Donalds of Islay and Kintyre and the

Mac Leans a feud also raged at this time. In this case the aggressors would appear to have been the Mac Leans, who occupied the Rhinns of Islay, and claimed to hold that district as Crown tenants. An incident of the feud was the invasion of Mull, Tiree, and Coll, by the Clandonald of Islay and the Clandonald of Sleat. When, in 1564, the matter came before the Privy Council, it was established by that body that Mac Donald was the Crown tenant, and that the Mac Leans could only hold the land as vassals of Mac Donald. To the haughty Mac Lean this decision was extremely galling, and it produced bitter fruit in the future. Even now so intense was the enmity of the rival chiefs that they were, in 1565, ordered to find sureties to the amount of ten thousand pounds each. Being on friendly terms, as well as connected by marriage with both of them, Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, became one of the sureties on either side.

This same year James Mac Donald of Islay met his death in Ireland, whither he had gone with a considerable body of followers to assist his brothers, Sorley Buy and Alexander Oig, who were hard pressed by their enemies. At this time Shane O'Neil had made his submission to the English Government, and with new-born zeal had turned his arms against his former associates, whom he now surprised and defeated with considerable slaughter, mortally wounding the chief of Islay, slaying his brother Angus, and taking prisoner Sorley Buy and many of his followers.

Not long after this event, however, the zealous O'Neil was again a rebel, and suffered defeat at the hands of the Government forces. Alarmed, later, at the extensive preparations which were made for his crushing, he now, in his despair, determined to seek refuge among his erstwhile enemies the Islanders, relying for kind treatment on Sorley Buy and the other prisoners whom he had set at liberty. At this juncture Alexander Oig was at Claneboy at the head of six hundred Scots, and to him O'Neil presented himself and claimed protection. To the Irish chief a kindly welcome was accorded, and a great entertainment prepared for him, but while the feast was proceeding a dispute arose over some rash words spoken by O'Neil's secretary, and then supported by O'Neil. The upshot was that some of the Scots took advantage of the dispute to avenge the death of their late chief, and, rushing into the tent, killed both O'Neil and the

offending secretary. The following year Alexander Oig was slain in battle by Torlogh Luineach, the successor of Shane O'Neil, and thus the latter was in turn avenged.

In the year 1562 the enormous power of Huntly, and his capabilities of mischief so impressed themselves upon the Government that in that year Queen Mary, accompanied by her half-brother the Earl of Moray, set out upon a progress northward as far as Inverness. Of this expedition Randolph, writing to Cecil, gives a spirited description, though he characterises the journey as a "terrible" one. The Queen he represents as in the highest spirits, regretting "(when the lords and others came in the morning from the watche), that she was not a man to know what life it was to lye all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and knapschalle, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword." Arrived at Inverness they found the royal castle audaciously closed against them. During its siege, however, the Clans Chattan, Fraser, and Munro deserted the banner of Huntly, and joined the forces of Moray, and ere long the fortress was surrendered, and its governor hanged. The desertion of these clans led shortly thereafter to the easy defeat of Huntly at the battle of Corrichie. Huntly was taken prisoner, but fell dead almost immediately thereafter. On the treatment of the body, by an adept, with "vinegar, aqua vitæ, powders, odours," and other necessaries for prevention of putrefaction, it was conveyed to Edinburgh in order that the doom of forfeiture might be pronounced upon it. 1562 A.D.

The following year Mary made a pleasure excursion into Argyll, and in her progress towards the West, had the opportunity of witnessing, in Glen Tilt, a great royal hunt organised by the Earl of Atholl for the entertainment of the Queen and Court. It was, we may believe, one of the few bright incidents in the troubled life of the unfortunate Queen. How great the event was may be judged from the fact that, as Professor Barclay, who was present as a young man, tells us, "Two thousand Highlanders, or wild Scotch, as you call them here, were employed to drive to the hunting ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Athole, Badenoch, Mar, Murray, and the counties about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly that in 1563 A.D.

less than two month's time they brought together 2,000 red deer, besides roes and fallow deer. The Queen, the great men, and others were in a glen when all the deer were brought before them. Believe me, the whole body of them moved forward in something like battle order. This sight still strikes me, and ever will, for they had a leader whom they followed close wherever he moved. . . . There were killed that day 360 deer, with five wolves and some roes." Sometimes on such occasions a great fence of stakes and intertwined brush-wood was formed surrounding, on all but one side, an enclosure into which the deer were driven. Such an enclosure was called an *elerig*, and from some eminence over-looking it (Craggan-an-Elrig) those who did not choose to engage in the chase were spectators of the scenes enacted in the amphitheatre beneath. In 1564 Mary proceeded again to the North, and on this occasion reached Inverness.

Few events of general interest appear to have occurred within the Highland area during the reign of Mary. In connection with his opposition to the marriage of the Queen with Darnley, the
1565 A.D. Earl of Moray retired into Argyllshire in August, 1565, where he was joined by Argyll with a considerable number of his followers. To the Earl of Atholl was entrusted the task of proceeding against these rebels, and among the chiefs who were summoned to join his standard were Ruari Mac Leod of the Lewis, Tormod Mac Leod of Harris, Donald Gormeson of Sleat, and Kenneth Mac Kenzie of Kintail. Offensive proceedings were, however, stayed by the descent of the rebels into the Lowlands, and the speedy collapse of the insurrection.

But though Highland events of general interest were few, clan quarrels were by no means lacking throughout the reign, and particularly towards its close. Between the Munros and Mac Kenzies a feud raged for several years over the possession of the castle and castle-lands of the Chanonry of Ross. For three years, and at the expense of many lives, the Munros defended the castle, but at length they yielded it up to the Mac Kenzies, and so the strife was stayed. At this time many significant entries occur in the "Chronicles of Fortingall" regarding the Clan Gregor, who were largely in evidence. In 1563 the Earl of Atholl was instructed by the Privy Council to hunt them out of his bounds of Atholl, Strathardle, Glenshee, and Dunkeld, where they were sheltered by the proprietors, and especially by the

Robertsons of Straloch, Spaldings of Ashintully, and the Clan Ferguson. In the following note from the same Chronicle, of date 1565, we have a short picture which tells of much violence and distress :—"Great hayrschyppiss in mony partis of Scotland, in Stratherne, in Lennox, in Glenalmond, in Braydalbin, bayth slattyr and oppressyon beant mayd in syndry udyr partis by the erll of Ergill and McGregor, and their complices. Siclyk in Strathardil mony men slayn be the men of Atholl and the Stuartis of Lorn." Of no less significance is the following, which is eloquent of many and varied miseries :—"Evyl haryst, evyl wyntyr, evyl Merche, contynual wet ; ther wes wyer betwyxt my Lord of Argyll and my Lord of Awtholl, and great spwytion mayd by the men of Lochabyr on pwyr men. God see til that." In these distressing circumstances many would doubtless join heartily in the pathetic prayer of Lismore's worthy Dean.

In the year 1565 a tragedy of a striking character was enacted in a more northern district. Actuated by hatred to John, Earl of Sutherland, George, Earl of Caithness, is said to have instigated his cousin, Isobel Sinclair, wife of Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, to poison Sutherland and his countess and their only son, Alexander Gordon. The Countess was soon to give birth to another child. Had the plot succeeded in its entirety the earldom, it was expected, would have gone to John Gordon, eldest son of Isobel, as being the next heir male. Isobel had thus a considerable inducement to stimulate her to the commission of the abominable deed. Soon an occasion presented itself, and one night when at supper in her house at Helmsdale it was contrived that Earl John and his Countess should partake of a poisoned draught. Alexander Gordon escaped the fate of his parents through having been late for supper, on account of having been out hunting, and when he did appear he was sent home supperless by his father, whose suspicions had been, ere this, aroused. Five days thereafter the Earl and Countess died at Dunrobin. But three days ere this had occurred, a similar fate had overtaken him who, by his ambitious mother, had been designed for the earldom ; for, on the day on which the unfortunate visitors had been poisoned, a draught of the same liquid had been, unwittingly, given to the young man by one of his mother's servants. This fact served to bring guilt home to Isobel, who was arrested, tried in Edinburgh, and con- 1565 A.D.

demned to death. She, however, died from illness on the day appointed for her execution, cursing, ere she departed, the Earl of Caithness as the base instigator of the diabolical act.

After this tragic event the Earl of Caithness still pursued his nefarious purposes towards the Sutherland family, and their allies the Murrays. Y Mac Kay he incited to invade the earldom and commit many outrages, while he himself with the assistance of Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, obtained possession of the young Earl, and carried him off into his own country. There Sutherland, though only fifteen years of age, was forced to marry Lady Barbara Sinclair, a daughter of Caithness—a mature woman of thirty-two. This step Caithness followed up by taking possession of Dunrobin Castle, in which he fixed his residence. Here he seized and burned as many of the Sutherland legal documents as he could lay his hands on, and to increase his influence he, for imaginary crimes, barbarously disabled and expelled many of the leading families, as well as put many of the inhabitants to death.

Meanwhile his daughter, the Countess of Sutherland, had renewed a previously-formed licentious connection with Y Mac Kay, with the result that the Earl did not live on friendly terms with her. Recognising the significance of this fact, and coming to the conclusion that there appeared no chance of any issue, Caithness basely designed the death of the young Earl, to be followed by the marriage of Lady Margaret Gordon, the eldest sister of Sutherland, to his second son, William Sinclair. After having communicated the necessary instructions, Caithness left for Edinburgh with a view to averting suspicion, but the secret was revealed to some of Sutherland's friends, and, in the disguise of a
1569 A.D. pedlar, Alexander Gordon of Sidderay gained access to the Earl and arranged with him a plan of escape, which was safely carried out the following day during an excursion in the neighbourhood.

The disappointment of Caithness at this defeat of his plans found vigorous expression on his return to the North in renewed oppression of the friends of Earl Alexander, and the Murrays were among the chief sufferers. Ultimately, with a view to bringing about a cessation of hostilities, a treaty was concluded between them and John, Master of Caithness, and three hostages, sons of their leading men, were delivered up by the Murrays. These hostages the barbarous Earl of Caithness later basely

beheaded, after having refused to ratify the treaty. As a result of this outrage, the Murrays and other friends of the Sutherlands left their homes for a time, and took refuge in other districts until the tide of fortune should turn. Earl Alexander himself now took up his abode in Strathbogie, and not till he became of age were any steps taken towards the recovery of his possessions. Such were some of the bitter fruits of a weak government.

The first forward step of the friends of the Sutherlands was an endeavour to detach Mac Kay from his alliance with Caithness, but just as the negotiations were about to be completed Mac Kay drew back under the influence of the unfaithful wife of the Earl of Sutherland, with whom he still maintained illicit relations. Shortly afterwards Mac Kay and the Master of Caithness fell under the suspicion of the Earl of Caithness who, rightly or wrongly, suspected them of having designs on his life. On the advice of Mac Kay the young Master submitted himself to his father's pleasure, but he had no sooner arrived at Girnigo (Castle Sinclair) than he was arrested by the ferocious Earl, fettered and thrust into prison in the castle, where he remained a miserable prisoner for seven years, when he died, a prey to famine and vermin. Y Mac Kay, his ally, met with a speedier end, for on parting with John Sinclair he returned to Strathnaver, where he died within four months, of grief and remorse, it is said, for the many bad actions of his life.

During this period we find the inhabitants of the Highlands bearing a part in national matters, and in the Battle of Langside (1568) bodies of Highlanders fought both on the side of the Queen and on the side of Moray. Speaking of the action of the Lennox men on this occasion, Holinshed says—"In this battle the valliancie of ane Highland gentleman named Macfarlane stood the Regent's part in great stead, for in the hottest brunte of the fight he came in with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and so manfully gave in upon the flank of the Queen's people that he was a great cause of disordering of them."

The year 1567 will be ever memorable in the annals of Gaelic literature as witnessing the publication at Edinburgh of the first book ever printed in the Gaelic language, or, indeed, in any of 1567 A.D.

1567 A.D. the Celtic tongues. That book was the Liturgy or Book of Common Order, which, two years previously, had been prepared and issued by John Knox for the use of the Scottish Reformed Church. Its translator into Gaelic was John Carswell, a native of Carnassarie, Kilmartin, a leading churchman of the west, who had embraced the reformed doctrines in 1560, and was in the same year nominated by Parliament Superintendent of Argyll and the Isles. (To plant kirks, schools, and colleges, and visit the same; to suspend, deprive, and transplant ministers; and to eradicate all monuments of idolatry in the bounds assigned to them, were the terms of the commission given to these superintendents.) Four years later (1564), Carswell forsook Presbyterianism and became titular bishop of the Isles, though he does not seem to have been ever canonically consecrated. It was while holding this office that he carried out his important work of translation. His apology for his work is as humble as it is unnecessary. He says, "If I saw any man of the Gael of Alban or Eirind that should undertake in aid of the Church of God to translate this book into the Gaelic language in which men could understand it, it would be very grateful to me, and I would not undertake the work; but since none such has been found, or if there be, I do not know him, who will undertake it out of love to God and to the Church with more ability than my means and my power can bring to it, I hope that God will aid me in my defects and ignorance. . . . If any learned man find faults in this writing or composing of this little book, let him excuse me, for I never acquired any knowledge of the Gaelic except as any of the people generally." The dialect Carswell employed was common at that time to both Irish and Scottish writers.

Of this interesting production only three copies are said to exist. The most perfect one, indeed the only entire one, is carefully guarded in Inveraray Castle as one of the most precious treasures which it contains. One imperfect copy is in the library of the University of Edinburgh, and another in the British Museum. The work has, however, been reproduced (1873), under the editorship of Dr. Thomas MacLauchlan.

Not till the year 1631 does any other book appear to have been printed in the Gaelic language. That book was a translation of Calvin's Catechism. It seems probable that it also was the work of Carswell, though it was not printed till long after his death.

To the good Bishop the necessity for the production of such works as these, for use among his people and among the Highlanders generally, was very patent, for in the Epistle to the Reader, which he prefixed to the Liturgy, we find him, in an interesting and extremely significant fashion, lamenting the worldliness of the Gael, and their devotion to other forms of literature. He says, "Some of the literature of the Gael of Alban and Eireand is written in MSS. and in the remains of poets and bards, and great is the sin of composers, writers, and their supporters of Gaelic, in that they prefer vain, lying stories about the Tuath de Danond, about the sons of Milesius and his heroes, and about Fionn Mac Cuill and his Feine, and of many others whom I shall not describe—the writers of these, with the view to the obtaining for themselves passing worldly gains—rather than to write, compose, and support the faithful word of God and the perfect way of truth." With feelings such as these towards the old poems and prose tales of the Highlanders, we can imagine Carswell and such of the clergy as sympathised with his ideas, making short work of any manuscripts of that nature that fell into their hands, and we can readily surmise the destruction of interesting and valuable material that may have resulted from the carrying out of such feelings into practical effect.

In this complaint penned by Carswell we find reference, it will be observed, to the heroes of the so-called Ossianic poetry, and were it not that the subject is both thorny and unproductive of very definite results, we might consider it fitting to take the opportunity that here presents itself of girding on our claymore, and entering the lists in the great undecided Ossianic controversy. We will content ourselves, however, by simply touching upon its fringe. Of the existence of bards among the Celtic peoples from very early times there can be no doubt. Speaking of bards and druids Lucan, about the fiftieth year of our era, and addressing those Celts who, for a time, had been under the pressure of Rome, but who were then left free to their own devices owing to the Roman civil war, exclaims:—"Ye too, ye bards, who by your praises perpetuate the memory of the fallen brave, without hindrance poured forth your strains," &c., &c. Here we find the chief function of the bard recognised—the singing of heroic ballads, the which, all down the centuries, constituted, in fact, the chief pastime of the Celtic people to while away the dreary winter

nights. Nor was the fact that such ballads or lays were not the productions of learned men any indication that they might not be redolent of the true spirit of poetry; or the further fact that they were not committed to writing any bar to their perpetuation from generation to generation. Cæsar testified that the Druids, partly from a religious scruple, partly from a desire to discipline the memory of their pupils, committed nothing to writing, and the same conditions would probably be perpetuated in the bards. In dealing with such considerations Macaulay well says:— "... the arts of poetry and rhetoric may be carried near to absolute perfection, and may exercise a mighty influence on the public mind, in an age in which books are wholly or almost wholly unknown. ... It is probable that, in the Highland councils, men who would not have been qualified for the duty of parish clerks sometimes argued questions of peace and war, of tribute and homage, with ability worthy of Halifax and Caermarthen, and that, at the Highland banquets, minstrels who did not know their letters sometimes poured forth rhapsodies in which a discerning critic might have found passages, such as would have reminded him of the tenderness of Otway or of the vigour of Dryden."

That the Celt has in reality filled a worthy place in the evolution of literature is borne emphatic testimony to by many writers, and by none more heartily than by Matthew Arnold and Ernest Renan. The latter we find writing thus:—"Especially is it forgotten that this little people [the Celts], now concentrated on the very confines of the world, in the midst of rocks and mountains whence its enemies have been powerless to force it, is in the possession of a literature which, in the Middle Ages, exercised an immense influence, changed the current of European civilisation, and impressed its poetical motives on nearly the whole of Christendom." Further, speaking of the authentic monuments of Celtic genius, this masterly writer says that "nowhere has the eternal illusion clad itself in more seductive hues, and in the great chorus of humanity no race equals this for penetrative notes that go to the very heart." Arnold, too, while fully alive to the characteristic faults of Celtic poetry, faults which proceed from the Celt's want of patient strenuousness, is equally warm in his appreciation of those points in which he so notably excels. He speaks of the Celt's admirable gifts of quick perception and

warm emotions, his ardour, his passionate love of poetry, his splendid genius, and his production of short pieces, and snatches of longer poems, of singular beauty and power. *Style* he refers to as the most striking quality of the poetry of the Celt, and style the Celt possessed in wonderful measure, expressing his ideas with unsurpassable intensity, elevation, and effect. "The Celt's quick feeling for what is noble and distinguished gave his poetry style; his indomitable personality gave it pride and passion; his sensibility and nervous exaltation gave it a better gift still, the gift of rendering with wonderful felicity the magical charm of nature. . . . Of this delicate magic Celtic romance is so pre-eminent a mistress that it seems impossible to believe the power did not come into romance from the Celts. Rhyme—the most striking characteristic of our modern poetry as distinguished from that of the ancients, and a main source to our poetry, of magic and charm, of what we call its *romantic element*—rhyme itself, all the weight of evidence tends to show, comes into our poetry from the Celts." The ancient literature of Ireland Dr. Sigerson characterises as "the noblest monument which witnesses to the intellect of the ultra-Roman world."

In the present undecided state of the Ossianic controversy it is impossible to determine in what degree the ancient Gael of Scotland has contributed to the sum of this remarkable early Celtic literature. That Mac Pherson had a very substantial substratum of ancient Gaelic poetry to found his epoch-making work upon is a fact beyond cavil. Strip this work of whatever may be modern, or tawdry, or spurious about it, yet there will still be left in the book, as Arnold points out, "a residue with the very soul of the Celtic genius in it, and which has the proud distinction of having brought this soul of the Celtic genius into contact with the genius of the nations of modern Europe, and enriched all our poetry by it. Woody Morven, and echoing Sora, and Selma with its silent halls! we all owe them a debt of gratitude, and when we are unjust enough to forget it, may the Muse forget us!"

Our earliest written evidence of the existence of a poetical literature in the Highlands, such as we are accustomed to characterise as Ossianic, is to be found in that manuscript, which is, in fact, the oldest repository of song in Scotland, the Book of the Dean of Lismore. This precious, though much defaced, relic—a small quarto paper book bound in coarse sheepskin, measuring

about seven inches square and one and a quarter inch in thickness—has found a resting place in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. Dean James Mac Gregor, whose name the MS. bears, was a native of Fortingall, and died in the year 1551. His family were gifted with literary enthusiasm and taste, and in 1512 James, aided, it seems, by his brother Dougal, "the apprentice," began his work of compiling the two hundred and odd poems and scraps which are comprised in his volume.

The literary value of this collection to the Gaelic scholar can hardly be exaggerated for, as Skene remarks, it contains "the remains of an otherwise lost literature, . . . all that we can now recover of native composition current in the Highlands prior to the sixteenth century." "The volume," says Dr. Mac Lauchlan, "is full of interest, as presenting a view of the native literature of the Highlands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while it contains productions of a much earlier age. The fragments which it contains are both Scottish and Irish, showing how familiar the bardic schools were with the productions of both countries. Much of the contents consists of fragments of what is usually called Ossianic poetry—compositions by Ossian [nine are ascribed to him], by Fergus filidh, his brother, by Conall Mac Edirsceoil, by Caoilte Mac Ronan, and by poets of a later age who imitated these ancient bards." Mac Gregor gives no information of the sources from which he derived his materials, but the probability is that he was indebted for them both to manuscripts and to oral tradition. These poems, which contain eleven thousand lines, are sufficient to show that the Ossianic "myth" is at least of respectable antiquity, that the Gaelic poets of earlier times were not lacking in creative power or vivid fancy, and that a very considerable amount of Gaelic poetry must have been composed in the Western Highlands in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Casual references to the Ossianic heroes were made, it may be noted, by such early Scottish writers as Barbour, Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay, and Hector Boece.

Among the poets, specimens of whose compositions are given in the Dean's compilation, we find the name of Muireadhach Albannach—a name well known in Celtic literary traditions. This Murdoch was an ecclesiastic, and the specimens of his work given by the Dean are all on religious subjects. He seems to

have flourished in the twelfth or thirteenth century. By Lachlan Mac Mhurich, Bard of Clanranald, he is claimed as an ancestor, and we find the latter tracing his genealogy back to Murdoch through eighteen generations. Other poems of professed more recent date are ascribed to many bards, among them Allan Mac Rorie, Gilliecallum Mac an Olla (son of the poet), Duncan Mor from Lennox, John of Knoydart, Finlay M'Nab, the red-haired bard, Duncan Mac Cailein, the good knight (Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy), and others whose names would have utterly perished but for the good offices of the literary Dean. Those old-time bards of the West sung of the chief, of the clan, of the battle, of the slain warrior; they hurled their satire at vice, and enjoined the precepts of morality, but love songs are sought for in vain in the collection, probably owing to the ecclesiastical bias of the good Dean. One poem, written apparently just before the Battle of Flodden, is addressed to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, who, in vigorous terms, is exhorted to suffer not a Saxon to live!

Dean Mac Gregor's MS. is of interest from another point of view—viz., the philological; for he and his brother thought fit to spell their Gaelic after a phonetic fashion, with the result that we can approximately gather how the Highlanders of the sixteenth century pronounced their mother tongue, as well as estimate the developments of the language within recent centuries. Some thirty-five years ago much of this invaluable MS. was put into modern Gaelic and translated and annotated by the late Dr. Thomas Mac Lauchlan, while the late Dr. Skene furnished the publication with a historical introduction and additional notes.

That a large amount of poetic material of the Ossianic order was floating about in the memories of the people from generation to generation is a fact that admits of not a shadow of a doubt; while the names of Fingal and his heroes, and the mighty deeds with which they have been credited, so impressed themselves on the imaginations of men that the topography of the country has been made to commemorate them in very many instances, and thus to permanently testify to the depth of the impression. From the time of the Dean of Lismore, however, no publication of Ossianic verse was made till the year 1756, when Mr. Jerome Stone of Dunkeld furnished the *Scots Magazine* of that year with a translation in rhyme of "Bàs Fhraoich" or the

Death of Fraoch. Four years later the earliest of Mac Pherson's publications appeared, and in 1780 Dr. John Smith of Campbeltown issued his admirable translation of "Gaelic Antiquities," containing many poems attributed to Ossian, Oran, Ullin, etc. In 1782-83 Thomas Ford Hill, after several tours through the Highlands, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* a collection of Gaelic poems "to illustrate the Ossian of Mac Pherson;" and in 1786 Gillies, a Perth bookseller, issued a collection of poems gathered from every part of the Highlands. Twenty-one of these pieces are Ossianic, and all of them "have the true ring of the ancient poetry of the Highlands." Dr. Mac Lachlan characterises this volume as "perhaps the most interesting collection of Highland song which we possess." In a work published in 1816 by Hugh and John Mac Callum, and entitled "An Original Collection of the Poems of Ossian, Orann, Ullin, and other Bards who flourished in the same Age," a valuable collection of twenty-six pieces of heroic poetry of a high order are given. In this collection the editors give the sources whence they were all derived, and publish the poems both in Gaelic and English.

In an old MS., now in the Advocates' Library, there are several fragments of tales in prose, together with an interesting poem called the *Lament of Deirdre*. The MS., which was written at Glenmasan in Cowal, bears the date 1238, but it is probable that the poem is the production of a much earlier time. This sad lyric, of which several translations have been made, forms part of the famous tale of the children of Usnoth and their sorrowful fate. From these heroes the large vitrified fort on Loch Etive received its name of Dun Mhac Uisneachain. A translation of this poem, and an account of other MSS. of high antiquity, will be found in the Appendix to the Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian.

The literature of the Highlands, other than poetry and prose tales, comprised religious and metaphysical works, and translations of the principal medical works of the period. In the production of these the fifteenth century was fruitful. The metaphysical and medical books are of interest principally as showing us the measure of acquaintance of the learned men of the Highlands with the science of the day, and the further fact that these men found it possible so to use, and so to cultivate the Gaelic language, as to make it capable of happily expressing scientific

terms and abstract metaphysical ideas. The best known families of physicians in the Highlands during the fifteenth and later centuries were the Mac Beths of Islay, the Beatons of Mull, and the Bethunes of Skye. These men were hereditary physicians, transmitting their knowledge from one generation to another, just as the sennachies handed down their genealogical knowledge to their descendants. An interesting document prepared by one of the Islay Mac Beths is a charter granted by Donald, Lord of the Isles, to Brian Vicar Mac Kay, of Islay. This charter, which is still extant, was written in Gaelic in the year 1408 by Fergus M'Beth. It is a curiosity as being written in Gaelic at a time when Latin was almost exclusively used in such documents. In 1609 we find James VI. recognising the Mac Beths as hereditary physicians to the former Lords of the Isles, and granting the then representative, "Fergus Mac Baith in Islay," a charter of the office of physician-in-chief in the Isles, and certain lands in Islay. To Fergus, the King granted for life "all and whole the said office of principal physician within the bounds of our said islands, with all the profits and casualties belonging to the same."

In the late J. F. Campbell's four volumes of *Tales of the West Highlands,* we have a splendid record of useful work done by enthusiastic collectors, and able disquisitions on subjects of the greatest interest to the patriotic Gael. Here we can but refer the reader to them.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Suppression of Clan Feuds by the Regent Moray—Dastardly slaughter of Raasay and his sons—Unruly conduct of the Earl of Argyll—Feuds between the Mac Kenzies and Glengarry, and between Angus of Islay and Lachlan Mor of Duart—King James intervenes in the latter quarrel—Baronial Courts—Renewal of Feud between Mac Donalds and Mac Leans—Deception and detention of Chiefs by Government—Conspiracy in the North and West—Assassination of Moray and Calder—Battle of Glenlivat—Tragedy in a cave at Eigg.

1568-1594.

Aided by his Privy Council the Regent Moray, when circumstances permitted, put forth earnest efforts to bring several outstanding clan feuds to a termination. With the Clanchattan and the Mac Donalds of Keppoch he used his good offices with satisfactory results, and at Perth, in 1569, he forced Mac Donald of Sleat and Colin Mac Kenzie of Kintail to come to terms and adjust their differences, under the threat that the whole power of the nation would be instantly employed to crush the party who should refuse his mediation, or, having accepted it, should fail to carry out the conditions imposed. An incident which complicated this long-protracted feud—a feud which involved not only the clans named, but the Mac Leods of Lewis and the Raasay branch of that clan—shows well the barbarity of the times, and the vile deeds that men would commit for the aggrandisement and glorification of their own particular family. Early in the sixteenth century Janet, daughter of John Mac Kenzie of Kintail, and wife of Ruari Mac Leod of Lewis, eloped with John Macgillechallum, chieftain of the Raasay branch of the clan. On this, Janet was divorced by Ruari, and the amorous pair subsequently married. Ere this lady died she bore to Raasay several sons and one daughter. Raasay thereafter took to wife a relation of his own, a sister of Ruari Mac Alan Mac Leod, head of a sub-branch of the Raasay house resident in Gerloch. This Gerloch branch of Mac Leods was at

deadly feud with their neighbours, the Mac Kenzies of Gerloch, who, as we have seen, had ere this secured a footing in that district, and Raasay gave great offence to these Mac Leods by giving his daughter in marriage to a Gerloch Mac Kenzie. Taking advantage of this discontent, Ruari Mac Alan Mac Leod of Gerloch basely conceived the idea of cutting off Raasay and his sons by the first marriage, and so ensuring the succession to his own nephew, the eldest son of the second marriage. According to the Letterfearn MS., on which the story entirely rests, Ruari *Nimhneach*, or the venomous one, as he is called, on some pretext or other, contrived to bring together to the Island of Isay in Waterness his intended victims. At the conclusion of the evening feast he left the apartment, and, summoning Raasay and the others, one by one, into his presence, he caused each of them to be assassinated, so that not one of the party escaped. It is satisfactory to know that, notwithstanding the successful commission of this deed of treachery and shame, Ruari's nephew was not able to retain possession of the coveted property, while Ruari himself only succeeded in incurring the increased hostility of the Mac Kenzies of Gerloch, who were so closely related to the Raasay victims. The property fell to Malcolm Mac Leod, a relative of Raasay.

Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll, who succeeded to place and power in 1575, conducted himself for a time towards his neighbours in a manner to cause frequent complaint to be made to the Government. Between him and the Earl of Atholl a dispute arose as to the legal jurisdiction of each, with the result that depredations were committed by their dependents, and the two were only hindered from engaging in more serious warfare by the judicious interference of the Regent Morton, who compelled them to disband their forces. In 1578 very strong measures had also to be 1578 A.D.
taken to prevent Argyll from wreaking his vengeance on Glengarry, who had offended him in some way that does not appear. That same year he imprisoned without warrant, in his Castle of Inchconnell in Lochawe, John, son and heir to James Mac Donald of Castle Camus in Skye, and John Mac Lean, uncle to Lachlan Mac Lean of Duart. By these victims, and also by Duart, whose island of Luing had been invaded and plundered under Argyll's auspices, complaints were sent to the young King James VI., who had now assumed the government, but with what

result we do not learn. This we know that, after much competition, leading to "great strife and debate," Earl Colin was in 1579 made Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, after which he seems to have shown more respect to the laws.

Two years later a feud which came to the notice of the Government raged between the Mac Kenzies, who had by this time become very powerful, and the Mac Donalds of Glengarry. Early in this century the two co-heiresses of Sir Donald Mac Donald of Lochalsh, who, as we have seen, died about the year 1518, conveyed to each of their husbands, Glengarry and Dingwall of Kildun, one half of the districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom. After some years the Kildun portion was sold to Mac Kenzie of Kintail. In the year 1581 some of the Mac Kenzies made aggressions upon the neighbouring territories of Glengarry, and this Donald Mac Angus, the then chief, fiercely resented. As time passed the bitter feelings did not lessen, and
1582 A.D. one day in 1582 Glengarry and some of his followers were seized by the Mac Kenzies. Many of the prisoners, including several of Glengarry's near relatives, were cruelly slain, while he himself, though spared, was imprisoned for a considerable time. On the liberation of the chief an investigation followed which resulted in Glengarry's castle of Strone being placed temporarily in the custody of Argyll, while Mac Kenzie was detained in Edinburgh, "in open ward," to answer charges in the future, and we find that as late as 1586 he was a prisoner in the Castle of Blackness in connection with this feud.

During the last quarter of this century deadly strife was waged upon the west coast between Angus Mac Donald, the young chief of Islay, and Lachlan Mor Mac Lean of Duart. While yet a young man Duart showed that he was by no means of a scrupulous nature, for he caused Hector Mac Lean, son of Alein-nan-Sop of Torloisk, who had been his guardian, but who, he had reason to suspect, had designs upon his life, to be beheaded, and that without warrant or trial. Ere this, too, he had renewed with the Coll family the feud already referred to, and expelled them from their home.

Hostilities between Mac Donald and Mac Lean began in the year 1579, the point at issue being the lands in Islay formerly in dispute. The same year the King and Council had their attention drawn to the position of affairs, and compelled them

both, under penalty of treason, to give assurances of indemnity to each other. That the peace thus secured would be lasting seemed full of hope, for Mac Donald received in marriage the sister of Mac Lean. Its duration, however, was fated to be short, and by the year 1585 the feud raged fiercer than ever, notwithstanding the fact that in that year the King and Council had summoned Lachlan Mac Lean of Duart, Donald Gormeson of Sleat, Ruari Mac Leod of Lewis, and Tormod Mac Leod of Harris to appear before them, and give their advice regarding the good rule and quieting of the Highlands and Isles.

That same year matters became complicated by the following unfortunate circumstance. Donald Gorme Mor of Sleat, while voyaging towards Islay on a visit to his kinsman Angus Mac Donald, was forced by stress of weather to take shelter on Mac Lean territory in Jura. By the same gale two Duine Uasails of Donald's clan, named Mac Donald Terreagh and Hucheon Mac Gillespoc, were forced into a neighbouring harbour of the same island. It so happened that these men had quarrelled lately with their chief, and in the hope that they might bring him into trouble with Mac Lean they, during the night, carried off some cattle from the latter's land, and then put to sea. The result was as anticipated. The unsuspecting Donald Gorme was credited with the theft and immediately attacked, when sixty of his followers were slain. 1585 A.D.

Still more bitter fruit followed from this deplorable deception, for, exasperated by this seemingly unprovoked attack, Donald Gorme returned to Skye, and soon violent retaliatory measures were resorted to by the Mac Donalds and their allies. In connection with the affair, Angus Mac Donald of Islay shortly afterwards paid a visit to Skye, and on his return journey determined, against the advice of all his followers to seek an interview with Duart, and try to effect an amicable settlement of all their disputes. A friendly reception, followed by the imprisonment of himself and his train, brought home to Angus the folly of his proceeding, and he only secured his liberty on renouncing to Mac Lean the disputed lands of the Rinns of Islay. For the due performance of this condition, Angus left his son James and his brother Ranald as hostages.

But Angus's opportunity soon came, and he fully, and quite as unscrupulously, availed himself of it. In July 1586 Duart landed

1586 A.D. at the Rinns of Islay, bringing with him one of the hostages, James Mac Donald. The purpose of the visit was to take formal possession of the ceded territory. At the earnest solicitation of the chief of Islay, accompanied by the most solemn promises of security, Mac Lean and his followers, to the number of eighty-six, came to Mullintrea, the house of Angus, where they were hospitably entertained. Not many hours had passed, however, ere the house was surrounded by a force of Mac Donalds, and Lachlan Mor and his men found themselves prisoners. They were hoist by their own petard. On one of Mac Lean's followers vengeance was at once wreaked. This was Mac Donald Terreagh, one of the two men of Sleat who had maliciously stolen the cattle from Jura, and were the direct cause of all the resultant misery. That night he was lodged in the same house with a Mac Lean of rank, and both of them were burned to death by the house being set on fire.

The next act in the drama was in keeping with what had already passed. In the hope that Angus of Dunyveg would immediately put Lachlan Mor to death, Alan Mac Lean, a near kinsman of the latter, with a view to succeeding to the leadership of the clan as the natural guardian of Duart's children, caused now a false rumour to be circulated to the effect that Ranald, the other hostage, had been put to death to avenge the false dealing of Angus. His expectations were almost gratified, for the rumour was believed, with the result that Coll, brother of Ranald and the Islay chief, led out to execution two of the prisoners every morning, until at last the only survivor was Mac Lean himself. On the day appointed for the death of the latter, an accident happened to Angus Mac Donald as he was mounting his horse to view the purposed execution of his rival, and thus the deed was deferred and the chief's life and liberty, as it happened, ultimately secured. His liberation was effected through the interposition of the King, eight hostages—Mac Leans, Mac Kinnons, Mac Neills, Mac Leods—being, with the consent of James, furnished by Lachlan Mor to Angus, as a guarantee for the performance of certain conditions now imposed.

Notwithstanding the fact of the hostages Mac Lean very shortly thereafter took advantage of the absence of Angus Mac Donald in Ireland, and wasted a great part of Islay with fire and sword. Instead of revenging himself upon the hostages, Angus

on his return invaded Mull and Tiree, and committed depredations on every hand, Mac Lean, the while, acting in the same manner towards Mac Donald's vassals in Kintyre.

On one side or other this formidable feud involved almost all the western clans. Ranged upon the side of the Mac Leans were the Mac Leods of Harris, Mac Neills of Barra, Mac Kinnons, and Mac Quarries; while the Mac Donalds of Islay and Skye were supported by the Clanranald, Clanian of Ardnamurchan, Mac Leods of Lewis, Mac Neills of Gigha, Mac Alisters of Loup, and Mac Fies of Colonsay. Such a feud demanded the earnest attention of the Government, and in 1587 King James issued a pro- 1587 A.D.
clamation ordering the chiefs to abstain from hostilities, and instructing Mac Donald to forward the hostages to him, when they would be placed in suitable quarters till the dispute was settled. To Huntly he also wrote urging him to use every possible effort to prevent acts of hostility on the part of the northern islanders, while an important Act, commonly called the General Band or Bond, was passed for securing the peace of the Borders and the Highlands. Its chief feature was insistence upon sureties proportioned to the wealth of the chief or landlord, while these were also enjoined not to let their lands to such as would associate themselves with unruly chiefs.

Borders and Highlands alike would seem to have reached at this time the climax of disorder. A few years earlier (1581) the Clans—or some of them only perhaps were meant -were spoken of in an Act of Parliament as 'Clans of thieves . . . for the most part co-partners of wicked men, coupled in fellowship by occasion of their surnames or near dwelling together, or through keeping society in theft, or reset of theft, not subject to the ordinary Courts of Justice, nor to any landlord that will make them amenable to the laws, but commonly dwelling upon sundry men's lands against the goodwill of their landlords, whereby true men injured by them can have no remedy at the hands of their masters." Under such conditions as are here described it is very evident that the Heritable Jurisdictions, which placed in the hands of the lords of regality and the great barons and chiefs a legal authority in civil and criminal matters over the people of their respective districts, other than that acquired through ancient usage, were not effective for their

purpose, or were not honestly enforced. Under normal conditions, Baronial Courts were held from time to time by those great magnates, at which delinquents were tried and enactments were made for the regulation of the affairs of the barony as if it was a small parliament. At these Courts the Lord could do almost all he liked without the co-operation of his people, though he usually acted with them and by their advice, and as a rule the enactments bear that they were ordained "with consent and advice of the whole Commons and Tenants." Where leases were granted it was made compulsory that the tenants should attend these Courts, but the obligation was a privilege rather than a hardship when they were properly conducted, as it brought the people to share in the administration of justice. Speaking of such Courts in Atholl, Stewart says—"The family of Atholl possessed many superiorities in Perthshire; and when they held their Courts of regality at Logierait, their followers, to the number of nearly a hundred gentlemen, many of them of great landed property, assembled to assist in Council or as jurymen on such trials as it was necessary to conduct on this principle; and as these gentlemen were accompanied by many of their own followers and dependents, this great chief appeared like a sovereign, with his parliament and army."

With the presiding Baron, or his substitute the Baron Bailie, there would seem to have been generally associated fifteen assessors or jurors. Besides the punishment of offences these Courts concerned themselves with the enacting and enforcing of such Baronial statutes as might be necessary for carrying out their simple forms of agriculture. These tribunals, or rather the jurisdictions, were however very liable to abuse, and several cases exist to show how risky it was to put such an instrument of power into the hands of ordinary individuals. In one notable instance which occurred in 1552 the Lord of Glenorchy, assisted by only two of his vassals, Campbell of Glenlyon and Menzies of Rannoch, caused to be beheaded Duncan Mac Gregor and his two sons, who for more than forty years had been terrorizing the Central Highlands. When it suited the Barons they could also pardon after they had condemned.

1587 A.D. To the request of the King to deliver up the hostages, Angus Mac Donald had turned a deaf ear. Mac Lean, on his part, made

an appearance of submission and was received into favour, but ere long he contrived to stir up the smouldering embers, and the feud was again renewed. On this occasion he vented his spleen upon one of the allies of Dunyveg—the Macians of Ardnamurchan. The circumstances were these. At an earlier period Mac Ian had been an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Duart's widowed mother. At that time Mac Lean had opposed the suit, but now in 1588 when it was renewed by Mac Ian he encouraged it with the miserable intent of getting the latter into his hands. In due time Mac Ian won the lady, and the marriage ceremony was performed at Torloisk in Mull with suitable festivities. All went well and happily till the midnight hour, when the retinue of the Ardnamurchan chief, all of whom had been lodged in a barn close at hand, were, with the exception of two who effected their escape, barbarously murdered. The nuptial chamber was then invaded, and the chief was only saved from sharing the fate of his clansmen by the tearful entreaties of his bride. For a time the dungeon became his resting place, and daily torture his miserable experience. 1588 A.D.

Soon after this event Lachlan Mor found unusual and unlooked-for allies. These were Spaniards from the ship *Admiral of Florence*, one of the great Armada fleet, which had been forced by stress of weather into the harbour of Tobermory. As the price of assistance rendered to these unfortunates, one hundred Spanish soldiers aided the chief in his feuds, and Rum, Eig, Canna and Muck were ravaged and plundered; while all the inhabitants, irrespective of age or sex, were, it is said, burned to death. Ardnamurchan was then laid waste, but the Castle of Mingarry resisted the siege to which it was subjected, and Mac Lean with his allies retired to Mull on learning of the approach of a superior force sent against him by the Privy Council. Here it may be noted that Mac Lean later laid a plot and blew up the Spanish ship, for which offence he took out a remission on 20th March, 1588-9.

While the above proceedings were being enacted by Lachlan Mor, the Mac Donalds were by no means idle. They on their part were, curiously enough, aided by some English mercenaries, and with their assistance the lands of the Mac Leans were wasted with fire and sword. These miserable barbarities were eventually terminated by an exchange of the hostages in the possession

of Mac Donald for the prisoners, including Mac Ian, taken by Mac Lean.

1589 A.D. But now, in 1589, the Government stepped in after a fashion which indicated its weakness, while it degraded its honour. What it did was to grant remissions for past crimes to the unruly island chiefs, and then strive to induce them to come to Edinburgh, for the ostensible purpose of consulting with the King and Council as to the future good rule of the country. Lachlan Mac Lean, Angus Mac Donald, and Donald Gorme of Sleat answered to the summons, with the result that they were all seized and imprisoned, while the two former were, after many months, placed upon their trials for crimes already pardoned. Here we find the chiefs given another lesson in sharp practice, a lesson that they were far from requiring, and its effect could only be to further weaken their faith in, and respect for, the Government. Both of them were again pardoned, both of them were fined, both of them were compelled to furnish—or to promise to furnish—hostages, and to find sureties for the fulfilment of the imposed conditions. Further, any future misbehaviour or breach of the terms was to be punished by the revocation of the pardon, and the pronouncement upon them of the sentence of death and forfeiture. In each case the fine, which was in name of rent and duty arrears, seems to have been fixed at twenty thousand pounds. John Campbell of Calder, guardian to the young Argyll, became surety for Mac Donald, while John Campbell of Ardkinglass answered for Mac Lean. Mac Donald of Sleat was likewise mulcted in four thousand pounds in name of arrears of Crown rents and feudal casualties. The chiefs were liberated in the summer of 1591.

1592 A.D. The following spring a conspiracy of a far-reaching character was formed, embracing, as it did, some of the most prominent men in Scotland. Some of its ends it purposed effecting through the medium of Highland assassins. Jealousies and intrigues had set the leading families of the Campbells into parties during the minority of Archibald, the young Earl. In the north, too, Huntly was at daggers-drawn with the Earl of Moray ("The Bonny Earl" of the ballad), and it suited the party of Huntly to unite with one section of the Campbells, with a view to the removal of the respective enemies

of each. This common conspiracy contemplated the destruction of James, Earl of Moray; Archibald, Earl of Argyll; Colin Campbell of Lundy, only brother of the latter, and heir apparent; and John Campbell of Calder, principal guardian of Argyll. By Huntly the death of Moray was eventually compassed through the connivance of Thirlestane, the Chancellor, who had granted him a commission to seize Moray. Huntly, however, took advantage of the commission to have him murdered at his own house of Donibirsel. For this offence Huntly was summoned to stand his trial, but after incarceration in the Castle of Blackness for a few days, he was liberated by the King, on giving sufficient surety that he would appear and stand trial on receiving six days' notice to that effect.

As regards the Campbell portion of the conspiracy its foundation lay in jealousies between Ardkinglass and Glenorchy on the one hand, and Calder on the other, respecting the guardianship of Argyll; as also in the ambition of Lochnell, who would be next heir to the earldom were Argyll and his brother Lundy effectively disposed of. There is reason to believe that Ardkinglass was not privy to the designs on the Earl, his own desire being to gratify his revenge against Calder, and to this end he gave his aid, under the special promptings of Glenorchy. Calder was assassinated, the deed being effected by a man named Mac Ellar, who fired at him by night through one of the windows of the house of Knepoch in Lorn. Eventually the conspiracy came to an end without any of the other purposed victims having suffered.

In connection with neither of the murders were the chief conspirators brought to justice. In both cases they were screened by those who ought to have prosecuted, for they were themselves involved in them. In the Argyllshire instance, however, the assassin and he who had hired him, viz., John Oig Campbell of Cabrachan, a brother of Lochnell, were apprehended the following year, and executed. Revelations by John Oig under the torture of the boot, and afterwards by Ardkinglass, disclosed in 1593 the whole extent of the conspiracy.

These two assassinations occurred within a month of each other. In the north the death of Moray was productive of considerable disturbances, for the Mac Intoshes and Grants strove to revenge his slaughter on Huntly, while the latter retaliated

through his allies the Camerons and the Clanranald, and took under his special protection the Mac Phersons, with a view to sowing dissension between them and the Mac Intoshes, who were at this time openly desirous of throwing off their yoke of vassalage to Huntly. Much mutual destruction ensued, but Huntly and his allies eventually emerged victors, and secured a large booty. In Argyll, the Campbells of Calder's house entered upon a disastrous feud with the Stewarts of Appin, who had allied themselves with Lochnell in the conspiracy, while the liberated island chiefs took advantage of the disturbed state of affairs to repudiate the conditions that had been imposed upon them, and became openly antagonistic to the government. Of the three the only one who had given hostages as required was Angus Mac Donald who, indeed, had been compelled to present them before he was liberated. The others had taken advantage of the less stringent conditions imposed upon them to decline to send hostages at all.

1592 A.D. In June, 1592, the Parliament approved of certain steps that had already been taken by the Privy Council to bring these chiefs by means of summonses under the control of the law, and agreed that if any of them proved recalcitrant they would give their best services towards their repression and punishment. A year later summonses of treason duly executed were produced in Parliament against Angus Mac Donald, Donald Gorme, John Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan, and others, their associates "for certain crimes of treason and lese-majesty committed by them," but nothing came of these proposed efforts, as the Government had already their hands full in dealing with the three Catholic Earls, Huntly, Angus, and Errol, who, together with Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, were accused of plotting with Philip of Spain for the restoration of Roman Catholicism in Scotland.

1594 A.D. In June, 1594, the Roman Catholic leaders, together with Mac Lean of Duart and Mac Donald of Dunyveg, were formally forfeited, and a commission was granted to Argyll, Atholl, and Lord Forbes to proceed against Huntly, who had forcibly liberated some Catholics who had been imprisoned by the magistrates of Aberdeen. In the army of Argyll, which was six or seven thousand strong, there were, besides his own people, Mac Leans, Mac Neills, Mac Gregors, Mac Intoshes, and Grants. He was, however, able to effect little. By the Mac Phersons the Castle of Ruthven was gallantly retained for Huntly, and in a battle

fought later at Glenlivat Argyll's forces were thrown into dis- 1594 A.D.
order by the effective fire of the field-pieces, to which the greater number of the Highlanders were as yet unaccustomed; after which they were driven from their position by the well-mounted and well-armed cavalry of Huntly and Errol. On this occasion Argyll was also handicapped by the fact that there were traitors in his camp. Up to this time he does not seem to have been aware of the earlier machinations of Lochnell. At any rate the latter was permitted to hold the position of commander of one of the divisions of his army. Before the engagement this ambitious chieftain sent a message to Huntly, advising him to attack, promising him support, and asking that the artillery should be directed at the banner of Argyll, his hope being that his chief might be thus conveniently cut off, and his own path to the earldom so far cleared. But it fell out differently, for the traitor was himself slain, as was also his brother, while Argyll escaped. Duart, on his part, showed himself to be a gallant officer, and a good soldier. By the skilfulness of his dispositions he did most for his party, yet suffered least, and when, after a stubborn fight of two hours, the day was lost, he was able to retire in good order. Argyll's losses amounted to five hundred men, including Lochnell, Mac Neill of Barra, and Campbell of Auchinbreck.

Notwithstanding this victory the course of the rebellion was short, for not long afterwards the King took the field with a powerful force, and compelled Huntly and Errol to fly abroad, while Angus went into hiding in Douglasdale. Huntly's noble residence in Strathbogie, which had been fourteen years in building, and whose sumptuous furnishings were said to have shamed those of the royal palace, was blown up, and in two days all but the massive old tower was levelled to the ground. A similar fate befell the residences of others of the leaders.

About the period with which we are now dealing there was enacted in the Island of Eigg a dreadful tragedy, resulting in the destruction of several hundred lives. Shortly, the circumstances were as follows. By a few of the Mac Leods of Harris, who were visiting the Island of Eigg, some incivility was displayed towards certain women of the Island. This was resented so strongly by the Mac Donalds that they tied the hands and feet of the Mac Leods, and set them adrift upon the sea. As fortune would have it, the helpless Mac Leods were fallen in with by some of

their friends and taken to Dunvegan, where they complained to the chief of the injury done to them. Bent on revenge Mac Leod speedily put to sea with a large body of people, upon hearing which the Mac Donalds, knowing that resistance would be vain, took refuge in a large cave by the sea-side measuring 213 feet in length. So difficult was this cave of discovery that they escaped detection though the Mac Leods remained two days upon the island, searching every place and wasting every thing. On the third day, however, as they were about to depart, a Mac Donald spy ventured out imprudently, and, as he was seen by the enemy, he was tracked to his lair. On his arrival at the spot Mac Leod called upon the Mac Donalds to deliver up to him those who had maltreated his men, but they refused. The denouement is thus given in the contemporary, "Description of the Isles," already quoted from more than once. The people "fled to one of the saidis coves, taking with thame thair wives, bairnis, and geir, quhairof Mc Cloyd Herreick being advertisit landed with ane great armie in the said Isle, and came to the cove and pat [fire] thairto, and smorit the haill people thairin to the number of 395 persons, men, wyfe, and bairnis." Other authorities give 200 as the number who had taken refuge in the cave. In the *Lord of the Isles* Scott thus refers to the tragic deed :—

"The Chief, relentless in his wrath,
With blazing heath blockades the path ;
In dense and stifling volumes roll'd,
The vapour fill'd the cavern'd hold !
The warrior's threat, the infant's plain,
The mother's screams, were heard in vain ;
The vengeful Chief maintains his fires,
Till in a vault a tribe expires !
The bones which strew that cavern's gloom,
Too well attest their dismal doom."

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Hebrideans in Ireland—Sir William Stewart holds a Court in Kintyre—Proposed invasion of Ulster by Mac Leans and Mac Donalds as allies of Queen Elizabeth—Doings of Angus Mac Donald and his son Sir James—Struggles between the Mac Donalds and Mac Leans—Death of Sir Lachlan Mor—Strife between the Northern Clans—Plan for the pacification of the Highlands and Islands—The Chiefs forced to prove their titles—Attempted colonisation of Lewis by Lowlanders.

1594-1602.

It will be of interest here to retrace our steps a little and pick up the thread of the history of the Scottish Islanders in Ireland, where they continued, for yet a time, to exercise considerable influence. Taking advantage of the youth of the sons of his late brother, James Mac Donald of Islay and the Glens, Sorley Buy, who was a man of enterprise and ability, kept ever before him the aim of bringing the Irish estates of the family into his own proper possession. In his wars both with the Irish and the English, Sorley was generally successful, and in 1575 it was remarked by the Lord Deputy of Ireland that while the districts of Duffreyn and Claneboy were totally waste and void of inhabitants, the Glens and Route possessed by the Scots were full of corn and cattle, and their leader haughty on account of his late victories. So troublesome were these Hebrideans to the English government that frequent representations were made to the Regent of Scotland to keep them at home, as they were daily swarming thither, and enriching themselves "by spoiling the land of Ireland."

Sorley Buy, on his part, made representations to the Queen of England, desiring that he should be recognised as proprietor of the Glens and the Route, but nothing definite seems to have come of his petitions. Eventually, however, the difficulties of Angus of Islay in Scotland gave Sorley Buy the opportunity of confirming his already growing power over the Irish possessions, with the result that he practically severed his connection with

the Hebrides, and Angus was never afterwards in a position to recover the lands that were rightfully his.

After this event Sorley Buy had varied fortune. His wealth in cattle may be guessed from the fact that in 1585, when he was disastrously defeated by the English, the latter were able to carry away with them from his territories fifty thousand head of cattle. This blow brought about his entire submission to the English Queen, and he devoted himself to her Majesty's service; after which he was granted letters of naturalisation, and was rewarded with considerable tracts of land. In time Sorley's eldest son was knighted, and became Sir James Mac Sorley Buy or Mac Donnell of Dunluce, while his second son, Ranald, who is described as having been "a singular promoter and patron of civility in the north of Ireland," became successively Sir Ranald, Viscount Dunluce, and Earl of Antrim, while his successor, also named Ranald, was created Marquis of Antrim in 1643.

Turning now to the domestic affairs of the islanders we have to record that, in spite of the summonses of treason executed against some of them in 1593, they still continued contumacious, taking up an attitude of hostility, and refusing to pay their legal dues, to the great impoverishment of King James's slender
1596 A.D. revenues. The King therefore, in 1596, determined to proceed in person against them, and to that end a proclamation was issued summoning the forces of the realm to come to him at Dunbarton on the first day of August. The immediate effect of this proclamation was to secure the submission of all the chiefs except Angus Mac Donald of Dunyveg, and thus, ere the expedition was ready to put to sea, the expected resistance had largely disappeared. However, the preparations were allowed to proceed, though on a much smaller scale than had been originally intended, but King James, not deeming it either necessary or wise, in the altered circumstances, to risk his person amongst his unruly subjects, committed the conduct of the expedition to Sir William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem, who was instructed to report whether or not his Majesty's presence was necessary.

After much delay, largely caused by want of funds, Sir William was, by the 22nd October, in a position to despatch from Glasgow some troops into Kintyre, his object being to

ascertain what attitude Mac Donald meant to take up towards the Royal forces. Meantime, however, James Mac Donald, the son of Angus, one of the hostages for his father, returned to Edinburgh from a visit he had been permitted to pay to the latter with a view to bringing about his submission. In the name of his father and himself he now announced that they were prepared to faithfully fulfil, so far as lay in their power, whatever conditions might be imposed upon them by his Majesty, while James was agreeable to still remain with the King. On the first of November the Royal Lieutenant held a court at Kintyre, at which Angus and his followers made their personal submission. This submission, however, there is evidence to prove, was dictated simply by the inability of Angus to find allies to aid him in a policy of resistance.

At this time the relationship of Mac Lean of Duart to Mac Lean of Coll also occupied the attention of the Privy Council. It has been already noted that Mac Lean of Duart had earlier taken a favourable opportunity to oust the Mac Leans of Coll from their possessions. Now, however, young Coll, on the attainment of his majority, made his appeal to the Privy Council, with the result that Duart was ordered to make immediate restitution of all the filched estates and the Castle of Brekach, and not only so, but he was instructed to deliver up all his own castles and fortalices to Sir William Stewart, King's Lieutenant of the Isles, upon twenty-four hours' warning.

The following year (1597) Angus Mac Donald of Dunyveg visited Edinburgh, and received the Royal forgiveness upon the following terms:—(1) To find security for the arrears of his Crown rents, the which had been allowed to accumulate to a serious amount; (2) to remove his clan and "dependers" from Kintyre and the Rinns of Islay; (3) to deliver up his castle of Dunyveg in Islay, before the 20th of May, to the person whom the King should send to take possession of it. His son, Sir James Mac Donald (he had been knighted shortly before) remained still as a hostage, and Angus returned to Islay, ostensibly to carry out the new conditions. 1597 A.D.

Shortly after the imposition of these conditions matters were further complicated by the arrival at the Scottish Court of the chief of Dunluce, James Mac Donald, son of Sorley Buy. Dunluce's visit was made on the invitation of King James, and his

object was to prove his right to the estates of Angus, on the ground of the asserted illegitimacy of the latter. The effort, however, came to nought, as the statement as to illegitimacy was unfounded. Notwithstanding this unworthy attempt, Dunluce was highly spoken of at the Scottish Court as a man of handsome appearance and dignified manners. As a solatium for his disappointment he was knighted by the King, and received a grant of thirty merk lands in Kintyre, while, on his departure from Edinburgh, he was further honoured by a salute being fired from the Castle guns.

It was probably the bitter feelings engendered by this attempt on the part of Dunluce, as well as a desire for the repossession of his Irish estates, that made now possible a temporary reconciliation between Angus Mac Donald and Mac Lean of Duart. At this time the Earl of Tyrone was supported by Dunluce in certain rebellious proceedings against the Queen of England, and through intermediaries—John Achinross, his confidential servant, and John Cunningham, a merchant of Edinburgh, who was connected by marriage with Achinross—Lachlan Mor offered the services of himself and two thousand men to Elizabeth. At this time the value placed upon the Islanders by the English as fighting men was very high, and we find it set forth in the following Declaration made by the Lord Deputy and Council in 1596 :—"It would be to good purpose for the speedy achieving of this war (to secure the services of 3000 Islanders), they being men fit for the service by reason of their hard breeding, and many other abilities above other nations." In communicating with Sir R. Bowes regarding these proposals Duart characteristically says :—"I am here, in Argyll, at pastime and hunting with the earl my cousin. I have respect to other kind of hunting nor this hunting of deer." The projected proceedings caused much alarm, for two or three thousand men had been got in readiness for an invasion of Ulster, but we do not read that the expedition actually left the shores of Scotland. In any case Lachlan Mor profited by the project, for Queen Elizabeth, close-fisted though she was, sent to him a present of a thousand crowns, with an assurance of her gratitude and friendship, while to Argyll, who was also associated with Mac Lean, she likewise forwarded a token of her regard.

1598 A.D. Meantime Angus Mac Donald gave no indication that he purposed complying with the conditions on which his pardon rested,

and his son, Sir James, was, in 1598, again sent from Court to use his influence in bringing his father to obedience. But on this occasion Sir James had a role of his own to play, and he speedily set about it. It appears that on his former visit to his father, the latter, in the hope that Sir James might receive better terms than he himself could secure, made over the estates to him, stipulating only for a proper maintenance for himself and his wife during their lives. Of course, the estates having been already forfeited, this transaction was not recognised as valid by the Privy Council, and it was not allowed to have any influence with them in determining the conditions to be imposed on Angus. The desire of Sir James now was to make good his so-called claim to the estates, and to replace his father in terms of the agreement. Towards this end a favourable opportunity occurred in connection with a quarrel between Gorrie Mac Alister, the Laird of Loup, and the sons of his former tutor. As the result of a serious dispute the young Laird had shortly before killed the tutor, upon which the sons of the latter sought and found protection with Angus Mac Donald at his house of Askomill in Kintyre. On his arrival in that peninsula Sir James joined the party of the Laird, and with a body of several hundred men they proceeded south, and, in the dead of night, surrounded the house of Askomill. A refusal to surrender was followed by Sir James barbarously ordering the house to be set on fire, though it was tenanted at the time, as he knew right well, by his own father and mother. In attempting to make his escape Angus was severely burned, and was thereafter seized and consigned to Smerbie in Kintyre, where he was detained in irons for several months.

Sir James now still more egregiously violated his parole, and, taking command of the clan, became so violent that, in June, a proclamation was issued calling upon the men of the western mainland to make preparations for an expedition into Kintyre. As on a previous occasion it was the King's intention to proceed at the head of the army, and his instructions were that his forces should meet him at Dunbarton on the 20th August. Ere this date had come round, however, Sir James had succeeded in procuring from the King a letter approving of the apprehension of Angus, and even of his later proceedings; but, notwithstanding this fact, it was still contemplated that the King should proceed

1598 A.D.

in person to Kintyre. But King James did not sail (he was not overfond of such excursions), neither, apparently, did his substitute the Duke of Lennox, who now received a commission as Lieutenant over the Isles.

The main determining factor in bringing about the change in the King's intention was the death of Duart, of which he had just heard. The chief of Mull met his death under the following circumstances. In 1596 Lachlan Mor had received a lease from the King of the long-coveted lands in Islay, known as the Rinns. Up to this period, however, he had not got actual possession of them, and the present opportunity, when his old rival was imprisoned and Sir James as yet inexperienced, seemed eminently fitting for attempting the expulsion of the Mac Donalds and the plantation of his own people. With a view to coming to terms a meeting of the rival chiefs was held at Lochgruinart, when Sir James, at the pressing entreaties of mediators, made certain offers which, however, were not of a sufficiently thoroughgoing nature to satisfy the covetous Sir Lachlan who, notwithstanding the protestations of his own friends, would hear of nothing but the absolute surrender to him of the whole island. In such circumstances nought remained for it but the arbitrament of the sword, and a desperate conflict ensued which ended in the total rout of the Mac Leans, with the death of their chief. Besides Sir Lachlan, four score of his kinsmen and two hundred of his ordinary followers were slain, while his son, Lachlan Barrach, was dangerously wounded. Of the Mac Donalds, Sir James himself was severely wounded, while thirty of his people were killed and sixty wounded. Hector, Sir Lachlan's son and successor, was not long in seeking and obtaining revenge; for, aided by Mac Leod of Dunvegan, Cameron of Lochiel, Mac Neill of Barra, and M'Kinnon, he invaded Islay, defeated the Mac Donalds at Bern Bige, and then ravaged the whole island.

1599 A.D. In August of the following year (1599) Sir James visited Falkland, and made proposals for establishing the Royal authority in Kintyre and Islay. These proposals embraced the evacuation of Kintyre by the Mac Donalds; the handing over of sixty merk lands in Islay, together with the Castle of Dunyveg, to be placed in possession of a Royal garrison; the annual payment to his father of a pension of one thousand pounds; and the

delivery and maintaining of his brother as a hostage for the due performance of these terms. For himself, Sir James asked that the remaining lands in Islay should be granted to him in heritage at an annual feu-duty of £2 for every merk land or £600 in all, the title deeds to contain the same clauses as those granted to the Islesmen by James IV. By the Privy Council these proposals were accepted, and to the Comptroller was entrusted the duty of seeing them carried out.

But they were never carried out. What it was that interfered with their accomplishment has never been definitely ascertained, but upon Argyll and John Campbell of Calder rests the suspicion that they had much to do with thwarting these efforts of Sir James towards the reconciling of himself and his clan to the Government. Such reconciliation was not suited to the hopes and wishes of Argyll or his friends.

During the latter quarter of the sixteenth century the more northern clans, to the affairs of which we now turn, were in a state of marked unrest. For this condition of things the Earl of Caithness was again largely responsible. With him hatred of the Earl of Sutherland and his allies was still a ruling passion, and in order to gratify it he sowed dissension among the neighbouring clans. The Mac Kays and Gunns he set by the ears, while different sections of the former clan he succeeded in setting against one another, all of which was productive of open attack, private assassination, and the cherishing of feelings of revenge. Subsequently we find the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland only restrained from joining battle by the intervention of Huntly and other friends, through whose services a temporary reconciliation was effected. At a somewhat later period (1586) the followers of the Earl of Sutherland were engaged in endeavouring to reduce to obedience the Mac Kays, who were rightfully the vassals of that house, though they at this time acted as a rule with the Caithness party. Simultaneously the men of Caithness were occupied in a search after the Clan Gunn, with the ostensible intention of coercing them. At this moment a fortunate union of the two clans, the Gunns and the Mac Kays, probably saved them both from destruction, for by the strength of their combination they were, at a critical juncture, enabled to attack and defeat the Sinclairs at the Battle of Aldgown.

The temporary reconciliation of the Earls, to which reference has been made, led now to the formation of a new confederacy of the two against the clan Gunn; and to the Earl of Sutherland, whose forces were more intact, was committed the attack. During recent years the Gunns had the advantage of the powerful support of the Mac Kays, but this service the latter were now no longer in a position to continue to them, and the Gunns in despair determined to seek refuge in the Western Isles. Ere they could leave the mainland, however, they were encountered at Leckmelme, near Loch Broom, by one division of the Sutherland forces, and in a sharp skirmish were overthrown with the loss of many killed. George Gunn, their commander, was made prisoner after attempting to escape by swimming across a loch near by. After his release the latter continued on friendly terms with Sutherland, and thus one element of discord was satisfactorily removed.

The following year (1587) the half-hearted reconcilement of these northern Earls was brought to an end by their natural rivalry. Jealousy on the part of Caithness of the rising power of Sutherland, and an inability to secure the transfer of the superiority of Strathnaver from Sutherland to himself, led to the setting up of strained relationships between them. At this time active hostility was precipitated by the action of a certain George Gordon, a vassal of Sutherland, who treated Caithness with some indignity. Instead of appealing to Sutherland for redress, Caithness made a night attack on Gordon, who was slain as he was attempting to escape by swimming across the river of Helmsdale. The event was the signal for the marshalling of the forces of both sides—a marshalling which involved many of the northern clans, but nothing came of the demonstration further than a few skirmishes, as a truce was arranged through the intervention of mutual friends.

However satisfactory this truce may have been at the time to the chief actors, it was anything but grateful to Mac Kay, who was not included in it owing to his being, properly speaking, the vassal of Sutherland. More than that, instead of seeing his faithful ally out of his difficulties Caithness, at a later period, arranged to unite his forces with those of Sutherland for the purpose of bringing Mac Kay to obedience. Disgusted at being thus sacrificed by him for whom he had

risked so much, Mac Kay submitted himself to Sutherland, and between them there was effected a lasting reconciliation. This timely submission of Mac Kay so strengthened the position of Sutherland that, on the expiry of the truce, he anew demanded of Caithness reparation for the slaughter of George Gordon. This Caithness absolutely refused to accord, with the result that Sutherland resolved on active retaliatory measures. These he carried out in strenuous fashion, frequently invading the territories of the enemy, committing much damage, and bearing off very large quantities of spoil. On two several occasions a truce was arranged through the influence of the Earl of Huntly, but the periods of peace were of short duration. Matters went on thus, reprisal following reprisal, till March 1591, when, mainly through the influence of Huntly, the rival Earls agreed to bury the past with all its strife and bloodshed, and to live in friendship for the future.

For a period of seven years the relationship of the two Earls continued upon a friendly footing, but in 1598 and again in 1601 the restless Caithness threatened hostilities. On neither occasion, however, was he able to effect anything. On the latter of these, indeed, the Caithness men fled precipitately from the field, with the loss of all their baggage, which fell into the hands of Sutherland's men and their allies, the Mac Kays, the Munros, and the men of Assynt. The cause of their flight was not the valour or the weapons of their foes, but a prophetic tradition associated with the locality in which the opposing bodies met, the which tradition indicated that the Caithness men would be completely overthrown should it, at any time, be their fate to fight on that particular site.

It would be a lengthened task to relate the numerous intrigues in which George, Earl of Caithness, was engaged. From time to time he courted many allies, but usually his double-dealing methods led to disruption of his friendships. This no sooner happened in one case, however, than he was ready to engage in a fresh intrigue with another neighbour. His unscrupulous character we find further well illustrated in the treatment he meted out to some servants of Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, who was equally notorious with himself. One day in the year 1608 those servants were forced by stress of weather to land upon the coast of Caithness. At the instigation of the Earl they were

apprehended, made drunk, and then caused to suffer the indignity of having one side of their heads and beards shaved, upon which they were again sent out to sea amid the storm. By Orkney the matter was in time brought before the Privy Council, but the characters of neither accuser nor accused would satisfactorily bear the light that was sure to be shed upon them should a trial be proceeded with, and this consideration led to their disputes being adjusted in private. Than Caithness no one more frequently defied the law, or was more frequently denounced a rebel. A Privy Council proclamation of the year 1623, after complaining of many acts of lawlessness committed by him, sets forth how that he had "these divers years bygone seized upon the Bishop of Caithness, his whole estate and living; for the whilk he is six or seven times denounced rebel, and put to the horn." That year, however, his troublous career came to an end by his flight to Orkney, on the appearance in his neighbourhood of Sir Robert Gordon, armed with a commission of fire and sword.

During the closing years of the sixteenth century King James was actively engaged in maturing favourite plans of his own for the placing of affairs in the Highlands and Islands upon a better foot-
1597 A.D. ing, and in 1597 several Acts were passed, directed towards that end. One of these sanctioned the erection of three Royal Burghs in the west, one in Kintyre, one in Lochaber, and one in Lewis, but the circumstances of the times delayed the execution of this idea for fostering the arts of peace. Later, however, the burghs of Campbeltown, Fort-William, and Stornoway were established, though the first only was constituted a Royal Burgh.

A second act was of much greater import. It bears the significant title—"That the inhabitants of the Ilis and Hielandis shaw their haldings," and the reasons for its enactment are stated at length in the preamble. The leading grievances against the Highlanders were their neglecting to pay rents, their failure to perform the usual military service, and the "barbarous inhumanity" and unsettled condition of the country, which made it impossible to develop agriculture or fisheries. In terms of this revolutionary Act, all men possessing or pretending to possess a right to lands in the Highlands and Isles were enjoined to show their titles to the Lords of Exchequer on the 15th day of May, 1598, and at the same time to indicate suitable security for their

future good conduct towards their King, their neighbours, and such as desired to trade with them. The penalty of disobedience or failure from inability to perform any of these injunctions was of the harshest character, for it involved absolute forfeiture of all their titles, real or pretended.

To many the whole matter was of the most serious conseqence, and it must have been productive of lively concern to all. Some there were who had only the claim of immemorial and undisturbed possession. To such, charters could not in justice give any better right than the possessors had, for in these cases they could only be a new form of acknowledgment of ancient rights, a new method of recording what was already possessed. Others there were who were in continual occupation, though the nominal possession had been feudally given to a stranger: still others only had rights from the forfeited Lords of the Isles, while in the case of several their charters had been lost during troublous times. Added to these considerations was the fact of the difficulty that many chiefs must have experienced in finding the necessary surety for the peaceable behaviour of themselves, their vassals, and tenants.

Little doubt exists that the chief intention of the Act was to bring certain lands into the possession of the Crown, in order that James might have the opportunity of putting the plans we have hinted at to the test of experiment, and thus replenish an exchequer exhausted by his extravagances. To aid in the execution of these plans the King associated with him a council of ten, the chief of whom were John Lindsay of Balcarres, and Sir William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem.

Unfortunately no record exists of the proceedings on 15th May, and we have no means of ascertaining who appeared and 1598 A.D.
who failed to obey the summons. Some of the delinquent chiefs were later visited by the Commissioners, and it is not improbable that, when asked to produce their titles, not a few of them would have answered in the spirit of Mac Lean of Kingairloch, who is reported to have replied as he started to his feet bursting with indignation, "I can produce no sheep-skin, no quibbles upon parchment to satisfy you, but the tenures by which I and my forefathers have held these lands are at your service;" and with that he made a sign to his piper, who instantly blew up the clan gathering, and out issued from a dozen different quarters a hun-

dred armed warriors. "This, Messieurs Commissioners," continues the chief, "is the tenure by which I have held my property, and by this it is my purpose to hold it against all deadly. Take this answer back to your master at Inveraray, and if it doesn't content him, he may come here himself, and get a sharper one on the spot." On the completion of this branch of the Commissioners' work, Lewis, Trouterness in Skye, Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, were declared to be at the King's disposal. How the three latter estates came to be placed in this position we cannot tell, seeing that Ruari Mac Leod was possessed of proper titles to them. Probably he had failed to respond to the injunction of the proclamation.

1598 A.D. With these large districts to dispose of, the way was now clear for James to set his plans in motion, and he forthwith granted to a company of Lowland adventurers the island of Lewis, and the district of Trouterness. The latter had, only two years previously, been granted on lease to Mac Donald of Sleat. About that time also there were made over to the same party, the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, but these do not seem to have been ever taken formal possession of by their new proprietors. It was the fate of Lewis, the largest island of the Hebrides, to be the scene of the experiment in colonising that was now attempted, but attempted in vain.

In order to the better understanding of the principal circumstances which conspired to defeat this colonisation project, it will be necessary to glance at the recent history of the Clan Leod of Lewis. At an earlier point in our narrative we have referred to the elopement with the Laird of Raasay of Janet, daughter of John Mac Kenzie of Kintail, and wife of Ruari Mac Leod of Lewis. Ere her untoward flight this lady had given birth to a son who was afterwards known as Torquil Connanach, from the fact of his having been brought up by his mother's relations in Strathconan. By many people, and apparently by the chief himself, Torquil was, however, not considered to be his son, and this suspicion led to much strife within the clan both during the life of Ruari and afterwards. In 1585, an important step was taken when Torquil Connanach laid siege to his "father's" castle of Stornoway, and succeeded in carrying off all the charters and other writings belonging to the family.

On the demise of Ruari, he left two sons by a later wife, called

respectively Torquil Dubh, and Tormod, as also several illegitimate sons. By Torquil Connanach the mainland property was now taken possession of, but although the Government had acknowledged him to be the rightful claimant to the whole, he was forestalled in the possession of Lewis, which was seized and held by the youthful Torquil Dubh. By the year 1596 Torquil Connanach had lost both his sons, and having married his eldest daughter to Ruari Mac Kenzie, brother of the Lord of Kintail, he now threw himself entirely into the hands of the Mac Kenzies, to whom, in the end, he gave up the charters and titles, and conveyed to them the barony of Lewis, as far as writings could accomplish this object. But notwithstanding the powerful opposition of the Mac Kenzies, Torquil Dubh not only held Lewis as his own for a time, but on occasion, ravaged the mainland possessions. In July, 1597, however, having declined to appear before the Privy Council of which his enemy Kintail was a member, he was denounced as a rebel, and was shortly afterwards treacherously seized by the Breve or local judge. By the latter he and several of his followers were handed over to Mac Kenzie, by whom they were beheaded without further ceremony. This summary action did not, by any means, as we shall see, smooth the way for Torquil Connanach, for Torquil Dubh had left three young sons whose cause was warmly espoused by their father's friends, conspicuous among whom were Torquil Dubh's bastard brother, Neil, and their relations the Mac Leans and the Mac Leods of Harris.

It was at this juncture that the preliminary steps were taken 1598 A.D.
which led to the attempted colonisation of the Lewis, and it is probable that had the ultimate intention been limited to that island, the dissensions which existed within the clan, and which had by this time seriously weakened it, might have made success assured. As it was, the other forfeitures which have been referred to so alarmed the victims that they felt that the only hope for themselves lay in the defeat of the project while yet it was limited to Lewis, and thus it was that not only Mac Kenzie of Kintail, who, as we have seen, had a prospective personal interest in the estates of the family of Lewis, but Mac Donald of Sleat and Mac Leod of Harris set themselves secretly, but determinedly, to thwart the colonisers.

Of the promoters the principal were the Duke of Lennox, the

Commendators of Lindores and Pittenweem, Sir James Anstruther, younger of that Ilk, Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno, James Leirmonth of Balcolmy, James Spens of Wormestoun, John Forret of Fingask, David Home, younger of Wedderburn, and Captain David Murray. Between these gentlemen and the Government a formal contract was entered into, which contract was ratified by Parliament in June, 1598. In it was stipulated the rent to be paid both for Lewis and Trouterness, but in view of the great expenditure to be incurred no rent was to be charged for the first seven years.

From this time active preparations for the settlement went forward, and in July of the following year a new commission of Lieutenandry over the whole Isles and Highlands of Inverness-shire was granted to the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Huntly. In making this appointment the chief object kept in view was the aiding of the adventurers against prospective opposition, and the Lieutenants were specially instructed to assist with all their forces and power the "gentlemen venturers and enterprisers of the conquest of the Lewis, towards the perfect settling and establishing of that island under their obedience." To the Lieutenants, who were aided by a Council of northern Earls and Barons, there was also given power to punish with military execution all opponents, whether engaged directly or indirectly in hindering the expedition.

1599 A.D. Not till October, 1599, was the expedition ready to put to sea, but in that month there proceeded to Lewis a force of hired soldiers numbering some five or six hundred, besides gentlemen volunteers and artificers of all sorts. Without loss of time they set about erecting, in a convenient place, what Sir Robert Gordon calls "a pretty town," but ere sufficient shelter had been provided the wintry weather, coupled with a scarcity of provisions, was productive of a large amount of suffering, and many succumbed to the unaccustomed conditions. During these months, and notwithstanding the proposed Government aid, they also met with considerable opposition, which still further convinced them of the arduousness of their undertaking—opposition not only from Neil Mac Leod, but also from Murdoch, the other surviving bastard son of the old Lewis chief. By the latter Leirmonth of Balcolmy, while on his way to Lewis, was seized near the Orkneys and detained a prisoner for six months, when he was

liberated on promise of a ransom. The ransom he was never in a position to make good, as he died at the Orkneys on his way home—a victim, it was said, to the hard treatment he had received in his captivity.

A quarrel between the brothers Neil and Murdoch during the year 1600 made things more hopeful for the colonists, as it ended in the capture of Murdoch by Neil. As the result of an arrangement between the latter and the adventurers, Murdoch was delivered up to them. Accompanied by some of the leading colonists Neil proceeded with the prisoner to Edinburgh, taking with him also some gruesome impedimenta in the shape of ten or twelve heads—the heads of some of the friends of the Breve whom he had captured at the same time as he had seized Murdoch. Ere the execution of Murdoch, which took place at St. Andrews, the doomed man made some confessions which, together with certain complaints made by the adventurers, led to the apprehension of Kintail, and his committal to Edinburgh Castle. Through the help of the Lord Chancellor, however, Mackenzie succeeded in regaining his liberty without being brought to trial, and he proceeded forthwith to re-engage in his policy of frustration and intrigue. Meantime Neil Mac Leod, having received a pardon for all his past offences, returned to Lewis to take possession of a certain portion of the island that had been promised to him. 1600 A.D

By neither of the Lieutenants does there seem to have been any actual assistance rendered to the colonists, nor is there anything to show that they took any really effective steps towards the pacification of the northern isles generally and the adjacent mainland. This condition of inaction was probably due to the increasing reluctance exhibited by the Lowlanders, now that they were in a comparatively settled state themselves, to be called out every now and again to suppress local insurrections. So much was this oppressive feature of the feudal system becoming disliked by the people that it was felt, at this juncture, that the only probable way of securing the attendance of a strong enough force was to announce that it was the purpose of the King to proceed in person to the scene of strife. But once again the proclamations came to nought, for the pusillanimous King could not be furnished with a sufficient number of ships or men to *insure his majesty's safety.*

The next step was to renew, in 1601, the commissions of the 1601 A.D.

Lieutenants, and in doing so their powers were augmented and the area of jurisdiction increased. The islands attached to Argyllshire were now included, and placed under the immediate charge of Lennox. But from this commission also no fruit was forth-coming, although suitable rewards were promised, more particularly should they succeed in the pacification of the Isles by means of their own followers alone.

In Lewis, the death of Murdoch and the continued friendship of the powerful Neil caused affairs to take on so promising an appearance that the promoters expressed their intention of paying the stipulated rent after two years had elapsed, instead of after seven as originally agreed upon. But an unexpected turn of affairs cast these prospects and intentions to the winds. This resulted, in the first instance, from some injury done to Neil Mac Leod by Spens of Wormestoun, which led to a serious quarrel. By the alertness of Mac Leod an attempted seizure by stratagem of him by Spens was frustrated, and he attacked and routed the colonists, with a loss of sixty of their number.

At this stage another important personage came upon the scene. This was Tormod, younger brother of Torquil Dubh, who had been for some time detained a prisoner by Kintail, and that against the express instructions of the Privy Council. In some way or other it now suited Mac Kenzie to set Tormod at liberty, and to him he promised effective assistance should he join his uncle Neil in attacking the colonists. By Neil Mac Leod and the clan generally Tormod was warmly received, and they rallied round him as round a new-found chief. Under the guidance of the experienced Neil, Tormod speedily attacked the camp of the adventurers, forced it, burned the fort, killed many of the party, and ultimately compelled them to capitulate on the following conditions:—*Firstly*, they were to obtain from the King a remission to the Mac Leods for all their past offences; *secondly*, they promised never to return to Lewis, and agreed to give up their title to that island to Tormod Mac Leod; *lastly*, they were obliged to leave Sir James Spens and his son-in-law, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell, as hostages for the performance of the previous conditions.

1602 A.D. On the remission being granted, the hostages were liberated after a forced residence of eight months. The freedom of these secured, it does not seem to have been by any means the intention

of the promoters to hold to the second condition of the capitulation. That same year (1602) an expedition under a royal Lieutenant was arranged to start from Inverness on the 20th September, but it had to be departed from on account of the harvest. The Privy Council Records indicate that "the raid of the Lewis was delayed till the spring of the following year." It was not, however, till the summer of 1605 that a further attempt was made by the adventurers to prosecute their cherished plans, and meanwhile we will leave them and turn to a review of those matters that were occurring in other portions of the Highlands and Islands while the foregoing events were transpiring in Lewis.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Western Clan Feuds—The Mac Gregors and the battle of Glenfruin—Betrayal of Alaster Mac Gregor by Argyll—Renewed attempt to colonise Lewis—Extirpation proposals—Imprisonment of Sir James Mac Donald—Lord Scone's dealings with the Island Chiefs—Chiefs entrapped by Lord Ochiltree—Sir James Mac Donald condemned to death—Liberation of the chiefs—Bishop Andrew Knox appointed sole Commissioner—The "Statutes of Icolmkill"—Hand-fasting—Highland hospitality—The Chief's household—Intemperance—Education enactments—Discouragement of Bards.

1602-1610.

For several years a disastrous feud, resulting from the following circumstances, had raged between the two chiefs of Skye, Donald Gorme Mac Donald of Sleat, and Ruari Mac Leod of Dunvegan. For some cause or other Donald Gorme had repudiated his wife, a sister of Mac Leod, and, eventually, had her legally divorced. No sooner had he done this than he married a sister of Kenneth Mac Kenzie of Kintail, both of which proceedings so incensed the chief of Dunvegan that he forthwith carried fire and sword through Mac Donald's territory of Trouterness in Skye. Reprisal then followed upon reprisal in the most barbarous fashion, till both clans were well-nigh ruined, and many of the people were forced to subsist upon horses, dogs, and cats. After a breathing space Mac Leod went south in 1601 to seek assistance from the Earl of Argyll, upon learning which the Mac Donalds invaded his lands in Skye, and at a battle fought on the slopes of Benquhillin, in which the Mac Leods were led by Alexander, the brother of the chief, the latter were defeated after an obstinate and fierce combat which lasted from dawn till sunset. Alexander and many others were taken prisoners. At this stage the Privy Council and certain mutual friends intervened, with the result that a lasting reconciliation was, ere long, effected between the two chiefs—a reconciliation which was probably contributed to by the threatening events which were happening contemporaneously in Lewis.

In the year 1602, after a twenty years' cessation of hostilities, the feud between Mac Kenzie and Glengarry, regarding their lands in Wester Ross, blazed forth afresh. On this occasion, partly through ignorance of the laws, and partly through the craft of the Mac Kenzies, the Mac Donalds occupied, it would appear, the position of the aggressors. With this aggression as an excuse, Kintail procured a commission of fire and sword, and in the most ruthless and characteristic fashion invaded North Morar. Twice the Mac Donalds retaliated, but at the beginning of their second incursion their trusted leader, Alaster Mac Gorrie, while only attended by a few followers, was attacked by the Mac Kenzies and killed. 1602 A.D.

The absence, not long afterwards, of the chief of the Mac Kenzies in Mull, afforded Angus, the young chief of Glengarry, a favourable opportunity for revenging the death of his kinsman, and setting sail towards Loch Carron, he burned houses, killed some of the inhabitants, and then returned homewards, his boats laden with plunder. Under the inspiration of the wife of Mac Kenzie, however, the Mac Donalds were intercepted after nightfall in the kyle with disastrous results. Taking advantage of the darkness, the Mac Kenzies attacked with musketry and arrows a large heavily laden galley, thus creating such a panic among the Mac Donalds, that the boat was upset and many of them were drowned. Those who reached the shore were speedily despatched by the Kintail men, and among them was the young chief of Glengarry, whose fate it was to be in that particular galley. In his return journey from Mull a similar process of retaliatory interception was sought to be practised by the Mac Donalds on Mac Kenzie, but he succeeded in out-witting them, and reached his home in safety.

At this time the only place of strength still retained by the Mac Donalds in the neighbourhood of Lochcarron was the Castle of Strone, which was held by a small garrison. Mac Kenzie now lost no time in laying siege to it, and it was, ere long, surrendered to him, and afterwards blown up. The following year (1603) the Mac Donalds, in the raid of Kilchrist, took a cold-blooded, merciless revenge. It well illustrates the dreadful outrages that could be committed in those days without the active interference of law, and how little religion and its ministers were held in respect. The incident was as follows. After much plundering in Brae 1603 A.D.

Ross under Allan Macranald of Lundie, the Mac Donalds proceeded to the church of Kilchrist, in which the Mac Kenzies were at the time worshipping. Surrounding the building they at once set it on fire, and burned to death the whole congregation, the piper the while marching round the building, and drowning the cries of the victims in the shrill notes of that pibroch which, under its name of Kilchrist, has been employed ever since as the clan tune of the Clanranald of Glengarry. Ultimately, as the result of an arrangement come to between the clans, the whole lands in dispute passed from the Mac Donalds, and became the property of the Mac Kenzies, and thus another source of tribal contention was happily removed.

1603 A.D In the month of February, 1603, there was fought the bloody battle of Glenfruin between the Clan Gregor on the one hand, and the Colquhouns and their allies, the Buchanans and some of the Burghers of Dunbarton, on the other. For some time the position of the Mac Gregors had been becoming desperate. During the previous two hundred years the very considerable territories which they had originally possessed under ordinary Celtic title in Glenorchy, Breadalbane and Atholl, were gradually becoming seriously encroached upon by neighbouring clans, who, from time to time, had received grants of them from the Government of the day. For long they succeeded in holding their own by what is known as *Còir a Chlaidheamh*, the "right of the sword," the ability to retain possession, but latterly the principal families had become the vassals of the Earl of Argyll, Glenorchy, and other powerful barons, who made it only too evident that their desire was to get rid of the Mac Gregors altogether. Through the representations of these powerful magnates many Acts of Council were, from time to time, passed, granting commissions of fire and sword for the destruction of the clan. By these efforts the Mac Gregors were rendered still more desperate, and to secure a livelihood they were induced to commit inhuman deeds, which brought upon them yet severer laws.

The feelings with which clans like the Mac Gregors viewed their fate is effectively and sympathetically portrayed by Scott when he puts the following into the mouth of Ranald Mac Eagh: —"I am a man like my forefathers; while wrapped in the mantle of peace we were lambs; it was rent from us, and ye now call us wolves. Give us the huts ye have burned, our children

whom ye have murdered, our widows whom ye have starved; collect from the gibbet and the pole the mangled carcasses and whitened skulls of our kinsmen; bid them live and bless us, and we will be your vassals and brothers; till then let death and blood and mutual wrong draw a dark veil of division between us."

According to the confession of Alaster Mac Gregor, who was chief of the clan in 1603, the Earl of Argyll, impelled by deep, selfish motives, was largely responsible for that chief's doings during the immediately preceding years. By the Earl, Mac Gregor was tempted, it would seem, to imbrue his hands in many more bloody deeds than he performed, and upon that nobleman he lays the blame of having inspired what had actually been done. 1603 A.D.

In the execution of the letters of fire and sword which had been issued against the Mac Gregors from time to time, the Colquhouns bore a part, and this brought upon them their special vengeance. In the year 1602, as the result of a raid made by the Mac Gregors into Glenfinlas, Sir Alexander Colquhoun of Luss obtained from the King a commission of lieutenancy, empowering him to repress the raiders, and apprehend them. Learning of this investiture, Alaster Mac Gregor of Glenstrae anticipated the action of Colquhoun by advancing early in the following February into the territory of Luss with four hundred followers armed with "halberschois, pow-aixes, twa-handit swordis, bowis and arrowis, and with hagbutis, and pistoletis." By this time Sir Alexander, acting in terms of his commission, had at his disposal a force of three hundred horse and five hundred foot, and with these he advanced to meet the Mac Gregors, who were in Glenfruin. Along with him were also, says tradition, certain Dunbarton youths and student lads who, out of curiosity, had gone to view the fight. But ere all was over, the spectacle could hardly have been gratifying to them, for Glenfruin was indeed turned that day into a veritable "Glen of Weeping."

Though deficient in numbers Mac Gregor employed his forces skilfully, and, by arranging an ambuscade, so managed his dispositions that the Colquhouns were caught between two fires ere they could emerge, as they desired, from the upper end of the Glen. The result was disastrous, and they were compelled to beat a hasty retreat in which many lives were lost, the chief of

the Colquhouns himself barely escaping with his life after his horse had been killed under him. Of the Colquhouns and their allies one hundred and forty were killed, among them, it is said, some of the students, and Tobias Smollett, ancestor of the novelist. The Mac Gregors, on their part, reaped a bountiful harvest of plunder.

But, as it transpired, it was a victory fraught with worse consequences to the victors than any defeat could have been. The fruit was of the bitterest character, for now it was enacted that the name of Mac Gregor should be for ever abolished—"nameless by day;"—that none should give food or shelter to any of the clan; that all who had been engaged in the conflict of Glenfruin should henceforth carry no weapon other than a pointless knife with which to eat their food; that not more than four men of the clan should meet at any time together—all which under a penalty of death.

To the Earls of Argyll and Atholl were now entrusted the active proceedings to be taken against the rebels, who, after a brave and stubborn resistance, were at last overcome. Early in
1604 A.D. the year 1604 Alaster Mac Gregor surrendered himself to Argyll on the condition that the latter should grant him a safe conduct into England, that he might there lay his case before the King, and crave his mercy. What Argyll did, however, was to send him over the Border and then immediately bring him back to Edinburgh, where, after a few days, he and some hostages whom he had previously delivered up to Argyll were hanged,—"himself being chieff he was hangit his awin hicht above the rest of his friendis." Such were the betrayal and ending of Alexander Mac Gregor of Glenstrae.

By the Earl of Moray three hundred of the landless clan were transplanted to Aberdeenshire, where, under the name of Gregory, they were set as a barrier by that nobleman, against the turbulent Mac Intoshes. From them have sprung many men—Professors, Physicians, Inventors—who hold honourable places in the history of their nation.

The chronic condition of turmoil in the Highlands was gravely accentuated during the early years of the century by the fact that the King was pre-occupied by his preparations for the wider sphere which he hoped soon to occupy. On his removal to the south in 1603 to enjoy the fruition of his dreams, matters became

still worse, for so weak was the Scottish Government that the country, as a whole, seemed on the eve of falling into a condition of complete anarchy. This state of affairs continued for many years, and in a speech delivered to the Estates in 1616 Lord Chancellor Hamilton gives a striking picture of the frightful condition into which things had come, even in the very capital of the kingdom. It affords strong evidence of the fact that in the Lowlands, as in the Highlands, anarchy speedily arose when those who should govern failed in their duty, and on them lay the responsibility for whatever lawlessness raged in either divison of the country.

In the summer of 1605 a fresh effort was made to colonise the Lewis. Armed with commissions of fire and sword, and supported by some of his Majesty's ships and a considerable force from the neighbouring districts, the colonists proceeded to exercise the ample powers that had been conferred upon them for this effort. By the Privy Council instructions were given that all the castles in the North Isles, as well as all the galleys and other boats there and on the coasts of the adjacent mainland, were to be delivered up to them, while all communication with the rebels of Lewis was strictly forbidden. One of the earliest steps of the colonists was to send a message to Tormod Mac Leod, through whose agency they had been expelled three years previously. To him they made offer that if he submitted they would procure his pardon and convey him to the King at London, where he might, through the influence of friends, obtain his Majesty's favour, and secure some means of subsistence. To this Tormod agreed, but he did so against the advice of his uncle Neil. On his arrival in London Tormod made such a favourable impression upon the King in his pleading of the rights of his nephews that the colonists got alarmed, and in bad faith, using their influence against him, they secured his committal to Edinburgh Castle, where he lay for ten years. On his liberation he was permitted to proceed to Holland to engage in the service of Maurice, Prince of Orange, and there he died. 1605 A.D.

Meantime Neil Mac Leod stepped into the leadership of the clan which had been vacated by Tormod, and harassed the colonists with a steady hostility. In this he was aided by Mac Neill of Barra, the captain of Clanranald, and Mac Leod of Harris, with the result that the colonists, in 1607, became dispirited, and

again forsook the island. Upon this Mac Kenzie of Kintail, in pursuance of his long cherished design, availed himself of the fact that Torquil Connanach had some years before resigned the island to him, and, by the aid of the Lord Chancellor, passed under the great seal a gift of Lewis to himself. This transaction was, however, no sooner made known to King James by the adventurers than Mac Kenzie was forced to resign it, when it was granted anew to three persons only—James, Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay of Netherliff, and Sir James Spens of Wormestoun.

In 1609, and ere matters were in train for engaging in yet another attempt upon the island, Lord Balmerino had been convicted of high treason, and upon Hay and Spens devolved the responsibility for the fresh effort at colonising that was made in that year. Through the unsuspected machinations of Mac Kenzie this effort proved as abortive as the previous ones, and within a very short time all the colonists, with the exception of a small garrison left in the fort of Stornoway, had to be withdrawn for lack of supplies. Soon the fort was surprised and burned by Neil Mac Leod, and all the garrison were taken prisoners. These unfortunates were speedily sent off by Mac Leod to their homes in Fife, and thus ingloriously ended the last Lowland attempt to colonise the Lewis. The upshot was that the Lord of Kintail purchased from Hay and Spens their title to the island, while he also succeeded in receiving from the King a grant of the forfeited portion formerly owned by Lord Balmerino. From the Government Mac Kenzie now obtained a commission of fire and sword, and speedily brought the Lewis men into obedience. From this time the Siol Torquil ceased to make headway, and Mac Kenzie ruled in Mac Leod's hereditary domains.

While in 1607 the adventurers were engaged in their fruitless effort at colonisation, certain proposals of a lamentable and barbarous character were made to Huntly by the King, or at any-rate with his knowledge, for the reduction to obedience, or rather to a state of quiet, of all the North Isles with the exception of Skye and Lewis. The proposals were these :—That the Marquis should undertake the service upon his own private means alone ; that he should conclude it within a year, and have no exemption from paying rent but for that space ; *that he should end the service not by agreement with the country people, but by extirpating them* ;

that he should take all the North Isles except Skye and Lewis in feu from the King, as being in his Majesty's hands by forfeiture of the present possession or otherwise; and that he should pay for these Isles such a rent as should be fixed by the Comptroller of Scotland, according to the principles observed in the rental of the South Isles. In keeping with this method of accomplishing desired ends, the total extirpation of the Irish by massacre was strongly advocated in England in the same century.

As regards the North Isles, the shameful task of extirpation was undertaken by Huntly, but, fortunately, disagreement as regards the subject of rent, and the action of leading Presbyterians, who viewed with jealousy the purposed aggrandizement of Huntly, who was a Roman Catholic, led to the abandonment of the atrocious enterprise.

Leaving the North Isles, let us now turn to the South Isles and trace the events that happened there after the year 1599, when Sir James Mac Donald endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to come to what promised to be a hopeful arrangement with the Government. Shortly after that date Sir James liberated his father Angus. What exact position they then occupied towards one another, and respectively towards the clan and the estates, we cannot discover, but we know that in 1603 Angus, suspecting a fresh plot against him, caused Sir James to be apprehended, and, after a time, delivered as a prisoner to Campbell of Auchinbreck. The following year Argyll, on the order of the Privy Council, presented Sir James to them at Perth, and by the Council he was committed to the Castle of Blackness. An attempt to escape thence led to his incarceration in the Castle of Edinburgh.

In the summer of 1605 arrangements were in progress for an 1605 A.D.
expedition under the Comptroller, Lord Scone, into Kintyre, there to receive, on the day appointed (20th July), the personal submission of the Western chiefs, to obtain from them surety for the payment of His Majesty's rents, to examine all their title deeds, and thereafter to pursue with fire and sword such as failed to give satisfaction in these particulars. In the execution of the plan considerable delay was, as so often before, experienced, and all that came of the commission granted at this time was that Angus Mac Donald repaired to Glasgow, and there made

certain proposals to the Comptroller, which proposals the latter undertook to forward to the King.

Early in August a second commission was granted to Lord Scone, and in September he proceeded to Kintyre and held a Court at Campbeltown, but the only chiefs who answered to the summons to appear before him were Angus Mac Donald and his Kintyre vassals, the Mac Alisters, the Mac Neills, the Mac Kays, and the Mac Eacherns. From Angus he received all rents due by that chief ; and on his departure, after compiling a roll of the King's lands in Kintyre, he brought with him as a hostage Archibald Mac Donald of Gigha, a natural son of Angus Mac Donald. Archibald he confined in the Castle of Dunbarton.

1606 A.D. The following year Lord Scone met with a Committee of the Privy Council for the purpose of submitting to them a report of his proceedings. At this time the influence of Argyll was very great, and the result of the conference was unfavourable to the islanders. Early in the next year (1607) Argyll succeeded in obtaining a grant of the lands in North and South Kintyre, and in Jura, which had formerly belonged to Angus Mac Donald, and thus these lands passed from the possession of their old proprietors, and became vested in the House of Argyll. Later in the year the Earl was appointed Justiciar and Lieutenant over the South Isles for a period of six months, with power to call out the militia of Argyll and Tarbert to his aid, but no active steps were undertaken by him, and the Mac Donalds retained the Castle of Dunyveg in Islay, which they had been instructed by the Privy Council to surrender to the Earl.

1608 A.D. In August 1608 a formidable expedition was organised under Lord Ochiltree for the purpose of securing the long-deferred submission of the islanders. The terms to which the chiefs were to be called upon to submit were strictly specified by the Privy Council, and they included security for rents ; obedience to the laws ; delivery of all places of strength ; renunciation of jurisdictions by the chiefs, and submission by all to the officers of the Crown ; submission to the King's decree as to the lands they should possess in the future ; the destruction of all their galleys except those required for carrying to the mainland His Majesty's rents paid in kind, and other necessary purposes ; the education of their children at school by all who could afford it ; and lastly, the abstaining from the use of guns, bows, and two-handed

swords, and the confining themselves to single-handed swords and targes. Further instructions furnished by the King himself included the appointment of a Council to assist Lord Ochiltree, and the garrisoning of strengths at the discretion of the Lieutenant. At the head of this Council was Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles.

The determination of the Government on this occasion, and their desire that the expedition should be made as formidable as possible, is made evident by the fact that for the time being no enlistment of soldiers for foreign service was permitted, while, when the forces made their appearance among the Western Isles, regular troops both from England and Ireland swelled the ranks. Matters proceeded favourably, and by the 17th of August Dunyveg, the Fort of Lochgorme, and the Castle of Dowart, were in turn peacefully surrendered. At the Castle of Aros the following Islesmen attended the Court in obedience to the proclamation of the royal Lieutenant:—Angus Mac Donald of Dunyveg; Hector Mac Lean of Dowart; Lachlan, his brother; Donald Gorme Mac Donald of Sleat; Donald Mac Alan, Captain of the Clanranald; Ruari Mac Leod of Harris; Alaster, his brother; and Neil Mac Ilduy and Neil Mac Ruari, two gentlemen of Mull, followers of Mac Lean of Dowart. Of these Angus Mac Donald alone was permitted to return home after receiving very strict injunctions regarding his future behaviour. The others do not seem to have yielded so satisfactorily to the Lieutenant's proposals, and so he entrapped them all on board the King's ship, the *Moon*, with the exception of Ruari Mac Leod, who was suspicious of his intentions. After having been treated to a sermon by the Bishop sail was made, and the prisoners were taken direct to Ayr, whence they were transferred to Edinburgh and finally lodged in the castles of Dunbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. To the Privy Council, Lord Ochiltree reported the destruction by him of all the galleys and other vessels he had found in the Isles he had visited. 1608 A.D.

With so many chiefs in his power, King James found himself now particularly favourably situated for the placing of the affairs of the Isles in a more satisfactory position, and through special commissioners he had many communications both with the imprisoned chiefs, and with those who were at liberty. Sir James

1609 A.D. Mac Donald, who had been incarcerated for six years, he now also brought to trial. This he probably did with a view to striking terror into the chiefs, but although the knight was condemned to death the sentence was not executed. The most important charges against Sir James were the setting fire to the house of Askomill and the imprisonment of his father, but he held a letter in which these actions had been justified by the King—a letter which it might not be convenient should be published—and in this fact we probably find the reason for his reprieve.

That same year (1609) two most important steps were taken towards the pacification of the Isles. The first was the appointment of Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, as sole commissioner, and the second was the release of the chiefs and gentlemen from their confinement, on the condition that they should furnish security for their return to Edinburgh, and that they should loyally support the Commissioner during a visit and survey which he purposed making. Before the end of July the following chiefs and prominent men assembled upon Iona's Isle and unreservedly submitted themselves—Angus Mac Donald of Dunyveg, Hector Mac Lean of Dowart, Donald Gorme of Sleat, Ruari Mac Leod of Harris, Donald Mac Alan, Captain of Clanranald, Lachlan Mac Lean of Coll, Lachlan Mac Kinnon of that Ilk, Hector Mac Lean of Lochbuy, Lachlan and Alan Mac Lean, brothers-German to Dowart, Gillespic Mac Quarrie of Ulva, and Donald Mac Fie of Colonsay. By the Bishop a Court was now constituted at which nine statutes of the utmost importance were enacted, and the oaths of the chiefs given for their faithful observance. These enactments, known as the "Statutes of Icolmkill," are of so much importance, and throw so much light on the social conditions of the time, that it is desirable to quote the substance of them here as given by Gregory:—

"The *first* statute proceeded upon the narrative of the gross ignorance and barbarity of the Islanders, alleged to have arisen partly from the small number of their clergy, and partly from the contempt in which this small number of pastors was held. To remedy this state of things it was agreed that proper obedience should be given to the clergy—(whose number, much diminished by the Reformation, it was proposed to increase)—that their stipends should be regularly paid—that ruinous churches should

be rebuilt—that the Sabbaths should be solemnly kept ; and that in all respects they should observe the discipline of the Reformed Kirk, as established by Act of Parliament. By one of the clauses of this statute *marriages contracted for certain years were declared illegal ;* a proof that the ancient practice of handfasting still prevailed to a certain extent. The *second* statute ordained the establishment of inns at the most convenient places in the several Isles ; and this not only for the convenience of travellers, but to relieve the tenants and labourers of the ground from the great burden and expense caused to them through the want of houses of public entertainment. The *third* statute was intended to diminish the number of idle persons, whether masterless vagabonds or belonging to the households of the chiefs and landlords ; for experience had shown that the expense of supporting these idlers fell chiefly upon the tenantry in addition to their usual rents. It was therefore enacted that no man should be suffered to reside within the Isles who had not a sufficient revenue of his own ; or who, at least, did not follow some trade by which he might live. With regard to the great households hitherto kept by the chiefs, a limit was put to the number of individuals of which each household was to consist in future, according to the rank and estate of the master ; and it was further provided that each chief should support his household from his own means, not by a tax upon his tenantry. The *fourth* statute provided that all persons not natives of the Isles, who should be found sorning, or living at free quarters upon the poor inhabitants (an evil which seems to have reached a great height), should be tried and punished by the Judge Ordinary as thieves and oppressors. The *fifth* statute proceeded upon the narrative that one of the chief causes of the great poverty of the Isles, and of the cruelty and inhuman barbarity practised in their feuds, was the inordinate love of strong wines and aquavitæ, which they purchased partly 1609 A.D. from dealers among themselves, partly from merchants belonging to the mainland. Power was, therefore, given to any person whatever to seize, without payment, any wine or aquavitæ imported for sale by a native merchant ; and if an Islander should buy any of the prohibited articles from a mainland trader, he was to incur the penalty of forty pounds for the first offence ; one hundred pounds for the second ; and for the third, the loss of his whole possessions and movable goods. It was, however, declared

to be lawful for an individual to brew as much aquavitæ as his own family might require; and the barons and wealthy gentlemen were permitted to purchase in the Lowlands the wine and other liquors required for their private consumption. The *sixth* statute attributed the 'ignorance and incivilitie' of the Islanders to the neglect of good education among the youth; and to remedy this fault, enacted that every gentleman or yeoman possessed of sixty cattle should send (at least) his eldest son, or, if he had no male children, his eldest daughter, to school in the Lowlands, and maintain his child there till it had learned to speak, read, and write English. The *seventh* statute forbade the use of any description of fire arms, even for the destruction of game, under the penalties contained in an Act of Parliament passed in the present reign, which had never yet received obedience from the Islanders, 'owing to their monstrous deadly feuds.' The *eighth* statute was directed against bards and other idlers of that class. The gentry were forbidden to encourage them; and the bards themselves were threatened, first with the stocks and then with banishment. The *ninth* statute contained some necessary enactments for enforcing obedience to the preceding acts." Such were the nine "Statutes of Icolmkill," passed on the 23rd August, 1609. We seem to see in them an evidence of weariness of the old ways, and a desire for peace.

The practice of hand-fasting referred to in the first of these "Statutes" is thus spoken of by the Rev. Dr. Mac Queen in a letter to Pennant:—"It was an ancient practice to take a year's trial of a wife, and if they were mutually satisfied with one another in that time, the marriage was declared good and lawful at the expiration of it. But when either of the parties insisted on a separation, and that a child was begotten in the year of probation, it was to be taken care of by the father only, and to be ranked among his lawful children next after his heirs." In some parts of Lowland Scotland, the custom seems to have lingered on till after the Reformation, as we infer from the fact that at Dundee Burgh Court on May 21st, 1560, "Compearit John Ray, and oblist him to marry his wife on Sunday next. At the same time James Rollock has become surety that Robert Man sall complete the band of matrimony with Jonet Myln, or else incur the danger conteinet in the acts." In the twelfth cen-

tury, as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, the same custom was common in Wales.

In the recognised necessity for the establishment of inns, we find very definite evidence of the large hospitality for which the Highlanders and Islanders have been at all times distinguished. To the fugitive and the stranger, and even to the enemy who cast himself upon their protection, their conduct was invariably generous and humane. Their common saying, "Biadh an diugh agus cogadh am maireach" (food to-day and feud to-morrow), shows well their high notions of duty in these respects. But while the guest was thus honourably treated, he also realised his obligation to the host under whose roof he found shelter, and whose bread he ate. It was "ane ancient custom," says Bishop Leslie, "amang the Scottishmen, that wheresoever they happen to lodge they defend their hosts from all hurt, even to the shedding of their blood and losing their lives for them if need be, so long as their meat is undigested in their stomachs." Burns, in a burst of generous feeling, gives heartfelt expression, in his well-known lines, to the popular idea regarding Highland hospitality—

"When death's dark stream I ferry o'er,
A time that surely shall come,
In heaven itself I'll ask no more,
Than just a Highland welcome."

In the early part of the fifteenth century inns were, even in the Lowlands, only to be found in the principal towns, and, in the year 1424, it was found necessary to enact that:—"in all burowis townys of the realme, and thruchfares, quhar common passages ar, thar be ordanyt hostilaris and resettis haifande stabillis and chawmeries to ridaris and gangaris." By the same Act travellers were forbidden to lodge elsewhere.

With regard to the limitation put by the third statute upon the household of the chief, we see from Burt's letters that even in his day—the early part of the eighteenth century—the number of men that was closely attached to his service was still very considerable. "When a chief goes a journey in the hills," he tells us, "or makes a formal visit to an equal, he is said to be attended by all or most part of the officers following, viz.—the henchman; the bard or poet; the bladier or spokesman; the gillemore, bearer of the broadsword; the gillecasflue, to carry the chief when on foot over the fords; the gille constraine, to

lead the chief home in dangerous passes; the gille trushanarnish or baggage-man; the piper, who being a gentleman I should have named sooner. And lastly, the piper's gillie, who carries the bagpipe. There are likewise some gentlemen near of kin who bear him company; and besides a number of the common sort who have no particular employment, but follow him only to partake of the cheer."

At this date, as indeed all down the centuries, the question of the injury done by the inordinate use of strong drink was often present to the minds of those who concerned themselves with the welfare of the people. We have no means of ascertaining at what period whisky came into common use in the Highlands. In the Lowlands it was rarely used before the early part of the eighteenth century, and there it seems to have been viewed, up to that time, more as a medicine than as an article of ordinary consumption. In the Exchequer Rolls of 1494-5 we find that eight bolls of malt were delivered to Friar John Cor for the purpose of making aqua vitæ—a fact which seems to point to its manufacture within religious houses. In the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, under date 1497, we learn that whisky was brought to James IV. at Dundee by a barber (probably in the capacity of surgeon), for which he received, by the King's command, the sum of nine shillings. Until whisky ousted it from its place of pre-eminence, the ordinary beverage of the Lowlander was a light ale, which was sometimes supplemented by fermented whey among the farmers and peasants. Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, was struck, on his visit to Ireland, with the large amount of wine that was drunk in that country, and, doubtless, a proportionate amount would be consumed in the Western Isles. He says—"Poitou, out of its superabundance, exports vast quantities of wine to Ireland, which willingly gives in return its ox-hides, and the skins of cattle and wild beasts." An enactment made about this time by the Lord of Glenorchy, with consent and advice of the whole Commons and Tenants, shows us the prevalence of a custom which we would hardly have expected to find. It is an Act prohibiting women from going into public brewhouses to drink without their husbands accompanying them. The author of "Certayne Matters Concerning Scotland," published in 1597, shows us, however, that many of the Highlanders

were very temperate—"the most part of them only drink water." Toland, writing a century later, also indicates that they were distinguished by "constant temperance," and that their ordinary drink was water. Nevertheless, as we shall see later, the question comes up again and again, and regulating legislation was enacted from time to time.

In the fact that the sixth statute enjoined the sending of the children to the Lowlands to be educated, we may take it that we find evidence not only that the Government desired that Highland children should be taught English, but that previous enactments as to education had borne little fruit in the Islands, and that the grand Reformation resolution to establish a school in every parish was not yet by any means realised. The fact is that Highland barons, as well as Lowland, were not slack to seize upon the revenues which had been designed by John Knox for the support of education, with the result that throughout the Highlands generally little of a permanent character was accomplished towards the fostering of education. Referring to an earlier period Mr. John Boyd, H.M.I.S., in a paper dealing with the subject, says—"The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries saw a considerable increase of schools; such college centres as Abernethy having apparently several in connection with them. Those of each centre were under a 'rector scolarum,' who was evidently a man of note and intelligence, though probably subordinate to the *fear-leighinn*, who was a sort of chancellor or superintendent. The first schools existing separately from religious institutions were the burgh schools, which had arisen as early as the reign of Malcolm IV. (1153-1165) at Perth, Stirling, and other towns. Another great landmark was the founding of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1474, by James IV. and Bishop Elphinstone, which had for its chief motive the extension of learning and civilisation throughout the Highlands; and which, with the Grammar School of the same city, drew many students from at least the nearer Highland regions. It was worthy of notice that at the latter institution, while the Lowland vernacular was forbidden, Gaelic was one of the languages, with Latin, French, and others, in which the scholars might converse."

This regard for the Gaelic language did not, however, continue long, nor was the statute of 1609 satisfactorily respected, for we find the Privy Council, in 1616, concluding an injunction thus—

"Thairfor that they ['the chiftanes and principal clannit men of the Ylles'] shall send thair bairnes being past the age of nyne yeires to the scollis in the Lawlandis to the effect that they may be instructit and trayned to wryte and reid and to speake Inglische; and that nane of thair bairnis sall be served air unto them nor acknawlegeit nor received as tennentis to his Majestie unless they can wryte, reid, and speik Inglesche." The unfriendly feelings of the Privy Council to the Gaelic language are still better shown in an Act passed on 10th December of this same year, which says—"Forasmeikle that the Inglesche toung may be universallie planted, and the Irish language, which is one of the chief and principal causes of the continuance of barbaritie and incivillitie among the inhabitantis of the Isles and Highlandis may be abolished and removit," etc. The same mistake of trying to teach through a foreign language alone has practically been continued to the present day.

By and by grammar schools of repute were founded in several centres throughout the Highlands, such as Inverness, Fortrose, Dunkeld, etc., from which young men were sent to Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and many to Leyden and Douay.

Than the statute directed against the bardic fraternity we could have no better evidence that they, at that time, constituted a very considerable class. One of the chief duties of the bard was the glorification of war. His it was to celebrate the warlike deeds of his chief and clan for the emulation of posterity, to exhort the warriors before the battle to deeds of bravery, and to point out the disgrace of cowardly conduct. Doubtless in so doing they kept alive the flames of hatred and revenge, and we may consider it probable that it was this circumstance and the desire to discourage strife that led to the framing of the statute against them. But in certain other respects the bard was, of course, a most valuable member of the community. He was the genealogist of the clan, and in the absence of books he concentrated in himself the learning of the common people of the tribe, and was, indeed, their only library. It was his also to entertain the festive board, or speed the hours of the long wintry nights by reciting round roaring fires the choicest poetry of the past—poetry which did not always concern itself with war.

1610 A.D. In due time King James signified his approval of Bishop Knox's proceedings in the west, and on the 28th June, 1610, Mac Lean

of Dowart, Mac Donald of Sleat, Mac Donald of Dunyveg, Mac Leod of Harris, the captain of Clanranald, Mac Kinnon of Strathordell, and Alan Cameron of Lochiel, presented themselves in Edinburgh before the Privy Council to hear his Majesty's pleasure declared to them. The meeting seems to have been most satisfactory, certain disputes were amicably arranged, and pledges were given for the due observance of law and order in the future.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Bishop Andrew Knox appointed Steward and Justice of the Western Isles —Troubles within the Clan Cameron—Disturbances in Islay—The career and fate of Angus Oig—Escape of Sir James Mac Donald from prison—Last rebellion of the Clandonald of the South—Operations of Argyll and flight of Sir James, Keppoch, and others—Kintyre granted to James Campbell, son of Argyll—Further measures taken to secure the obedience of the Island Chiefs—The granting of leases to Tacksmen and sub-tenants—Abolition of the "Calpe"—The Clan Chattan at strife with Huntly and Moray—Clan quarrels and cattle lifting—Relationship between Lowlander and Highlander.

1610-1638.

In July, 1610—a month after the meeting of the western chiefs with the Council in Edinburgh—Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, received a commission for life as Steward and Justice of all the Western Isles of Scotland with the homage and service of the King's tenants in their bounds, and all fees and casualties pertaining to the offices conferred upon him. He was also made constable of the Castle of Dunyveg.

For several years, under the supervision of this energetic and capable prelate, the affairs of the Isles went forward in a comparatively peaceful fashion. Between the Mac Kenzies and Mac Leods, however, the struggle still went on intermittently in Lewis, but the former succeeded in retaining possession without much difficulty. Similarly, between the Lairds of Raasay and Gerloch the old feud still raged, but in 1611 the former of these chieftains, Gilliechallum Oig, and Murdoch Mac Kenzie, a younger son of the Laird of Gerloch, were both slain in battle, and from this time forward Gerloch seems to have been uninterruptedly possessed by the Mac Kenzies.

1613 A.D. The year 1613 witnessed some considerable commotions among the clans of the western mainland. One of these resulted from the action of the seventh Earl of Argyll, who strove to make good an old claim of his house to the lands of Lochiel. In the reign of James V., the then Earl of Argyll, as we have seen,

obtained by purchase, through Sir John Campbell of Calder, the claim which Mac Lean of Lochbuy had to these lands. For many years that claim had been forgotten, even by the Campbells themselves, and it was unthought of till the year 1608, when the then Earl found the old title-deeds in his charter chest. From the King he now obtained, without difficulty, a new charter, and forthwith, and much to the astonishment of the Camerons, who seem never to have doubted the validity of their titles, set agoing the legal process for removing that clan from these lands. At Edinburgh, Lochiel met with Argyll, and was persuaded by the latter to submit the question at issue to the decision of the lawyers of both parties. By these legal gentlemen judgment was given in favour of the Earl, and it was then arranged that Lochiel should hold the lands by charter as a vassal of Argyll.

But complications ensued. Up to this period the Camerons had consistently acknowledged the superiority of the Marquis of Huntly, from whom they held the lands of Mamore and others. Now, it was with feelings of the greatest annoyance that Huntly learned that Argyll had secured a footing in Lochaber, and also claimed the Camerons as vassals. To get Lochiel to repudiate his agreement with Argyll was, from this moment, the earnest aim of Huntly, but the chief of the Camerons, while protesting his continued steady adherence to Huntly, resisted every effort made to induce him to violate his obligations. Foiled in this move Huntly now determined upon another course, and, with a view to stirring up strife, arranged with the heads of the families of Erracht, Kinlochiel, and Glennevis that they should accept their lands directly of him, and so make themselves independent of their chief. Through the Earl of Enzie, the eldest son of the Marquis, this transaction was soon formally carried out, and nothing Lochiel could do by conference and otherwise could induce them to resile from the new position they had taken up, unless he would first accompany them to the Marquis, to whom they promised to reconcile him. Too wary to be thus caught Lochiel, while agreeing to give the proposal his consideration, proceeded on another visit to Edinburgh, with a view to obtaining legal advice as to the proper course of action to be taken for the recovery of his lands.

While in Edinburgh Lochiel learned that the dissentient members of his clan were engaged in putting in train a plan for his destruction, and so he lost no time in returning to Lochaber,

where, unknown to the enemy, he soon gathered a considerable body of his friends around him. Placing most of these in ambush in a wood close by where the other party were assembled, the chief himself went forward, accompanied by only six attendants, and sent to request a conference with the leaders of his opponents. Rejoicing in the smallness of his company, these latter determined to seize what they considered a favourable opportunity to destroy him and his companions, but the old chief, realising their intention, retreated in such a direction as led them past the wood where the ambush lay. Upon a signal given his followers rushed out and attacked the enemy both in front and rear, routing them, and killing about twenty of their principal men, besides taking eight prisoners. By this victory Lochiel was enabled to resume his lands, but he brought upon himself, at the same time, the displeasure of the Privy Council, by whom he and his followers were proclaimed rebels, and a price set upon the heads of the leaders. To the Marquis of Huntly a commission of fire and sword was granted, but although Lochiel and his people were ranked as outlaws for several years they do not seem to have suffered to anything like the same degree as did the Mac Gregors—a circumstance which was due to the influence of Argyll.

By the date at which we have now arrived Angus Mac Donald of Dunyveg was dead, and Islay had been granted in lease to Sir Ranald Mac Donald (afterwards first Earl of Antrim), son of that Sorley Buy of whom, at an earlier point in our narrative, we have heard much. Ere long Sir Ranald made application for a heritable grant, but disturbances, which we have now to speak
1614 A.D. of, cut short the negotiations. Early in the year 1614 the Castle of Dunyveg, which was in possession of the Bishop, but was very insufficiently garrisoned, was surprised and taken by Ronald Oig, bastard son of the late Angus Mac Donald, assisted by three or four followers. Acting on instructions from Angus Oig, legitimate son of the late Angus, and younger brother of the imprisoned Sir James Mac Donald, siege was speedily laid to the castle in name of the King, by Coll Mac Gillespick or Coll Ciotach (left-handed Coll), as he was commonly called, and after six days it was vacated, Ronald Oig and his men escaping by sea.

By Angus Oig the castle was then, it would seem, offered to

the former garrison, but they refused to receive it, and, later in the year, he sent a letter to the Council through his brother, Sir James, offering to restore Dunyveg to the Bishop, providing his conduct in connection with the capture was approved of. To test the loyalty of Angus Oig a mandate was forthwith issued for the immediate delivery of the Castle to the Bishop, while, at the same time, the latter was armed with a commission of fire and sword, should it be found necessary to employ force. Notwithstanding this demand the Castle remained in possession of Angus Oig for several months, nor was it yielded up when, early in September, the Bishop sent messengers from Arran with the desiderated pardon, the possessors refusing to surrender it except to the Bishop in person, and after the receipt in writing of a promise of friendship.

On the 19th September the Bishop landed in Islay with seventy men. Two days later he was joined by Donald Gorme of Sleat and Sir Aulay Mac Aulay of Ardencaple, who had been at Dunyveg making unsuccessful overtures on behalf of the Bishop for the surrender of the Castle. The smallness of his force and the augmentation of the followers of Angus Oig placed the Bishop in a highly unpleasant situation, a situation which was made still more difficult when his boats, four in number, were, almost immediately, seized and destroyed by the Mac Donalds. The result was that the Bishop, much to his disgust, found himself compelled to enter into a treaty with Angus Oig, in terms of which he promised to exert himself to secure to Angus a seven years' lease of the Islay Crown lands, to procure for him liberty to hold the Castle of Dunyveg, and to obtain a pardon to the Clandonald for past misdeeds. Nor was this all, for he was forced to agree to leave as hostages his son, Thomas Knox, and his nephew, John Knox of Ranfurlie. These gentlemen the Clandonald agreed to treat well, and to release on payment of a ransom, even although the Bishop should fail in securing for them the specified conditions, if they were convinced he had done his best in that regard. Ere leaving Islay Bishop Knox despatched an explanatory letter to the Council, in which the following significant passage occurs:—"The Clandonald have built a new fort in a loch, which they have manned and victualled. Angus Oig, their captain, affirms, in the hearing of many witnesses, *that he got directions from the Earl of Argyll not to*

surrender the Castle, and that he (the Earl) should procure for Angus the whole lands of Isla and the house of Dunyveg." Later revelations make it only too evident that Argyll was an instigator of this fresh rebellion, and that he acted thus artfully to further his own ends by making the Clandonald still more obnoxious to the Government, and so preventing them from coming to terms.

In due time the Privy Council had under their consideration the conditions exacted from the Bishop by Angus Oig, but instead of agreeing to them they accepted a particularly generous offer of feu-duty or perpetual rent for Islay, made to them by John Campbell of Calder, and arranged with him that he should undertake, at his own expense, except as regards artillery, a commission against Angus Oig and his followers. To Bishop Knox this proposal for the introduction of the Campbells was highly distasteful, and he expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of rooting out one pestiferous clan in order to "plant in another little better." "Garring ane devil dang anither," was the expressive phrase usually employed to indicate such a method as this that was resorted to by the Privy Council. The idea that commended itself to the Bishop was the plantation in Islay of *honest men*, such a plantation as was then in progress in the forfeited lands of Ulster. To procure the liberation of the hostages he, at the same time, did not refrain from recommending the practice of deceit.

Meanwhile Sir James Mac Donald, learning of these proceedings and intentions, made to the Council, on two several occasions, various proposals for securing his liberty. These were without avail, and to the last petition the only answer vouchsafed was the hurrying forward of the preparations for the despatch of Calder to the Isles, over which he was to act as Lieutenant. The usual proclamations enjoining the assistance of the lieges were also issued. To the Clandonald pardons were offered on condition of immediate submission, and even to Angus Oig a remission was promised provided he yielded up the Castle, the hostages, and two of his associates of his own rank.

At this point, and while Calder was collecting his forces, a new agent appeared upon the scene. This was George Graham of Eryne, Ross-shire, a man who had had some previous acquaintance with Angus Oig, and was familiar with the Gaelic language.

Graham was the agent of the Earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, and through him the latter, without the knowledge of his colleagues of the Privy Council, entered upon an intrigue for the release of the hostages, the son and nephew of the Bishop of the Isles. By means of false representations and abundant promises in name of the Chancellor, Graham not only secured the liberation of the hostages, but the delivery of the Castle as well. To retain the latter, however, did not suit the ends of the Chancellor, and Graham persuaded Angus under a specious pretext, but in reality with a view to getting him still more deeply committed, to resume possession of the Castle. This he instructed him to hold till he had received further orders from the Chancellor, and not to deliver it even to Calder should the latter summon him so to do. That Angus might still further involve himself, and that he himself might not be found out in his intrigues, Graham advised Angus, should a herald from Calder appear, to kill him rather than permit him to approach the Castle. In process of time the herald did appear, and Graham himself did what he could to prevent him coming near. Unsuccessful in this, he then prevailed upon Angus to disobey the summons, while he personally conducted himself very violently towards the herald, and induced Coll Ciotach to treat him roughly. Then leaving the Islanders to their fate Graham sent a written order to Angus Oig, renewing, as if in the Chancellor's name, the injunctions formerly given to retain the castle at all hazards. Such was the Chancellor's notable and unworthy plan for the relief of the hostages and the destruction of Angus Oig.

About the end of November Calder arrived in Islay, but it was not till the 6th of January (1615) that his forces and those sent from Ireland were in a position to begin operations. Ere this date, and during the absence of Calder at Duntroon for victualling purposes, Sir Oliver Lambert, the commander of the Irish troops, had learned something of Graham's doings, and summoned the castle to surrender. To this request Angus Oig made answer that he would comply with it at once had he not already received definite instructions from the Chancellor to retain it. After further treating, a copy of the instructions was furnished to Sir Oliver, but not feeling satisfied that they had been given upon proper authority the latter determined to institute a siege, and by the 27th of January the ordnance was landed. 1615 A.D.

A week earlier the fort and island of Lochgorme had been surrendered to the lieutenant by Ranald Mac James, uncle of Angus Oig, and about the same date several of the garrison deserted from the castle. By this time the people were becoming thoroughly alarmed, and after the batteries had played upon the castle for two days Angus Oig had an interview with the lieutenant, who explained to him the deception practised by Graham. Thereupon Angus promised to surrender with as many as chose to follow him, but later he changed his mind, probably on the advice of Coll, and refused to implement his promise. Eventually, however, he was compelled to surrender, and that without conditions. Coll Mac Gillespick and a few others succeeded in escaping by night. Of the rebels, who were then taken, fourteen were tried and executed on the 3rd of February, while six of those who had escaped with Coll were apprehended shortly thereafter, and shared a similar fate. Other six who had held the fort of Lochgorme also suffered the extreme penalty. Angus Oig and a few of his leading friends were reserved for the present, and later were brought before the Privy Council for examination regarding the whole proceedings. At the enquiry the share taken both by Argyll and by the Chancellor was clearly revealed, but both charges seem to have been suppressed, and, on the 23rd of July, Angus Oig and several of his followers were put upon their trial for high treason, and condemned to death. Five days later they were executed. "Their fate," says Gregory, "excited great commiseration, which was mingled with a feeling of indignation that no steps were taken to punish the villainous conduct of the Chancellor's emissary, Graham."

1615 A.D. On the capture of Angus Oig the leadership of those members of the Clandonald who still continued in rebellion devolved upon Coll Mac Gillespick. During the months of Spring he committed various acts of piracy upon the western coast, and in so doing was aided by Malcolm Mac Ruari Mac Leod, one of the last survivors of the Siol Torquil family. To eight of the principal insular chiefs a commission of fire and sword was granted in April against Coll, but meanwhile events were transpiring which gave a new complexion to the affairs of Clandonald. This was the escape from prison of Sir James Mac Donald, who determined upon this course because he had good reason to believe that Calder, when at Court immediately before, had

obtained a secret warrant, charging the Council, on sight thereof, to order Sir James to instant execution. Accompanied by those friends who had aided him in his escape—Alaster Mac Ranald of Keppoch, Alaster's eldest son, and the eldest son of the captain of Clanranald—Sir James fled across the Firth of Forth and, westwards, through the Highlands of Perthshire. Immediately, commissions were issued for his apprehension, and a reward of two thousand pounds was offered for his person, dead or alive, but after repeated risks of capture he reached Rannoch, where he was joined by a company of Keppoch's men, and conducted in safety into Lochaber. Thence, accompanied by Keppoch, he proceeded through Morar and Knoydart to Sleat in Skye, where a conference was held with Donald Gorme, who, though not joining him personally, permitted a number of his men to follow Sir James. At Eigg he met with the redoubtable Coll and his followers, and received from them a characteristically hearty welcome. While the long absent chief and those who had accompanied him stood by themselves apart, the loyal clansmen marched round them for half-an-hour firing, the while, volleys from their small arms. Afterwards every man of them came forward and shook hands warmly with Sir James. Ere the latter left Eigg his followers numbered three hundred, and day by day, as he fared south towards Islay, the rebellion took on a more formidable appearance. By the end of June the Castle of Dunyveg was in the hands of the outlaw, who had now four hundred followers.

Up to this time the proceedings of Sir James were quite unknown to the Council, and news of the capture of Dunyveg came upon them as a very decided shock. In their efforts, too, in connection with these affairs, they were greatly hampered by the absence of Argyll in London, whither, owing to financial embarassments, he had gone to be out of the reach of his numerous creditors. His were the lands that were threatened, and upon him, in the first place, devolved the duty of protecting them, but in his absence there was no one to undertake the responsibility of raising the clan and meeting the enemy. In these circumstances the Council wrote urgently to the King asking that Argyll should be sent down instantly, or that one of his principal kinsmen should be authorised to act for him. For the apprehension of Sir James a reward of five thousand pounds was now offered, and corres- 1615 A.D.

pondingly large sums for the capture of the other leaders—his associates. Steps were also taken to place the Isles and adjacent mainland, from Skye south to Kintyre, in a position of defence, and the several chiefs received definite instructions as to the number of men, duly furnished with forty days' provisions and other requisites, they were each to have in readiness by the 6th July.

On the occasion of the taking of Dunyveg Sir James appears to have conducted himself with great moderation. The survivors of the garrison he caused to quit the island and return to Lorn. His next step was to proceed with a portion of his forces to Kintyre for recruiting purposes, while Coll, his chief ally, went on a similar errand to Jura. Both Mac Phee of Colonsay and Donald Gigach Mac Ian, the principal men in Jura, returned. at this time, to their former allegiance, and forsook Argyll. In Kintyre, also, many men prepared to follow Sir James, while support in men was also furnished by Donald Gorme of Sleat, the captain of Clanranald, and Ruari Mac Leod of Harris. To many acquaintances in the higher ranks the outlaw now addressed letters, many of them breathing a spirit of hatred to the Campbells, and all of them placing his position before them in a manner which shows him to have been anything but an uncultivated barbarian. To the Privy Council he also appealed by letter for moderate treatment, but they declined, so long as he maintained his present attitude in the Isles, to forward his petitions to the King, or to hold any communication with him.

1615 A.D. A renewed urgent application by the Council to the King to send Argyll north produced the desired result, and he was forthwith invested with the office of lieutenant over Argyll, Tarbert, and the whole Western Isles. He was instructed so to proceed "that civil manners and customs might be established in these isles, and all their old barbarous customs utterly abolished." To him were to belong all forfeitures in Argyll and Kintyre that might follow on the rebellion, and meanwhile till his arrival on the scene of operations Sir Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreck was appointed to the chief command. To aid in quelling the rebellion the militia of all the western shires were called out by proclamation.

By the middle of July, Sir James Mac Donald had strengthened the fortifications on the island of Lochgorme, and had taken, with

a small force, the Castle of Kinloch (Campbeltown). And now, having garrisoned the Islay fortifications, he directed his course towards Kintyre, where he landed with a force of four hundred men. By many of the Kintyre men he was "very gladly received," and after sending the fiery cross through the district he, towards the end of July, moved northwards and took up a position within a few miles of Tarbert, to which rendezvous it was his purpose to attain by the 30th of the month. It is difficult to account for the inactivity of Sir James during the next few weeks. Auchinbreck was not in a position to molest him, and indeed was instructed by the Privy Council to limit his efforts to endeavouring to prevent him from over-running the other portions of the shire. Yet, in face of this fact, Sir James does not seem to have made any effort to push his way out of the peninsula, till Argyll himself was actually in a position, early in September, to attack him. Besides the militia of the western shires there were placed at the disposal of the Earl four hundred hired soldiers, all of whom were instructed to muster at Castle Sween in Knapdale, on the 2nd of September. To ensure the success of the expedition very careful preparations were made, and the great chiefs in the Isles, and all his Majesty's true lieges, were directed to give every assistance to the Royal lieutenant. Provisions were to be paid for at the following rates:—Twelve pounds Scots for an ox, two pounds for a stone of butter, one pound for a sheep, and a like sum for a stone of cheese. Mac Dougalls, Lamonts, and Mac Lachlans, swelled the forces of Argyll.

In the early days of September Argyll, by means of spies, ascertained that Sir James Mac Donald and about a thousand of his forces were encamped at Dunskeig on the west coast of Kintyre, about ten miles from Tarbert, while a number of his vessels under command of Coll, Keppoch, and others, rode at anchor in the neighbourhood of the island of Cara. To surprise these galleys by night, and seize them if possible, was the first aim of the Earl, and for that purpose he detached from the rendezvous in Loch Crinan a force of seven or eight hundred men under Sir John Campbell of Calder and other officers, while he himself took ship at Ardrishaig a few days later, and on the evening of the same day arrived at Tarbert with a force about equal in number 1615 A.D.

to that of Calder. Here he was joined by Auchinbreck, with those under his command.

While these arrangements were in progress Sir James sent north his uncle Ranald with three or four hundred men that they might stop the passage from Tarbert on the east, and Coll Ciotach was despatched from Cara with sixty men in three boats to reconnoitre at West Tarbert. There Coll succeeded in capturing Colin Campbell of Kilberry and three or four of his followers, who were probably engaged upon a similar duty on behalf of Argyll. The southward march of Argyll was the signal for the retreat of Ranald and Coll, while the Earl pursued his way in the direction of the camp of Sir James. By this time Calder and his force had reached the island of Gigha, and, in his eagerness to verify the truth of a report to this effect which he had heard, Coll approached that isle so closely that he only escaped with difficulty. Finding his way to the coast of Kintyre Coll forsook his boats and fled southward with all convenient speed, taking with him his prisoners. So hot, however, was the pursuit that fifteen or sixteen of his men were killed. Ere long he succeeded in reaching Islay. At this juncture Keppoch's rebel fleet at Cara, warned by beacons lit by some of Largie's men, loosed anchor and fled precipitately towards Kintyre, but they were closely followed by another part of Calder's fleet. Forsaking his ships on the Kintyre coast, Keppoch directed his steps towards the extreme south end of the peninsula.

1615 A.D. This altered position of affairs, and the approach of the forces under Argyll, induced Sir James to immediately forsake his camp, and seek safety in flight to Rathlin. Argyll, on his part, speedily thereafter crossed over with his entire division to Jura, where he was soon joined by two ships of war from England, and a hoy which carried a battering train. Leaving Jura he transported his forces to Islay on learning that Sir James had once again collected his followers, to the number of some five hundred men, and had encamped in the Rinns of Islay. Not being in a position to resist the forces of the Earl, which, by this time, were again concentrated, and not being able, for lack of a suitable wind, to escape to the North Isles as he desired, Sir James, with a view to gaining time, proposed a four days' truce. As a condition to the acceptance of this proposal Argyll insisted

on the delivery to him of the two forts occupied by the rebels, but this Sir James was unable to comply with, as Coll Ciotach, who had command of both the forts, refused to yield them up. Coll was, however, at this time playing a double game, and, while he flatly refused the request of Sir James, he secretly assured the Earl that he was willing to surrender them. Upon this Argyll determined to endeavour to surprise the followers of Sir James by a night attack, and to this end sent out a force of one thousand men by sea. Warned by beacons, however, set upon the O of Islay, the rebel chief decided to seek his safety in flight, and, to the dismay of some of the principal tenants in Islay, he, accompanied by Keppoch, Sorley Mac James, and forty followers, put to sea and succeeded in escaping to Inchdaholl on the coast of Ireland. Next day the two forts were surrendered by Coll, and placed in the keeping of Calder. The former, having received an assurance of safety, now turned against his previous associates, and treacherously seized and delivered up to Argyll, Mac Phee of Colonsay and eighteen other rebels. Numerous additional apprehensions were made both in Islay and Kintyre, and, by the Earl, many were speedily tried and executed.

Meantime Sir James Mac Donald, his son, Donald Gorme, and two followers succeeded in reaching Galway in Ireland, where they were, for a time, concealed by some Jesuits till, in spite of the vigilance of search parties sent out both by Argyll and the Lord Deputy of Ireland, they effected their escape to Spain. Almost all the other principal rebels also evaded capture. This circumstance gave great dissatisfaction to the Council, as also did the retention of the hired soldiers by Argyll for a period of six weeks after he had been ordered to dismiss them. For the latter offence he was compelled to pay, out of his own resources, a sum of seven thousand pounds to make good the unauthorised charge thus incurred. For several years Keppoch and his sons lived the lives of outlaws in Lochaber, but, in 1618, the chief and his second son, Donald Glas, succeeded in effecting their escape, and joined Sir James Mac Donald in Spain.

The year after the suppression of the rebellion (1616) Argyll, who was in great favour, obtained, as a reward for his services, a grant of the Lordship of Kintyre, which was now alienated from the Crown, and settled upon his son, James Campbell. Notwithstanding this transaction, however, both the Sanda branch and 1616 A.D.

the Largie branch of the Clan Ian Mhor succeeded in preserving their estates from forfeiture.

A very short time from this date served to alter the relationship of Argyll to the Crown. Under the influence of his Catholic wife, Dame Anna Cornwallis, he forsook Presbyterianism and departed into Spain after he had conveyed to his eldest son, Archibald, the fee of his great estates. In Spain he entered upon suspicious dealings with the banished rebels, and, having failed to appear on being summoned before the Privy Council, he was declared traitor, and forfeited in the year 1619. Twenty barons and gentlemen of the earldom undertook, at this juncture, to be responsible for the different districts, and Argyll did not venture to return to Britain till the year 1638. The fall of Argyll produced a reaction in favour of the Mac Donalds, with the result that in 1620 Sir James and Keppoch were recalled by the King from Spain, and both of them received remissions and pensions. The former died at London in 1626, while, later, Keppoch was restored to Lochaber, and ultimately died there, apparently in full possession of his estates.

1616 A.D. In the year 1616, after the western district had been again restored to a peaceful condition, Mac Leod of Harris, the captain of Clanranald, the Mac Leans of Duart, Coll, and Lochbuy, and the Laird of Mac Kinnon (Donald Gorme of Sleat was prevented by sickness from attending), made their appearance (now, as a a rule, an annual event), before the Privy Council. On this occasion strict measures, somewhat on the lines of the Statutes of Icolmkill, were taken to secure the future obedience of these Island chiefs. Instructions were given as to their appearances before the Privy Council, and as to the presentation annually by them of a certain number of their principal kinsmen : a limitation was put upon the number of gentlemen each might maintain in his household : their properties were to be cleared of *sorners* and idle men : none were to carry fire-arms except when employed in the King's service : none but the chiefs and gentlemen of their households were to be permitted to wear armour or bear any weapon : the dwelling-places of the chiefs were definitely fixed : they were instructed to make "policie and planting" about their houses : to take *mains* or home-farms into their own hands, the which they were to cultivate that they might be thereby exercised

"and eschew idleness:" the remainder of their lands they were to let to tenants for a certain fixed rent, in lieu of all exactions: no single chief was to keep more than one birling or galley of sixteen or eighteen oars: all their children above nine years of age were to be sent to school in the Lowlands; and, lastly, the chiefs were not to use in their houses more than the following quantities of wine respectively, viz.—Dowart and Mac Leod, four tuns each; Clanranald, three tuns; and Coll, Lochbuy, and Mac Kinnon, one tun each. Donald Gorme's allowance was later fixed at four tuns. These were, withal, goodly allowances, for each tun represented about 120 dozen bottles. The chiefs were also instructed to see to it that none of their tenants or vassals should buy or drink any wine, and by the Privy Council a very strict act was passed against excessive drinking of wine, on the grounds that it retarded civilisation in the Isles, and drew "nomberis of thame to miserable necessitie and povartie, sua that they are constraynit, quhen thay want from thair awne, to tak from thair nichtbours." By another Act passed in 1622, when the chiefs were making their annual appearance, masters of vessels were prohibited, under the penalty of confiscation of the articles, from carrying more wine to the Isles than the quantities allowed to the chiefs in 1616. The custom of the Islesmen in regard to the abuse of wine and its effect upon them is thus referred to in this Act:—"With the insatiable desyre quhairof the saidis Ilanderis are so far possest, that, when thair arryvis ony schip or other veschell there with wines, they spend both dayes and nights in their excesse of drinking sa lang as thair is anie of the wyne left; sua that being overcome with drink, their fallis oute many inconvenientis amangis thame, to the breck of his Majestie's peace, &c."

As regards the letting of lands at a fixed rent in lieu of all exactions, we have no means of ascertaining to what extent the instruction was complied with, but we know it was long ere the principle became general in the Highlands. About this time leases began to be granted to the Tacksmen, and gradually, as years passed, it became customary to specify with increasing exactness the nature of the services to be rendered by these leading tenants to their landlords in addition to the payments. Thus the Tacksmen received a measure of protection. No such security, however, was afforded by him in turn to his subtenants, who, for yet a hundred years and more, continued simply

in the position of tenants at-will. In their case the exactions varied from year to year, and so much were they at the mercy of the Tacksmen that they were liable to suffer very great hardship. When, in the first half of the eighteenth century, leases began to be granted to the sub-tenants, much satisfaction was experienced, for not only were they made more secure in their holdings, but the payments and services to be rendered were stipulated with more exactness.

1617 A.D. The year after the injunctions referred to above were issued to the island chiefs (1617), an effort was made to abolish a primitive form of succession duty known as the *Culpe*. This was a tax exacted by the chief from those who were bound to him by bonds of man-rent, and to many it must have constituted a sufficiently grievous burden. That this was so is evidenced by the statute passed in 1617, which proceeded on the narrative that "his Majestie's lieges have sustained great hurt and skayth these many years bygone by the chiefs of clans within the Highlands and Isles of this kingdom, by the unlawful taking from them their children and executors after their decease and under the name of Caulpes of their best Aucht whether it be ane mare, or horse, or cow, alleging their predecessors to have been in possession thereof for maintaining and defending of them against their enemies and evil willars of old. Therefore it is ordained that in no time coming none of his Highnese's lieges presume nor take on hand to intromit with nor uplift the said Caulpis within any part of this kingdom."

That this enactment was not entirely effective may be gathered from Martin, who wrote in 1703. Speaking of the "native men," he says—"There was another duty payable by all the tenants to their chief, though they did not live upon his lands; and this is called Calpich; there was a standing law for it also called Calpich law, and I am informed that this is exacted by some in the mainland to this day."

In addition to the Act passed in 1622 with a view to limiting the use of wine in the islands, another statute was enacted at the same time by which the island chiefs were held bound to build and repair their parish churches to the satisfaction of the Bishop of the Isles. To make the necessary arrangements in this matter they agreed to meet with the Bishop at any time he should appoint. By yet another Act, Mac Leod, Sir Donald Gorme,

Clanranald, and Mac Kinnon were bound down not to molest those engaged in the trade of fishing in the isles, and that under heavy penalties. At that time, as in earlier and later centuries, much importance was attached to the herring fisheries of the western seas, and in the above enactment we find evidence of the desire of the Government to foster them as a valuable source of food and wealth.

During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, several quarrels resulting in spoliation and bloodshed occurred among certain of the more northern clans. About the year 1618 Sir Lachlan Mac Intosh, chief of the Clan Chattan, supported by the Laird of Grant and the Earl of Seaforth, made an effort to throw off his vassalage to the Marquis of Huntly. This vassalage had never been rendered but grudgingly, yet successive chiefs had never been able to secure their freedom. On this occasion Sir Lachlan also failed, and the effort terminated in the surrender of Culloden Castle and the imprisonment of the rebellious chief in the Castle of Edinburgh. A few years later the Clan Chattan were at strife with the Earl of Moray, whose warm allies they had formerly been when he was opposed by Huntly. In process of time these two noblemen had become reconciled, with the result that the Clan Chattan were cast off by Moray, and dispossessed of certain lands which had been bestowed upon them by his predecessor for services rendered. Fretting under this injustice the Clan Chattan, ere long, availed themselves of what they considered to be a favourable opportunity of either recovering their possessions or, if they failed to do this, then of laying them waste. At this juncture the chief was but a child, and the leadership of the body of men, numbering about five hundred, which now (1624) took the field, devolved upon the three uncles of the late chief. Throughout large stretches of Moray's territories the Mac Intoshes made their presence unpleasantly felt, and, while avoiding bloodshed, took much spoil from the tenants. Two several attempts by the Earl's men to come up with the spoilers proved fruitless, and, despairing of effecting anything by his own forces alone, Moray sought and obtained from the King a commission of lieutenancy over the northern Highlands. This appointment was a source of great annoyance to Huntly, to whose family alone had such

1618 A.D.

1624 A.D.

commissions been granted in the past. By Moray proclamations were now issued, with the result that ere long the principal men among the Mac Intoshes became intimidated, and arranged with the Earl a disgraceful peace, having for one of its conditions the disclosure to the latter of the names of such persons as had given the Mac Intoshes protection after the publication of certain letters of interdiction that had been issued by Moray. As a consequence of this unworthy action the principal evil-doers were in the position of acting as witnesses against those friends who, in ignorance of the interdicting letters, had kindly lodged them, fed them, or otherwise provided them with materials of resistance. Such fines as were now imposed, and they were described by Spalding as "great soumes," went into the pockets of Moray, who was the chief judge, just as those that had been exacted from the Mac Gregors by Argyll had fallen to that Earl. "These fynes," says Sir Robert Gordon, "did not much advantage either of these Earles."

In this and preceding chapters much has been said to make it very evident that for centuries the Highlands had been a theatre of constant petty warfare. Upon the central government lay, in large measure, the responsibility for this condition of affairs, for so weak were successive governments, and so ill executed were the laws, that upon the individual devolved the vindication of those rights which public justice failed to protect. So little were the clans under rightful government or protection during these centuries that they, only too often, flew to arms on the slightest provocation, and fought out their quarrels as if they were little independent states. Revenge came, in such circumstances, to be "accounted a duty," says Stewart, "the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable occupation. Their love of distinction, and a conscious reliance on their own courage, when under the direction of these perverted notions only tended to make their feuds more implacable, their condition more agitated, and their depredations more rapacious and desolating." Cattle, and especially those of the Lowlander, they had few qualms of conscience in rieving, for they ever looked upon the Lowlanders as aliens and interlopers, as the robbers of their lands, and upon

the cattle as indigenous like game. Regarding the latter, they argued that as both cattle and grass were made by God for the benefit of all, they could not be considered rightfully as the property of any but the strongest—a most convenient doctrine for them.

Levying a *creach*, heading a foray, or "lifting" cattle, constituted usually the earliest declaration of hostilities, and the raiders considered their spoils as the legitimate prize of war. An occasion for such a predatory expedition is thus given by Martin (1703) :—"Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe was obliged, in honour, to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned or declared governor or leader of his people. . . . This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalise themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other, that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery ; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen ; but I have not heard of an instance of this practice for these sixty years since."

By the date at which we have now arrived in our narrative clan quarrels and clan forays had become comparatively rare, and more peaceful manners were beginning to prevail among the general body of the people, but the lifting of cattle by organised bands of broken, lawless men, known as *Kearnachs*, continued as common occurrences till well on in the following century. The free-booters confined their attention, in large measure, to their richer Lowland neighbours, on whom they, from time to time, made raids and levied contributions, or received *Black Mail* as the price of protection. Early in the seventeenth century several of these bands made affairs lively both in the Highlands and on the bordering Lowlands. Among them were a party of the Grants and their allies, led by James Grant of the Carron family, and a

party of the Clan Lachlan. On friend and foe alike, but particularly against the Balindalloch family, the former, with a body of brigands, gathered from all parts of the Highlands, carried on, for some years, an active predatory warfare, while the Clan Lachlan pursued their thieving practices as far afield as the head of the Mearns.

The relationship existing between Lowlander and Highlander during these centuries, and the manner in which they viewed one another, was thus effectively put by Sir Walter Scott in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1826:—"The inhabitants of the Lowlands were indeed aware that there existed in the extremity of the island, amid wilder mountains and broader lakes than their own, tribes of men called clans, living each under the rule of their own chief, wearing a peculiar dress, speaking an unknown language, and going armed even in the most orderly and peaceable vocations. The more southern counties saw specimens of these men following the droves of cattle which were the sole exportable commodity of their country, plaided, bonnetted, belted, and brogued, and driving their bullocks, as Virgil is said to have spread his manure, with an air of great dignity and consequence. To their nearer Lowland neighbours they were known by more fierce and frequent causes of acquaintance; by the forays which they made upon the inhabitants of the plains, and the tribute or protection-money which they exacted from those whose possessions they spared." As regards the personal acquaintance of Lowlanders with the picturesque country within the Highland line, Burt testifies that, even in his time, so much was a journey into these parts dreaded that the traveller "generally speaking, made his Testament before he set out, as though he were entering upon a long and dangerous sea voyage."

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CHAPTER XXXV.

Influence of Huntly and Argyll in religious matters—Religious condition of the Highlanders—Career of Montrose as Covenanting General—Argyll Highlanders at Dunse Law—Treaty of Peace between King and Covenanters—Highlanders in England in Leslie's army—Burning of the "Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie"—Montrose becomes a Royalist and enters Atholl in disguise—Arrival in the West of Alaster Mac Donald and the Irish auxiliaries—Highland attachment to the Stewarts—Montrose as a leader of Highlanders—Beginning of Campaign—Battle of Tippermuir—Battle of Aberdeen—Advance of Argyll to the north—Ravaging of Badenoch and Atholl—Battle of Fyvie—Montrose abandoned by Lowland officers—Montrose's revenge on the people of Argyll.

1638-1645.

The ill-advised and ill-fated attempt of Charles I. to once again force Episcopacy upon the people of Scotland served to bring the inhabitants of the Highlands into unwonted prominence, and into such active participation in the affairs of the nation as a whole as had not been theirs within recent centuries. With the stirring events of that interesting period in Scottish history it is not our purpose to deal at greater length than suffices to trace the association of the Highlanders with them.

At this time, as for generations previously, the two most powerful men within the Highland line were Huntly and Argyll. The latter definitely succeeded to the Earldom in 1638, and that same year he embraced the Covenant at the Glasgow Assembly. In the west his influence served to rally to the side of the Covenant a large proportion of the people, and it was rumoured that, at this time, he could bring into the field five thousand men. Huntly, on the other hand, was a staunch Episcopalian and Royalist, and when approached by the Covenanters through Colonel Robert Munro, a veteran of the Continental wars, with a view to his casting in his lot with them, he expressed his determination to stand by his King and fall with him, should such be his fate. In the north Huntly's influence was all powerful, yet

even here—in Inverness, Ross, and other districts north of the Moray Firth—the Covenanters met with greater success than they could have anticipated. In Sutherland "it was professed by all," says Rothes, "that it was the joyfullest day that ever they saw, or ever was seen in the north; and it was marked as a special mark of God's goodness towards these parts, that so many different clans and names, among whom was nothing before but hostility and blood, were met together in one place for such a good cause and in so peaceable a manner as that nothing was to be seen or heard but mutual embracements, with hearty praise to God for so happy a union." This is an interesting recital, for after the Reformation the greatest indifference to religious matters prevailed in many districts of the Highlands, and much difficulty was encountered in inducing the people to come to worship. By them, putting the stone or tossing the caber on the Sabbath in the neighbourhood of the church was much preferred to going to worship within, while sometimes the services of the church were broken in upon by "lymaris and idle men," who turned the services into ridicule. In the reign of James VI., Robert Bruce, an eminent minister, who had been banished to Inverness, "wonderfully illuminated that dark and remote country," and eventually, throughout the Highlands generally, the influence of preacher and chief prevailed, and congregations were gradually gathered.

Of the towns of Scotland the city of Aberdeen was that in which Episcopacy found its most zealous adherents. Even there, however, and in its neighbourhood, Forbeses, Frasers, and Keiths, chafing under the power of the Gordons, if not really enamoured of the Covenant, ultimately joined the ranks of the Covenanters.

1639 A.D Early in 1639 Huntly raised the Royal standard, and the citizens of Aberdeen prepared for eventualities by strengthening the fortifications of the town. On the 30th of March, however, the great Earl of Montrose, who had for his lieutenant the distinguished old soldier General Alexander Leslie, came upon the scene, and on behalf of the Covenanters took peaceable possession of the city with a well-appointed force of some ten thousand men, very many of whom were veterans who had been inured to service in the great thirty years' war on the continent of Europe. At Aberdeen they were joined by a body of five hundred Highlanders sent thither by Argyll to swell the Covenanting ranks. These men Montrose quartered, in the first instance, upon the

Irvines and other malignants, among whom it was thought they would find congenial occupation, and discover means of economically supporting themselves. There "they wanted not," says Spalding, "abundance of beef, mutton, and other good fare for little pay," and later they were drafted into the city "in order of battle with bagpipes and Highland arms."

Ere leaving the north Montrose, by a bold but unscrupulous move, secured the person of Huntly, and carried him south to Edinburgh—an action which Huntly never forgave him, and which, however effective at the moment as a stroke of policy, worked to the disadvantage of both of them when, in later days, Montrose became a Royalist.

In the absence of Huntly the command of the Royalists was now undertaken by the Marquis's second son, the Earl of Aboyne, who was supported, after a somewhat romantic fashion, by his younger brother, Lord Ludovic or Lewis Gordon. Towards the end of May there was fought a small affair known as the "Trot of Turriff," in which the first blood was drawn in the contest, and the advantage was with the Royalists. This slight victory so fired the imagination of Lord Lewis, who was but a schoolboy, that he broke away from his grandmother and his tutor, and, dressed in Highland garb, wandered up to the hills, whence he returned leader of a thousand Highlanders drawn from Strathdee, Braemar, Strathdon, and Glenlivet. On the 7th of June the youthful leader and his followers "marched in brave order," as Spalding tells us, "about a thousand men on horse and foot, well armed, brave men, with captains, commanders, and leaders, trumpets, drums, and bagpipes." How it fared with the young commander we know not, except that he and his forces joined the main body of the Royalists on a plundering but abortive march which they undertook down Deeside. Later, when Montrose returned north to the relief of the Covenanters beyond the Spey, who were threatened with annihilation, the Royalist Highlanders betook themselves to their mountain recesses, while their leaders, with small bodies of men, shut themselves up in their castles. Montrose thereupon laid siege to the Gordon stronghold, the Tower of Gight, but exaggerated information as to the arrival of Aboyne with large reinforcements from England caused him to raise the siege, and retreat with expedition to Edinburgh—a circumstance which enabled the dispersed army of

1639 A.D.

the "Barons" to re-assemble, and, under Aboyne, to march to Aberdeen. Their numbers were two thousand foot and five hundred horse. Ere long, however, Montrose was again in the north, and Aberdeen came once more into his possession after he had defeated the Royalists in the Raid of Stanehive, and in a struggle at the Bridge of Dee. At this point further action on the part of Montrose was stayed by important events that were simultaneously occurring in the south. These events we have now to speak of.

1639 A.D. Shortly before the date at which we have now arrived the main Covenanting army under General Leslie, consisting of 22,000 well-equipped foot and five hundred horse, proceeded towards the south, and took up a position at the Law of Dunse, where they lay facing the army of the King across the Border. For some time previously King Charles had been making elaborate preparations for securing the overthrow of the Covenanters, but from poverty and other causes many of his plans had miscarried. The following, as we learn from Burnet's Memoirs, were some of his unaccomplished proposals:—"The Earl of Antrim was to land in Argyleshire, upon his pretensions to Kintyre and the old feuds betwixt the Macdonalds and Campbells: and he promised to bring with him ten or twelve thousand men. And last of all, the Earl of Strafford was to draw together such forces as could be evied and spared out of Ireland, and come with another fleet into Dumbarton Firth." In effect the efforts on behalf of the King at this time were limited to those that were made upon the Borders under his own supervision.

Upon the Law of Dunse Argyll was present on the side of the Covenanters with about 1200 Highlanders, and Baillie puts it on record that "It was thought the country of England was more afraid for the barbarity of his Highlanders than of any other terror. These of the English that came to visit our camp did gaze with much admiration on these supple fellows, with their plaids, targets, and dorlachs."

After negotiation between the King and the leaders of the Covenant a treaty was arranged, and peace immediately proclaimed throughout the kingdom. This it was that brought the efforts of Montrose in the north to an abrupt conclusion. Forthwith he withdrew his forces, and, at the same time, gave orders for the disbanding of an army of Highlanders, which was located

close to the Spey under Seaforth. Two months later—viz., in August—the General Assembly, in presence of Lord Traquair, the King's Commissioner, effected the legal extinction of Episcopacy in Scotland.

The following year (1640) affairs took again an unfavourable turn, and the Covenanters, reassembling their army, marched into England in the month of August, and there remained for the space of a year, and until a new treaty was concluded at London on the 7th August, 1641. In Leslie's army there were many Highlanders, and of them the author of "Memoirs of a Cavalier" speaks thus:—"I confess the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the Highlanders; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable. They were generally tall swinging-looking fellows; their swords are extravagantly broad, and they carried large wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. . . . They are in companies all of a name . . . and they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront; but to their own chiefs or lairds they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. To give them their due, were their skill and exercise and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the best soldiers in the world. They have large bodies and prodigious strong, and two qualities above all other nations—viz., hardy to endure fatigue, hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage on the field that I know none like it, for if they conquer no enemy can escape them, and if they run even the horse can hardly overtake them. There were some of them went out in parties with their horse. There were three thousand or four thousand of these in the Scotch army, armed only with swords and targets, and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no muskets at that time among them." The wars of Gustavus Adolphus, and the campaigns of Montrose and Dundee, as well as later deeds of arms, bear out in a remarkable degree the truthfulness of the picture drawn by this observant Cavalier of the warlike qualifications of the Highland soldier. Many thousands of Highlanders—Mac Kays, Munroes,

1640 A.D.

and others—fought in the armies of the Lion of the North, and their speed of foot was taken advantage of by that great soldier in the manner spoken of by the Cavalier, for he frequently interlined them with his cavalry, and thus afforded to his horse the invaluable support of infantry in their detached, and even in their most rapid movements.

Meantime, in the north-east, the enemies of the Covenant, under the Marquis of Huntly and other leading Royalists, became again
1640 A.D. active, and in May 1640 General Robert Munro, with a body of about a thousand men marched northwards, took possession of Aberdeen, and treated with a heavy hand all malignants, both within the city and in the surrounding district. About the same time Argyll was granted by the Committee of Estates a commission of fire and sword against "the Earl of Athole and the Lord Ogilvie, with their accomplices"—the Farquharsons of Mar and the inhabitants of Badenoch, Lochaber, and Rannoch—who were described as having "not only proven enemies to religion, but also had proven unnatural to their country." On this occasion the powers granted to Argyll were sufficiently comprehensive, and with four thousand men he swept across the country, devastating the territory of the Royalists, and committing deeds, to cover which, he found it desirable later to obtain from the Estates an Act of Indemnity. It was on this occasion that the Castle of Airlie—the "Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie" of the old ballad was consigned to the flames by Dougal Campbell of Inverawe, at the instigation of Argyll—

> "Argyll in a rage attacked the bonnie ha',
> And his men to the plundering fairly,
> And tears though he saw like dewdrops fa',
> In a lowe he set the bonnie hoose o' Airlie."

1644 A.D. In the month of January, 1644, General Alexander Leslie, who, ere this, had been created Earl of Leven, once again crossed the Tweed with an army twenty thousand strong. His object was to assist the Parliamentary forces of England in their trial of strength with the forces of the King. The preparations for the entry of the Scots army into England brought home to Charles the wisdom of accepting an offer previously made by Montrose, who, two years earlier, had become an enthusiastic Royalist, to effect a diversion in Scotland with a view to compelling the

retention of the Scots forces within the bounds of their own kingdom. With that object in view, arrangements were forthwith made for providing Montrose, in the North of England, with sufficient troops to enable him to make his way to Atholl, where, from his popularity, he counted upon rallying to his standard a large accession of Highlanders. To further aid in this enterprise the Earl of Antrim was commissioned to raise in Ireland some ten thousand auxiliaries, who should make a descent on the west coast in the month of April, and, as speedily as might be, effect a junction with the forces of Montrose. English troops were put under the command of Montrose, but at an early stage the hopes of the latter were blighted by their desertion, and though with his remaining small force of about two hundred horse, consisting of noblemen and gentlemen who had served as officers in Germany, France, or England, he was able to seize upon Dumfries, the activity of the Covenanters in that neighbourhood forced him to retire to Carlisle.

Meantime, in the north, the Marquis of Huntly who, with a view to his assisting Montrose, had been appointed lieutenant-general in that region, collected, when he heard of the capture of Dumfries, a considerable body of Highlanders and Lowlanders, and occupied the city of Aberdeen. He was, however, unable to accomplish much beyond this, owing to the effective steps taken by the Covenanters of the district, and later, on the approach of the Marquis of Argyll at the head of a force of five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, he beat a speedy retreat, disbanded his army, and retired into Strathnaver.

A knowledge of the position into which affairs had thus come in the north was not calculated to cheer the hearts of Montrose and his few followers, while his failure to secure, as he desired, an accession of troops from the army of Prince Rupert, and his inability to gain any information regarding the promised auxiliaries from Ireland made him recognise that if he was to enter Scotland it must be unsupported, and in disguise. This course he therefore determined to take, and so, dressed as a groom and, to appearance, in attendance upon two gentlemen, Sir William Rollo and Colonel Sibbald, who were his only companions, he set forward upon his momentous northward journey. Within four days he arrived in safety at Tullibardine in the Highlands of Perthshire, where he found his kinsman and fellow Royalist,

Graham of Inchbrakie. For safety he at once took up his residence in an obscure hut, and sent out spies in various directions to keep him informed of what was proceeding.

1644 A.D. Montrose was not compelled to endure for long a life of inactivity, for early in July Irish forces—not the promised ten thousand, but twelve hundred or so—arrived among the Hebrides under the command of Alexander Mac Donald, son of that Coll Mac Gillespic or Coll Ciotach, whose acquaintance we have already made. Three years earlier Coll and his friends had been cruelly treated by the Campbells, and expelled from Colonsay, and we can readily believe it would be with feelings of considerable pleasure that Alexander Mac Donald saw before him a promising prospect of revenge upon the despoilers of his house.

After capturing the castles of Mingarry and Kinloch-Alan, Mac Donald disembarked his forces in Knoydert. Here he expected to meet with Huntly, but ere this, as we have seen, the latter had disbanded his army, and retired to Strathnaver. In this dilemma Alastair at once sent forth the Fiery Cross over a large tract of country and awaited results. These were by no means cheering, for only the captain of Clanranald, and the chief of Glengarry responded to that usually powerful summons. Further, Argyll had meanwhile destroyed Mac Donald's shipping, and had brought together large forces to oppose his progress, Ere long, however, and to his intense relief, Alastair got into communication with Montrose, who fixed upon Blair Atholl as the rendezvous. Thither Mac Donald marched with all convenient speed, Argyll, the while, closely pressing his rear. On the march Mac Donald cautiously and skilfully avoided the Earls of Sutherland and Seaforth, who, with their followers and a party of Frasers, Grants, Rosses, and Munros, had assembled at the top of Strathspey.

Alastair had not long encamped at Blair when Montrose himself arrived upon the scene, and his coming relieved, at once, the anxieties of Mac Donald, and reassured the people of the district. The following day there flocked to the standard about 800 men of Atholl—Stewarts and Robertsons mainly. They were the first instalment of that hardy, intrepid following, by whose aid this great commander and leader of men was, ere long, enabled to effect so much against such odds.

Not for many years had a Highland army of anything like a

representative character independently taken the field, for not for many years, not indeed since the failure of the later efforts to restore the Lordship of the Isles, had they found a common cause fitted to unite in a combined effort any considerable number of the clans. Now, however, there arose a cause, the cause of loyalty to the Stuart family, which appealed to many of them, a cause which served to arouse in them that feeling of devotion to that unfortunate house which then, and in later years, sufficed to rally to their banner thousands of brave devoted hearts, in whose fervid bosoms the Harp and the Song had kept alive the memory of the days and the deeds of old. The patriotism of the Highlanders has always showed itself more in devotion to individuals than in a love to their country as a nation, but whatever may be thought of their championing of the Stuarts it was a great advance on the limited sympathies and the inter-tribal broils which had so characterised them during the immediately preceding centuries. In the Earl of Montrose they found, at this juncture, a leader to their liking, one who understood them, who was cognisant of their strength and their weakness, who knew how to utilise them in the most effective fashion, and who, by his military enterprise, dash, and valour, showed to the world at once his own brilliant qualities as a leader, and the fighting powers of the Celtic race when fitly led.

With characteristic promptitude and dash Montrose at once entered upon the task he had set himself, the task of effecting a diversion with the view of compelling the return of the Scottish troops from England and Ireland. His desire being to strike where he would be certain to produce the speediest impression, he refrained from going in quest of Argyll, and directed his steps to the Lowlands by way of Stratherne. In passing through the territories of the Menzieses he was assailed by that clan, but with a view to giving warning to others, who might be tempted to act towards him after a similar fashion, he took summary vengeance upon them, burning their houses and laying waste their lands. The next day—the second of his march—he had the good fortune to win over to his side a body of five hundred men who were actually on their way, under his relatives, Lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond, to join the Covenanting forces who were stationed at Perth. From being, but a few days before, a forlorn wanderer among the hills, Montrose was now leader of

1644 A.D.

well-nigh three thousand men, and, setting himself in Highland garb at their head, he marched directly upon Perth, where lay the Covenanting army, consisting of about six thousand foot and seven hundred horse. Influenced, probably, by the presence of Argyll in his rear, Montrose determined to attack his opponents at the earliest possible moment, and that although his forces did not number half those of his enemies. To add to his disadvantages, he had neither horse nor artillery, while many of the Highlanders were entirely destitute of arms. Regarding this latter deficiency an eye-witness relates that Montrose, on the eve of battle, thus quaintly addressed those of his followers who were in this unsatisfactory position :—"It is true you have no arms ; your enemies however have plenty. My advice, therefore, is that as there happens to be a great abundance of stones on this moor, every man should provide himself, in the first place, with as stout a stone as he can well manage, rush up to the first Covenanter he meets, beat out his brains, take his sword, and then I believe he will be at no loss how to proceed."

1644 A.D. On Sunday the first of September the armies met at Tippermuir, some four miles west of Perth, where the Covenanting army had already been drawn up, under the command of Lord Elcho. The battle joined, and Montrose secured the first of a series of brilliant victories. During the fight the primitive missiles recommended by their leader played, we are told, no unimportant part against the opposing horse. After they had discharged their muskets at close quarters, the Irish also offered a stubborn resistance to the cavalry with the butt ends of their guns, while the Highlanders wielded their broadswords and Lochaber axes with direful effect. Soon the Covenanting force was in complete confusion, and in the battle and pursuit two thousand of them were believed to have bitten the dust, while Perth with all its plunder fell into the hands of the victors.

During the three days Montrose now remained at Perth he was disappointed to find that, notwithstanding the signal victory he had gained, very few rallied to his standard. His disappointment was further accentuated by the fact that many of his Highlanders, in conformity with a custom they had learned all too well in their creachs and clan battles, had returned to their homes laden with plunder, while his forces were still further weakened by the retiral of the followers of Lord Kilpont after the latter had fallen a

victim to the perfidy and fury of James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, one of his vassals and chosen friends. Notwithstanding these disappointments the Earl pushed forward, and, in the course of his route through Angus and the Mearns on his way to Aberdeen, was gratified by the seasonable accession to his ranks of the Earl of Airlie and his friends and followers. In spite of these additions, however, his army, when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen on the 11th September, numbered not more than fifteen hundred foot and fifty-four horse. In Aberdeen the Covenanters were double this number, but some of them, Gordons and others, from their Royalist sympathies, could not be relied upon.

Following the course which he had pursued at Perth, Montrose. in name of the King, summoned the town to surrender, but, instead of complying, the Covenanters killed the drummer who had been the bearer of the summons. This deed so exasperated the Earl that he gave orders to his men not to spare any of the enemy who might fall into their hands in the coming fight. On the 13th September the armies met between "the Craibstane and the Justice Mills," and, notwithstanding the disparity in numbers, victory again declared for the small battalions. First the right wing, and then the left of the little army of Montrose was attacked by the opposing horse, but, in turn, the latter were repulsed by the musketeers and the small but effective body of cavalry at command of the Royalists, with which their leader had intermingled some of his Highlanders on foot. Giving the horse little time to rally after their second repulse, the Royalist General rushed forward his men, and so unnerved and terrified the Covenanters with the suddenness of their onset that they broke from the field and pushed headlong towards Aberdeen. "There was little slaughter in the fight," says Spalding in his "Memorials," "but horrible was the slaughter in the flight." According to Guthrie. Montrose "showed great mercy, both pardoning the people and protecting their goods," but Spalding, who was an eye-witness, makes it only too evident that great barbarities were committed, particularly by the Irish. 1644 A.D.

Whether inclined to loyalty or disloyalty the citizens of Aberdeen, during these years, suffered grievously. Three times had Montrose invaded the streets of the northern city. On two former times he had chastised its community to bring them into

conformity with the Covenant, and now, as Spalding in effect says, he made compensation by chastising them for their espousal of the cause.

Meantime, while these proceedings were being enacted, Huntly, the King's Lieutenant in the north, made no move to come to the assistance of Montrose or to rally his clansmen, but continued in far Strathnaver nursing his wrath, and indulging in jealousy at the position to which Montrose had attained in the service of the King. In the recent battle his third son, Lord Lewis Gordon, was actually in command of the left wing of the Covenanters' army, and it was at once plain to Montrose, as well as bitterly disappointing to him, that from the Marquis he would receive no aid. To the loyalty of the Gordons he made appeals, but they were in vain, and so, to avoid Argyll, who, hampered by his artillery, was cautiously advancing northwards with a strong force, consisting of three thousand foot and two regular cavalry regiments, besides ten troops of horse and other forces which had joined him *en route* under the Earl Marischal and the Lords Gordon, Fraser, and Crichton, he, on the sixteenth September, withdrew his army to Kintore.

Three days later Argyll arrived at Aberdeen. To the onlookers the slowness of the movements of the latter as compared with those of Montrose were quite inexplicable, and the three days he now spent ingloriously idle in the northern city, where he did little more than issue a proclamation offering a reward of 20,000 pounds Scots for the delivery to him of Montrose, alive or dead, and where he was within half-a-day's march of the enemy, made it only too evident how unfitted he was to do the work he had undertaken, when his opponent was a commander of such activity and dash as the Royalist leader had shown himself to be.

On the 22nd September, 1644, the Covenanting army set out for Kintore, but instead of at once pursuing Montrose into the forests of Abernethy and Rothiemurchus, and on through Badenoch, whither he had gone, Argyll delayed to allow of the wasting and plundering of Strathbogie and other Gordon territory, and that although Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis Gordon, who were his nephews, were in his own army. Nor was this the only occasion of delay, for he attended a committee meeting of leading Covenanters at Forres, and afterwards made his way to Inverness, where Sir

Mungo Campbell of Lawers and the laird of Buchanan were in command of the local regiments. That Argyll lost much by thus dallying is very apparent, for Montrose had fallen ill, and was delayed in Badenoch on that account for several days. By the time Argyll was again on his trail, Montrose had recovered and had reached Atholl, from whence he detached his major-general, Alexander Mac Donald, with five hundred men, for the purpose of recruiting in the west, while he, with his remaining forces, marched down to Dunkeld, and proceeded rapidly through Angus towards Brechin and Montrose. According to Spalding, Argyll, in passing through Badenoch, where his opponent had received some recruits, "left nothing of that country undestroyed, no, not one four-footed beast," and Atholl shared a similar fate. How very severely Argyll's territories were made to pay for the destruction now effected, as well as for previous severities to the Mac Donalds, will appear in the sequel.

After resting his men for a few days in Angus, Montrose once more turned his steps towards Strathbogie, in the hope that now the Gordons would rally to his standard, but the absence of the Marquis and his three sons, two of whom, as we have seen, were in the camp of Argyll, while the other, Lord Aboyne, was shut up in Carlisle Castle, which was then under siege, rendered his efforts again almost fruitless, though a few did join him. On the 27th October he left Strathbogie, and retired to the forest of Fyvie, from which he took the castles of Fyvie and Tollie Barclay, and, in so doing, was fortunate in securing a considerable stock of provisions. 1644 A.D.

Meanwhile an attempt was made by the Committee of Estates to swell the army of Argyll by raising a large body of horsemen in the eastern counties, but although proclamation was made from the pulpits, and a heavy penalty attached to non-compliance, the wholesome dread entertained of Montrose rendered the effort only successful in a very limited degree. By the time Argyll reached Inverury, however, he was joined by the Earl of Lothian's regiment, making his force, at this time, about two thousand five hundred foot, and twelve hundred horse, while Montrose's full strength was but fifteen hundred foot, and about fifty horse.

By what were for him unusually rapid marches, Argyll now almost succeeded in surprising the usually watchful Montrose. The latter, however, was not disconcerted, and, in spite of the dis-

parity in numbers, he determined to await the attack of the Marquis in the position behind the Castle of Fyvie which he occupied. At this critical juncture things were made still more trying for the Royalist leader by the withdrawal of the Gordons from his already sufficiently attenuated ranks. This they did out of respect for the sons of their chief, who occupied important posts in the army of the Covenanters. Disconcerted, somewhat, at this retiral of the Gordons, Montrose's men gave way on the first shock of the impetuous attack of the forces of Argyll, but, speedily recovering themselves under the inspiration of their leader, one party of them, led by Colonel O'Kean, a dashing officer, retrieved the ground they had lost, and captured, what was simply invaluable to them at the time, several bags of powder. While this was being accomplished, the small body of Royalist horse were also engaged, and, aided by a party of musketeers with whom they were interlined, they gallantly repulsed an attack by five troops of horse under the Earl of Lothian. Thus foiled in his attacks, the irresolute Argyll attempted nothing further, though he hovered about for two days longer; and on the third day he again showed his unfitness for his position by leading off his army, says Spalding, "to a considerable distance, leaving Montrose to effect his escape unmolested."

1644 A.D. The same night the Royalist leader marched towards Strathbogie, and here, after resisting an attempt at negotiation by Argyll, a further mortification awaited him, for, through the intrigues of the latter, he was now deserted by his intimate friend, Colonel Sibbald, and others of his officers, who went over to the enemy. A few days later the example of Sibbald, the promises of Argyll, and the hardness of the enterprise in which they were engaged, induced the whole of the Lowland officers, with the exception of the Earl of Airlie and his two sons, to follow a similar course. Abandoned thus by his Lowland friends Montrose, nevertheless, pursued the course he had previously set himself, and, once more descending through Badenoch, by characteristically rapid marches he entered Atholl, where he had the gratification of being again joined by his major-general, Mac Donald, and by John Muidartach, the captain of Clanranald, the latter of whom was accompanied by five hundred of his men, while Alastair, also, had succeeded in bringing in small reinforcements from the neighbouring Highlands.

At this juncture Argyll disbanded his forces and returned to Edinburgh, where, as Spalding assures us, he "got but small thanks for his service," for, indeed, the signal failure of his expedition was a sad disappointment to the Covenanters. In the expectation that little would be attempted by the Royalists during winter, Argyll lingered at Edinburgh. Such, however, was not the policy of Montrose, who, to the great gratification of the Mac Donalds and those other clans who had been for so long held under and harassed by the Argylls, determined to strike a blow at the territory of the absent Marquis. With that object in view he at once marched towards the west, laying waste, in his course, the possessions of the kinsmen and allies of Argyll. Hearing of these doings the Marquis hurried home to Inveraray and issued orders for the assembling of his clan, but evidently not anticipating the so speedy approach of Montrose into his own particular territory he neglected to hold the passes, with the result that the Royalists were within two miles of his castle at a time when he thought them a hundred miles away. Though brave enough politically, and of great ability in civil affairs, Argyll once again showed that he was no soldier, for he now took refuge in a fishing boat in which he sailed to Dunbarton, where he remained till Montrose had left his country.

The revenge that the latter now took upon the people of Argyll was merciless in the extreme. Deserted by their chief, the victims made no combined resistance, but each man looked to 1645 A.D.
his own safety as best he might. Montrose divided his army into three parts, under the leadership respectively of Clanranald, Alaster Mac Donald, and himself, and, for six long weeks, these forces traversed the country, pillaging, ravaging, or destroying everything they could lay their hands on. Many were killed, and so thoroughly was the work they had set themselves accomplished, that, before the end of January, 1645, not a man was to be found to show himself throughout that wide-extended district. The greater part of Argyll became a dreary waste. Wishart assures us that Montrose spared none that were able to bear arms, and the "Red Book of Clanranald" asserts that the party under Clanranald slew 900 persons, while the body of men under Alaster Mac Donald was still more merciless, and did more damage than both the other parties combined.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

Battle of Inverlochy—Capture and sack of Dundee—Pursuit by Baillie—Memorable retreat—Battle of Auldearn—Battle of Alford—Operations in the neighbourhood of Perth—Burning of Castle Campbell by the Mac Leans—Baillie resigns his commission—Battle of Kilsyth—Results accruing from the Battle of Kilsyth—Leslie's arrival upon the Borders—Temporary withdrawal of the Highlanders—March of Montrose to the south—Battle of Philiphaugh—Escape of Montrose into Atholl—Montrose again takes the field—Retiral into Atholl—Attempted capture of Inverness—Royalist forces disbanded.

1645-1646.

Towards the end of January Montrose withdrew his forces from the lands of Argyll, and set his face towards Inverness, where Lord Seaforth lay with an army of 5000 horse and foot. The immediate aim of Montrose was to attempt the capture of that town, and he was not deterred in his resolve by the fact that his forces were, at the moment, reduced to fifteen hundred men, owing to many of the Highlanders having, in their customary fashion, gone to their homes with their plunder. At Fort-Augustus (Kilcummin) the plans of Montrose were, however, entirely altered, for there he learned through Ian Lòm or John the Bare, the celebrated bard of Keppoch, the surprising intelligence that Argyll had entered Lochaber, and was laying it waste with an army of three thousand men. In the army of Argyll were eleven hundred Lowlanders who had been brought from England to his aid, while he had also the assistance of his cousin Auchinbreck, who was esteemed a capable commander, and who had been recalled from Ireland, where he had been serving under General Robert Munro with an army of 4000 Scots. Under Major-General Baillie, a considerable force was also, at this time, preparing to intercept Montrose, should he attempt a descent on the Lowlands.

Without a moment's hesitation Montrose determined to seek out Argyll in his head-quarters at Inverlochy, In order that he might come upon him as unexpectedly as might be, he

eschewed the usual route, and, in the most masterly manner, performed the unexampled feat of bringing his little army over snow-clad mountains in the middle of winter, and in the face of difficulties which, by any other commander, would have been deemed insurmountable. Their difficulties were added to by a scarcity of provisions. From Patrick Gordon of Cluny, a contemporary writer, we gather some idea of the privations they endured. He tells us that the day on which they fought "the general himself and the earl of Airlie had no more to break their fast upon before they went to battle but a little meal mixed with cold water, which, out of a hollow dish, they did pick up with their knives. One may judge what wants the rest of the army must suffer. The most part of them had not tasted bread these two days, marching over high mountains in knee-deep snow, and wading brooks and rivers up to their girdles."

On Sunday, the second day of February, the armies joined battle, and again victory declared for Montrose. On this occasion, also, Argyll failed of his duty. Regardless of his honour he, during the previous night, committed his army to the charge of Auchinbreck, on the excuse that he was suffering from bruises due to a fall, and took refuge on board a boat on Loch Linnhe. From this safe retreat he had the mortification of seeing his army almost cut to pieces by a force not more than half its strength, and many of his kinsmen either killed or taken prisoners. In the fight and pursuit fifteen hundred, or about half of Argyll's army, fell before the sword of the followers of Montrose, who, notwithstanding the earnest efforts of the latter, were not disposed to give quarter to the Campbells, their much-hated foes. On the side of the Royalists only three were killed, but one of them was Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airlie. His loss Montrose lamented exceedingly. 1645 A.D.

The extreme satisfaction with which the Royalist General viewed this decisive victory is made very evident by the message he immediately sent to his Royal master. "Give me leave," he wrote, "after I have reduced this country and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty, as David's General to his master, come thou thyself lest this country be called by my name."

This memorable march, and the victory which crowned it, produced upon the estates a feeling of the greatest disappoint-

ment and alarm. The next move of Montrose, however, relieved them somewhat, for, instead of descending upon the Lowlands, he entered Badenoch, and pushed on towards Elgin. On his way thither he issued a proclamation in the King's name, as the result of which he was joined by some of the Moray men. In Elgin he was further gratified by the adhesion of Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, together with some of his friends and vassals. For a time now he had also the support of the Earl of Seaforth, but his adherence was of short duration. At Strathbogie, a few weeks later, Lord Gordon and his brother Lord Lewis swelled the army of Montrose with a force of Gordons numbering five hundred foot and one hundred and sixty horse.

During these months in the north, the Royalist leader was by no means inactive, but, besides plundering and wasting the houses and lands of the Covenanters in those parts, no event of any consequence occurred. Now, with his forces recruited, he moved southward, still plundering and wasting as he went, and on two occasions had slight brushes with parties of horse under Major-General Urry or Hurry, General Baillie's second in command. From the town of Montrose, Hurry at this time succeeded in carrying off the second son of the Royalist General. To the latter this was a grievous blow, for only a few weeks before he had been called to mourn the death, through illness, of his eldest son, who, though only sixteen years of age, had accompanied him through all his recent hardships.

Montrose had not long left the Gordon territory ere the ravages of the northern Covenanters made it necessary that he should detach five hundred of the Gordon clan for its protection. At Kirriemuir a further sacrifice for the same purpose had to be made, and the Gordon horse, to the number of 160, were sent north under Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis. For similar reasons as regards their lands and possessions a body of Grants who, shortly before, under the Laird of that Ilk, had joined the Royalists, had also to be sent home at this time, and thus Montrose's more recent northern adhesions were of little avail to him.

Arrived at the water of Isla, on his southward journey, Montrose found Baillie on the opposite side of the stream, and endeavoured to engage him in battle. Failing in this he

determined to return to the north, and, retracing his steps, took possession of Dunkeld. Before moving definitely northwards, however, he resolved to endeavour to surprise Dundee, to which he owed no good-will, and so sending forward his baggage and the less fit portion of his troops towards his purposed rendezvous at 1645 A.D.
Brechin, he, on the third of April, at the head of one hundred and fifty horse and six hundred musketeers marched by night a distance of twenty-four miles, and arrived at ten o'clock in the morning at Dundee Law. To the Earl's summons to surrender the town the Dundee authorities replied by imprisoning his messenger, and this action so exasperated him that he immediately gave orders that it should be stormed in three places. A thirst for the rich plunder which Dundee afforded added zest to the enterprise, and it was soon captured. Till evening the sack of the town continued, and a considerable portion of it was burned to the ground.

But ere night fell a change came over the scene, for intelligence arrived that Baillie, with a force of three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, was quickly approaching the town. It was with the greatest difficulty that the Earl could re-assemble his force, and induce them to forsake the booty and the wine casks, which had fallen a prey to them. For Montrose the position of affairs was now most critical. Many of his men were intoxicated; all of them were fatigued after their long night march and their labours of the day, and he was at a loss to know what course to pursue. After conference, however, he gave orders for an immediate retreat towards Arbroath, and, though closely pursued and harassed by advanced bodies of the enemy so long as daylight lasted, he succeeded by midnight in reaching that town, after a march of seventeen miles. But here, much as they needed rest, no rest could be indulged in, for it was recognised that Baillie might come upon them at any moment, and so, after a short halt, they obeyed the command of their general and set forward through the darkness. It was a memorable retreat—a masterly performance, and commanded the admiration of the most experienced officers of the day, for on they sped and halted not until, at sunrise, they crossed the South Esk near Carriston Castle. Here, being within three miles of the foot of the Grampians, they felt secure, and sought a much needed repose. Wishart thus refers to this supreme effort:—"And this was that

so much talked of expedition to Dundee, infamous indeed for the mistakes of the scouts, but as renowned as any for the valour, constancy, and undaunted resolution of the General; and admirable for the hardiness of the soldiers in encountering all extremities with patience: for threescore miles together (Scotch miles, equal to ninety English), they had been often in fight, always upon their march, without either meat or sleep, or intermission, or the least refreshment; which, whether foreign nations or aftertimes will believe, I cannot tell; but, I am sure, I deliver nothing but what is most certain of my own knowledge. And truly, amongst expert soldiers, and those of eminent note, both of England, Germany, and France, I have not seldom heard this expedition of Montrose preferred to his greatest victory."

It was with no little feeling of chagrin that Baillie learned on the morrow that his enemy had passed close by him in the night, and had eluded his grasp. With the greatest expedition he at once set forward at the head of his horse, but, though he came close to them when all except the sentinels were still asleep, he failed to arrest their further retreat to the foot of the Grampians, and thence into the interior through Glenesk.

A few days' rest sufficed to refresh the hardy troops of Montrose after this extraordinary exertion, and he was soon again pursuing a characteristically active course. After several minor events, in some of which Alaster Mac Donald had taken a prominent part, the Royalist forces directed their steps towards the north to the support of Lord Gordon, whose territory was menaced by General Hurry with an army consisting of one thousand foot, and two hundred horse. The unlooked-for arrival of Montrose so alarmed the Covenanting General that he beat a hasty retreat towards Inverness, with the Royalists following close upon his rear. Here, however, Hurry was joined by the Earls of Seaforth and Sutherland with their retainers, as also by the Clan Fraser and others from Moray and Caithness, and, strengthened by these accessions which raised his army to three thousand five hundred foot, and four hundred horse, he resolved to assume
1645 A.D. the offensive. At this time (May), the forces of Montrose were reduced, from a variety of causes, to fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred and fifty horse, and he was by no means anxious to risk a battle against such odds; but the rapid approach of Baillie through Atholl, which he was devastating with fire and

sword, determined him not to decline an engagement, and in the neighbourhood of Auldearn, about four miles from Nairn, he awaited the attack. Dividing his small army into two divisions, he placed the right division within certain sheep-folds and committed it to Alaster Mac Donald, while he took the command of the left himself. The horse he attached to the left wing, and placed them under Lord Gordon.

In the early period of the fight, the brunt of battle was borne by the division under Mac Donald, to whom had been committed the Royal standard, with the express purpose of directing Hurry's attack on that position, which was, in fact, the strongest. Repeated attacks of the Covenanters they repulsed with the greatest bravery. Then, contrary to instructions, Mac Donald took up the attack and impetuously left his defences, only to be beaten back to an enclosure by an overwhelming force. At this critical moment, Montrose brought his division into action, and, taking advantage of some confusion in the ranks of the Covenanters induced by Major Drummond having awkwardly wheeled his horse in such a fashion as to break the ranks of the footmen, Lord Gordon rushed in upon Drummond's horse, and put them to flight. Following hard with his foot Montrose attacked, in headlong Highland fashion, the main body of Hurry's army, and routed them, after a stubborn resistance. The victory was complete, and in the ranks of the Covenanters, the slaughter was very great. According to Spalding, Hurry lost two thousand men, while of the Royalists some twenty-four gentlemen were wounded, and a few Irish killed. The Royalist loss is, however, probably under-rated by this writer. For his action in the battle, Major Drummond was afterwards tried by Court-Martial, and condemned to be shot.

The victory at Auldearn was of the greatest consequence to the Royalists, for, besides the fact of victory, and the taking of sixteen standards, they got possession of the whole of the Covenanters' baggage, provision, and ammunition, and also a considerable amount of money.

The next event of importance in the history of the campaign was the battle of Alford, which was fought on the 2nd July, between the armies of Montrose and General Baillie. On this occasion, the opposing forces were about equal in number, and both sides fought with the greatest bravery. The battle of

Alford was the most stubbornly contested fight which Montrose had yet engaged in, but eventually victory once again remained with the Royalists, and the Covenanting foot, more particularly in the pursuit, was almost annihilated. As usual, the loss of Montrose was trifling, but, to the great grief of the whole army, Lord Gordon was among the slain. He was shot dead when in the act of pulling General Baillie from his horse.

1645 A.D. After the battle of Alford, Montrose was called upon to lament another of those temporary retirals of many of the Highlanders, which contributed to make his striking victories, hitherto, unfruitful of any permanent results. Now, as on former occasions, he had to submit with as good a grace as possible, for his followers were volunteers without pay, and not amenable to ordinary military law. Ere he undertook his next important operation, however, he was joined by a body of horse under the Earls of Aboyne and Airlie, and by such a contingent of Highlanders, as placed him in command of the largest army he had as yet had under him. In the ranks were Athollmen, Mac Leans, Mac Donalds of Clanranald, Mac Donnells of Glengarry, Mac Gregors, Mac Nabs, Stewarts of Appin, Farquharsons of Braemar, Gordons, and others. Many of these were brought in by Alaster Mac Donald, who had been, during the previous two months, again recruiting in the more remote Highlands.

From Aberdeen, whither he had gone, after the battle of Alford, to celebrate the obsequies of the lamented Lord Gordon, Montrose turned his face southward, and took up a position in the neighbourhood of Perth, where Parliament at this time sat, owing to the presence of the plague in Edinburgh and in Stirling. Here he lingered for a time, and threw the citizens into the greatest consternation by his presence, but, owing to his deficiency in cavalry, he did not venture to attack the town. Later, having crossed the Erne, an attack upon him was threatened by the fresh army that was mustered by the Covenanters, but he succeeded in affecting his escape to the hills, and took up his quarters at Little Dunkeld. Here he was joined by a considerable body of horse and musketeers from the north, and thereafter, without loss of time, he abandoned his camp and returned to the Lowlands. Now for the first time he resolved to carry on operations to the south of the Tay, and by dexterous movements succeeded in opening up the way thither. In the course of his

march through Fife, and on into Stirlingshire, the Ogilvies, aided by the Mac Leans, who were about seven hundred strong, seized the opportunity of revenging themselves upon Argyll, by laying waste the parishes of Muckart and Dollar, of which the Marquis was the superior, and burning his chief lowland residence, the magnificent baronial stronghold, Castle Campbell, or Castle Gloom, as it was formerly styled, near Dollar. By way of retaliation, the Covenanting army, a few days later, at the instigation of Argyll, set fire to Menstrie House, the seat of the Earl of Stirling, who was the King's Secretary, and to that of Airthrie, belonging to Sir John Graham of Braco. In Fife, the people were unfriendly to Montrose, and, proceeding westward, he marched to Kilsyth, where he encamped.

For some time before this date, matters had not been proceeding smoothly in the camp of the Covenanters. The continual interference of the Committee of Estates, which now always accompanied the army, so fretted Baillie that he, again and again, complained, but without remeid, and at last resigned his commission. At the earnest solicitation of Parliament, however, he agreed to continue his services for a definite fixed period, which period was now drawing to a close. On the 14th of August, his army took up a position about three miles from Kilsyth.

A day or two earlier, intelligence was received by Montrose of the active levying of troops in the west by the Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, and Glencairn, and this fact determined him to hazard a battle immediately. To that end, he at once, and with his usual care and foresight, chose his position, and made his dispositions. Baillie, on his part, would willingly have avoided a battle till the expected reinforcements had come up, for the position chosen by Montrose was a strong one; but he was overruled by the Committee, and had no alternative but to prepare for an engagement on the following morning. Nor was he allowed a free hand in arranging his order of battle, for here again the Committee interfered, notwithstanding his remonstrances, and induced him, against his better judgment, to take up a position selected by them. 1645 A.D.

As the moment of battle arrived, certain murmurings on the part of his cavalry reached the ears of Montrose. Among the Covenanters was a regiment of cuirassiers, whose glittering

armour so impressed the more homely Royalist horsemen that they hesitated to engage with such formidable-looking antagonists. Realizing the danger associated with the continuance of such a feeling in his men, Montrose, by recounting the victories of the past, endeavoured to inspire in them a feeling of contempt for their enemies rather than of fear, and then, by divesting himself of his coat and vest, he showed the despite in which he himself held them. Following his example, every man of his army threw off his upper garments, and, indeed, the foot cast off all their apparel except their shirts. To the Covenanters the circumstance was indicative of a determination to win or die, and upon them it produced its due impression.

The battle of Kilsyth was begun by the cavalry of Baillie, who attempted to capture certain cottages and gardens which were occupied by the advanced guard of the Royalists. These latter successfully repelled the violent charge, and caused the enemy to retire precipitately. At this point an indiscretion on the part of a body of about a thousand impetuous Highlanders nearly led to disaster. Seeing the repulse of the horsemen they, with their usual eagerness, rashly, and without authority, advanced up hill to attack the main body of the Covenanters, by whom they were well-nigh overwhelmed, but, after a period of intense suspense, the old Earl of Airlie, at the urgent request of Montrose, daringly proceeded to their relief with a squadron of his own horse, when none else would venture, and, driving back the Covenanting cavalry upon their foot, threw the latter into confusion. Encouraged by the success of Airlie, the rest of the army rushed forward and completed the disorder, with the result that within a short time Baillie's army was an utter rout, and the men fled for their lives, after casting away their weapons. Many of the foot were trampled down by their own horse, and so great was the carnage that of the six thousand Covenanting foot, not more than one hundred, it was believed, escaped with their lives. The slaughter was merciless and cruel. In the retreat, Argyll, who was present as one of the Committee of Estates, "never looked over his shoulder," says Guthrie, "until after twenty miles riding, he reached the South Queensferry, where he possessed himself of a boat again." Wishart sarcastically refers to the same circumstance, and it is evident that the Marquis's fondness for an ark of safety had come to be a by-word. As usual Montrose's loss

was insignificant, while the whole of the baggage, arms, and stores, belonging to the Covenanters, were captured by the Royalists.

The battle of Kilsyth was the crowning victory of Montrose, and for a time the cause of Charles was in the ascendant throughout Scotland. Many of the Covenanting nobility fled the country; others of that order now came forward and proffered their services to the Royalists. Deputations from many of the shires and leading towns waited upon the victor and tendered their allegiance, and ultimately, on being threatened with fire and sword, the authorities of Edinburgh followed this example, and set free many prominent men who had been prisoners. The castle they also promised to deliver up to the officers of the king, but this they failed to perform, and it, along with the castle of Stirling and others, continued in the hands of the Covenanters.

Upon Montrose, whose magnanimity and bravery were universally extolled, large powers were now conferred by the king, by whom he was appointed Captain-General and Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland. But, notwithstanding his brilliant series of victories and those high honours, the turning point in the career of the great general was actually at hand. In this matter he was largely the creature of circumstances. After the battle of Kilsyth certain of the Covenanting nobility, who had taken refuge in Berwick, immediately recalled General David Leslie to the north, and, by the beginning of September, he reached Berwick with a force of six thousand cavalry. As the result of this movement by Leslie, Montrose was instructed by the king to march at once to the Borders, where he would be joined, he was informed, by many of the nobility of the southern shires, with their forces, as well as by a body of horse from England.

On the 3rd of September the Royalist leader held an imposing review at Bothwell, and took the opportunity of complimenting his troops in the highest manner. Upon Mac Donald, his major-general, he bestowed a special tribute of praise, and, in virtue of powers with which he had been invested, he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. He then announced to them the commands of their royal master as to their southward march. He was not prepared for the disappointment which now came to him. Already, in conformity with their usual custom, a considerable number of the Highlanders had retired privately to their homes, but it was with feelings of pain and displeasure that

1645 A.D.

he heard, at this critical juncture, a demand made on behalf of the general body of Highlanders, that they should be allowed to return to their respective homes for a period of forty days, in order that they might arrange their private affairs, repair their houses, which had been ruined by the enemy, and provide for the coming winter.

The disappointment which Montrose felt at the tendering of such a request was enormously accentuated when he learned, immediately thereafter, from Sir Alaster Mac Donald, that he also purposed to return to the Highlands, that he might still further revenge himself upon Argyll, against whom he cherished feelings of intense enmity. With Sir Alaster, Montrose remonstrated, but in vain, and that same day, after pledging himself for the early return of the Highlanders, the former departed, accompanied by over three thousand Highlanders, the *elite* of the army, and one hundred and twenty of the best of the Irish troops, whom he had selected as a body guard.

But the mortification of Montrose was not yet complete, for the following day, and ere he had well begun his march to the south, he was abandoned, at the instigation of the Earl of Aboyne, who was probably jealous of Montrose, by the Gordons, and the other horsemen of the north. Not more than nine hundred men, a large proportion of whom were Irish, were now at the command of the Royalist leader, and the wonder is that, under such disheartening circumstances, he should have continued his march southward as he did, trusting to receive help from, as yet, untried friends. That it was a mistake—the first military mistake perhaps, of his career—he was not long of discovering, for except for a small party of horse which joined him in his march along Gala water, under the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvie, and a troop of horse under Lord Linton, son of the Earl of Traquair, he received no levies. Bitterly disappointed, Montrose, in order to prevent his retreat being cut off by General Leslie, who had by this time crossed the Tweed, retired from Kelso, which was the furthest point he had reached, and arrived at Selkirk on the 12th September. In that town he and his cavalry took up their quarters, while his foot encamped for the night at Philiphaugh, on the north bank of the Ettrick.

Meanwhile Leslie had proceeded as far as Gladsmuir with the intention of hasting to Stirling that he might thus cut off the

retreat of the Royalists into the Highlands. At Gladsmuir, however, he received information from certain so-called Royalists which induced him to at once wheel round and endeavour to effect a surprise. That night Leslie spent at Melrose, within six miles of the Royalist encampment, but the Royalists were wholly unaware of the fact, and so careless was the scouting of those to whom it had been entrusted by Montrose, who himself was engaged with his correspondence during the greater part of the night, that they actually allowed the Covenanters to come within half-a-mile of the headquarters of Montrose ere their presence was even suspected. In effecting this surprise Leslie was assisted by the presence of a thick mist.

In the grey of the morning the alarm was communicated to Montrose, who, springing upon the first horse he could find, galloped into the camp, which he found in much confusion, while the horses were scattered throughout the neighbouring fields. With his usual energy and presence of mind, however, he succeeded in drawing his men up in order of battle ere the enemy was in a position to begin the attack. But it was a slender force —a thousand foot and five hundred horse—he had at his command to pit against the four thousand horse and two thousand foot of Leslie, most of them veterans of distinguished service. The odds were too great, and the surprise too complete, to warrant any hope of successful resistance, but the attempt was made, and twice did the Covenanting cavalry retire repulsed by the Royalist horse on the right wing. Foiled in that direction, the Covenanting horse then attacked the foot on the left, while at the same time there came up, by a circuitous route, in the rear of the right wing, a body of two thousand Covenanting foot, before whose overwhelming attack the Royalist horse fled. Abandoned thus by the horse the Royalist foot, after a slight resistance, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, and the struggle ended. Yielding to the entreaties of his friends, Montrose, with about thirty horsemen, sought safety in flight, and, though closely pursued, they succeeded not only in effecting their escape, but in carrying off as prisoners a captain and two ensigns with their colours. The fate of the Royalist prisoners is not pleasant to contemplate. Almost all of them were summarily shot, in the court-yard of Newark Castle, by the order of the General, while a party of helpless Irish widows and orphans whom

1645 A.D.

the army, a few days later, overtook near Linlithgow, were brutally tossed over the Bridge of Avon into the river beneath. Of the officers who had been captured, Colonel O'Kean and Major Laughlane, both of them Irishmen, were hanged without trial upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. Both in England and in Lowland Scotland, at this time, the mere fact of being an Irishman was deemed sufficient reason, by those in authority, for such summary proceedings. Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir Philip Nisbet, Ogilvie of Inverquharity, Sir William Rollock, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and other captives of high rank, were subsequently brought to trial, and executed as malignants.

By their victory at Philiphaugh, the Covenanters, at one blow, re-established their position of commanding influence throughout the country, while the Royalists lost forever the fruits of their many brilliant victories. Montrose, with a few companions, including the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Napier, found his way into Atholl as speedily as possible, and on his way thither had the gratification of being joined by his friends, the Earls of Airlie and Crawford, with about two hundred of the fugitive cavalry.

Recognising that the materials of his former ever-victorious armies were all, with the exception of the Irish contingent, practically intact still, Montrose, with his usual energy and promptitude, set himself to the task of once more bringing them together. With Mac Donald and the Earl of Aboyne he at once entered into communication, and from both of them he received promises that they would speedily join him, but nothing practical ever came of these promises. Though now returned home, the Marquis of Huntly was still sulking, and to the repeated suggestions of Montrose that they should unite their available forces he turned a deaf ear. He was, nevertheless, a Royalist still, and, on his own account, engaged in a few enterprises which were, however, practically fruitless.

1645 A.D. In October Montrose again crossed the Forth with an army consisting of three hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, mainly drawn from Atholl, Braemar, and Glenshee, and quartered himself on the lands of Sir John Buchanan in the Lennox. There he hoped to be joined by Sir Alaster Mac Donald, to whom he had sent repeated urgent messages, but his waiting was vain, as his old major-general had no intention of ever again becoming his

ally. Recognising this fact, Montrose again made his way into Atholl, where he passed the winter endeavouring to strengthen his forces with a view to the reduction of Inverness. The Earl of Seaforth he succeeded in winning to his side, while, as a result of an interview with Huntly, the latter promised his support in the siege of the northern town. Accordingly, in the spring months of 1646 Montrose, having marched to the north, endeavoured to 1646 A.D.
reduce the garrison of Inverness, but, as Huntly failed to implement his promise, the investment was ineffective, and, early in May, on the approach from Aberdeen of Middleton, who was now in command of the forces of the Covenanters, he drew his troops together, and retreated into Ross-shire. During Middleton's absence from Aberdeen at this time, that city was stormed by Huntly, and once again taken and pillaged, but, expecting the return of the Covenanting general, he withdrew his forces, which were by this time considerably reduced in numbers, owing to some of the Highlanders having gone home with their booty.

Meantime changes of the most momentous character had occurred in the position of the King, who was by that time in the keeping of the Scots army at Newcastle, and from that town he, on the 19th May, addressed letters to Montrose, Huntly, and Sir Alaster Mac Donald, instructing them to immediately disband their forces. Montrose he also required to withdraw into France. By the latter these instructions were received with feelings both of amazement and pain, but after communication with Charles, and an interview with General Middleton, who was empowered by the Estates to negotiate with him, he yielded to the wishes of his sovereign, and, in the neighbourhood of Cupar-Angus, on the 30th day of July, he disbanded his men, after addressing them in the most touching terms. On the third day of September he left the harbour of Montrose in the disguise of a servant, and, after a favourable voyage, reached Bergen in Norway, where he and his fellow-voyagers and companions in exile were warmly welcomed by a Scot named Thomas Gray, who was governor of the castle of that town.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Leslie's expeditions to the north and west—Tragedy of Dunaverty—Slaughter of the Campbells at Stirling—Rising in the north in favour of Charles II.—Defeat, capture, and execution of Montrose—"The Start"—The Mac Leans at the Battle of Inverkeithing—Subjection of the Highlands by Monk—Insurrection under Glencairn and Middleton—Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel—Removal of the English garrisons from the Highlands—Strife between the Campbells and the Mac Leans—The descent of the "Highland Host."

1646-1678.

On the 28th day of January, 1647, King Charles was delivered by the Scottish army into the hands of the English Parliament. During the progress of the negotiations for his transfer, the King had meditated an attempt at escape, and, with a view to eventualities he, by messenger, desired Huntly to put himself at the head of such forces as he could raise in the north. This Huntly did, and, as they continued in arms after Charles had been surrendered, it was found necessary, on the return of the Scottish army, to utilise a portion of it for the dispersion of these forces. Under General David Leslie this was speedily effected, and the Marquis with a few friends sought shelter in Lochaber. By the Covenanting general all Huntly's places of strength were speedily reduced, as well as the Castles of Ruthven and Inverlochy; and some important prisoners were taken. Leslie then marched to Dunblane, where he was joined by the Marquis of Argyll.

To deal with Sir Alexander Mac Donald in the west was the next task set to Leslie, and on the 21st May he arrived at Inveraray, accompanied by Argyll, who occupied the post of Colonel. During the period which had elapsed since Sir Alexander had, early in September, 1645, forsaken Montrose, he had taken frequent opportunities of wreaking his vengeance upon the Campbells and their allies, the Stuarts of Balquhidder, the Menzieses, and others, while these, in turn, took occasion to attack the Mac Gregors, the Mac Nabs, and the Lamonts for

favouring Montrose. In the summer of 1646 the Campbells laid siege to the Castles of Toward and Ascog, which were occupied by the Lamonts. After a time the latter capitulated, the treaty providing that they should be permitted to depart unscathed. Notwithstanding this express stipulation the Lamonts, to the number of nearly two hundred, were treacherously taken to Dunoon as prisoners, and there thirty-six of them were hanged on one tree, while the remainder were killed in one way or other.

At the date at which we have now arrived, Sir Alexander Mac Donald was in Kintyre, and thither Leslie directed his steps. To guard the passes at Tarbert into the peninsula was an easy matter, but Mac Donald, who had ample forces for the purpose—fourteen hundred foot and two troops of horse—seems to have been unaware of the approach of Leslie, and so the latter entered unopposed. On the 25th of May he came up with the forces of Sir Alaster, and, after prolonged skirmishing, compelled him to retire into South Kintyre. Thence the latter, with the greater part of his men, passed over into Islay, after he had thrown three hundred men into the Castle of Dunaverty. This castle was soon captured, and in the tragedy of Dunaverty we have a fresh illustration of the cruelty which so often characterised the warfare of that religious period. Having obtained command of the water supply to the Castle, the garrison were compelled to surrender to Leslie at discretion, with the result that every man of them, except one, was immediately put to the sword, and that, it would seem, at the instigation of John Nave or Neaves, chaplain to the General. 1647 A.D.

From Dunaverty, Leslie proceeded to Islay, where he found that Sir Alaster had gone to Ireland, leaving his father, Coll Ciotach, with a garrison of two hundred men to occupy the Castle of Dunyveg. Here also a deficient water supply compelled capitulation, but on favourable terms. The only man who did not benefit by these conditions was old Coll himself, who, says the Adjutant-General, Sir James Turner, "coming foolishly out of the house, where he was governor, on some parole or other, to speak with his old friend, the captain of Dunstaffnage Castle, was surprised and made prisoner, not without some stain to the Lieutenant-General's honour." Having been handed over to the Campbells, the old islander was hung

from the mast of his own galley, placed over the cleft of a rock near the Castle of Dunstaffnage.

Leaving Islay, Leslie ferried over to Jura. "Here," says Sir James Turner, "Mac Laine saved his lands, with the loss of his reputation, if he ever had any. He gave up his strong castles to Leslie, gave his eldest soune for hostage of his fidelity, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen prettie Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the Lieutenant-General, who immediately caused them all to be hanged. It was not well done to demand them of Mac Laine, but inexcusable ill done in him to betray them."

1648 A.D. After the defeat of the Scots army under the Duke of Hamilton at Preston in the year 1648, a new army was levied by the Estates, the command of which was conferred upon the Earl of Lanark, the Duke's brother. In that army there was a body of four thousand Highlanders raised by the Earl of Seaforth in Ross-shire and the western islands, as well as twelve hundred men brought from the Orkneys by the Earl of Morton. On the 12th of September of that year the town of Stirling was entered and held for the Covenanters by Argyll, with a force of seven hundred men from the west. Not many hours, however, after Argyll's entry, and while he was dining with the Earl of Mar, the advanced guard of the army of Lanark, under Sir George Munro, came upon the scene and pushed forward into the town ere Argyll's men were aware of their approach. Looking only, as usual, to his personal safety, Argyll mounted his horse and fled, leaving his men to the tender mercies of the enemy. Nearly two hundred of them were killed or drowned, while the rest were taken prisoners. Ere long, as the result of a peace concluded between old Leven, the leader of the Whigs, and the Earl of Lanark, the captives were set at liberty, and conducted to their own country by one of Argyll's officers.

1649 A.D. On the 13th of January 1649, King Charles I. was beheaded. His execution was followed on the 9th of March by that of the Duke of Hamilton, while on the 22nd of the same month the Marquis of Huntly, on whose head a price of £1000 had been set, and who was captured by Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies in Strathdon, was also brought to the block.

"I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

It was in the spirit of these lines, as written by himself, that the great Marquis of Montrose learned of the death of his King, and, with the authority of his new master, Charles II., he forthwith set matters in train for a speedy descent upon Scotland, that he might establish the latter on the throne by force of arms, and not under the conditions offered. To further these efforts Montrose was at once appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland. While these arrangements were in progress, however, separate risings in favour of the King occurred in Ross-shire, and that neighbourhood, under Thomas Mac Kenzie of Pluscardin, brother of the Earl of Seaforth, and other northern gentlemen; and in Atholl under Lord Ogilvie and General Middleton. Though joined by the former Lord Lewis Gordon, now the Marquis of Huntly, and Lord Reay, these risings proved entirely abortive, and they were suppressed by the Parliamentary forces under David Leslie. Ill-timed and premature those attempts were, and they did much to make the later effort of Montrose unsuccessful. That effort was made in the spring of 1650, and in the beginning of March Montrose landed in Orkney with a contingent of five hundred men, raised mainly in Holstein and Hamburg. There he found awaiting him a small force of men who, a few months earlier, had arrived from the continent under the Earl of Kinnoull. 1650 A.D.

A few weeks' recruiting among the islands sufficed to raise Montrose's followers to about fifteen hundred men, and with this small army he crossed the Pentland Firth, and landed in the vicinity of John O'Groat's house. At Carbisdale, on the borders of Ross-shire, he halted on his southward march, in the expectation that the Mac Kenzies would gather round him, but neither they nor any other clan rallied to his standard; while the Earl of Sutherland, Ross of Balnagown, and Munro of Lumlair, had already actually taken the field against him with a body of five hundred foot.

Meantime preparations were being actively made by Parliament to combat this new rising, and David Leslie was appointed to the command of the forces; but while these were assembling, Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan, with a small body of men, was despatched in all haste northwards, with a view to preventing, if

possible, the entrance of the Royalists into the heart of the Highlands, where they knew they would be welcomed, as in former days. In a day or two Leslie was also on the march, and speeding along at the rate of thirty miles a day, with an army of four thousand horse and foot, but ere he came up with Strachan, Montrose had been surprised and defeated by the latter at Invercharron, on the 28th of April, and was now a lonely wanderer among the mountains of Sutherland. Exchanging his clothes for the garb of a poor Highlander, he roamed o'er hill and dale by night and day, while search parties hunted for him in vain. "At last," says Bishop Wishart, "the laird of Assynt being abroad in arms with some of his tenants in search of him, lighted on him in a place where he had continued three or four days, without meat or drink, and only one man in his company." His solitary companion was Major Sinclair, an Orkney gentleman. By Mac Leod, Montrose was seized, and ultimately transferred to Edinburgh under the most ignominious conditions, and there, on the 20th day of May, sentence of death, and subsequent mutilation, was pronounced upon him. On the night before his execution, he, with a diamond, wrote upon the window of his cell these well-known lines regarding the manner of his death, and the disposal of his body :—

> "Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
> Then open all my veins that I may swim
> To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake;
> Then place my parboiled head upon a stake,
> Scatter my ashes, strew them in the air—
> Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are.
> I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
> And confident thou'it raise me with the just."

The following day the great Marquis was led to execution, and met his death with gravity, dignity, and characteristic fortitude. His last words were these :—"I leave my soul to God, my service to my prince, my goodwill to my friends, my love and charity to all." Thus died, at the early age of thirty-eight, a great soldier, a cultured nobleman, and a far-seeing, independent, clear-headed statesman, one whose chief fault was this, that he drew his sword against his countrymen in their noble struggles against arbitrary power, and on behalf of civil and religious liberty.

Four weeks after the execution of Montrose, Charles II., having come to terms with the Parliament, arrived in Scotland. His enthusiastic welcome by the Scots was followed, on the 3rd September, by the disastrous battle of Dunbar, and by the capture of Edinburgh, without opposition, a few days later. Fretting under the restrictions placed upon him by the Argyll faction, Charles now took steps to form a Royalist party in the north, with whose aid he hoped to attain to greater freedom of action, and on the 4th of October he stole away from Perth that he might place himself at the head of such northern forces as had already assembled. But his action appears to have been premature, and that night he was traced to his place of repose—a poor cottage at the foot of the Grampians, belonging to the laird of Clova—from which, with his own consent, he was brought back to Perth. This "Start," as the attempt to escape was familiarly called, had a good effect as regards the future liberty of the King. He was now treated with more consideration, while, as the result of negotiations between Leslie and the chief Royalists—Huntly, Atholl, Seaforth, and Middleton—the northern insurrection fizzled out. 1650 A.D.

Almost all Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde was at this time in possession of Cromwell. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, advantage was taken of the harmonious condition of things that now existed between the King and the Estates, to effect the coronation of his Majesty. This ceremony was accomplished at Scone on 1st January, 1651, the crown being placed upon his Majesty's head by the Marquis of Argyll.

A few months later, the Scottish army, under their King, lay at the Torwood, expecting the advance of Cromwell. On the 2nd of July a portion of this army encountered a large division of the English under Lambert, at Inverkeithing, where they were defeated, after a stubborn resistance. In this affair a body of Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves under Sir Hector Mac Lean, who declined to retreat, though greatly outnumbered, lest he should become forever the scorn of honest men. Of Sir Hector's eight hundred immediate followers, most of whom were Mac Leans, only forty escaped alive. Bravery and loyalty well-nigh ruined the clan, and Sir Hector himself was slain. Could his faithful clansmen have prevented it, he would not then have died, for eight of them, brothers all, one 1651 A.D.

after another, gave his life for that of his chief, each man shouting aloud as he stepped to the front to guard him, *Fear eil airson Eachainn!*—ANOTHER FOR HECTOR. The phrase has since become a proverb indicative of devotion. Six weeks later the desperate battle of Worcester was fought, "as stiff a contest," writes Cromwell, "for four or five hours, as ever I have seen." In that battle the Mac Leods of Skye lost so many men that it was agreed by the northern clans, says a British Museum MS., that they should have respite from military service till their number should have again increased. After Worcester the King was a fugitive.

Meantime, the subjugation of Scotland was vigorously prosecuted by General Monk, to whom, on the withdrawal of Cromwell to the south, the command had been committed. This was not effected without the perpetration of a considerable amount of cruelty, especially at Dundee, where two hundred women and children were deliberately put to the sword. In the north, as the result of separate treaties, both Huntly and Balcarres consented to disband their men, but in the interior of the Highlands considerable bodies still remained in arms. During the summer
1652 A.D. of 1652, an attempt was made to deal with these by three separate bodies of troops. From Inverness, Colonel Lilburn advanced towards Lochaber on one side, while General Dean approached the same district on the other side from Perth, and Colonel Overton landed in Kintyre from Ayr. Their reception at the hands of the Highlanders is thus referred to by Balfour:—"The Frassers came in to them [Lilburn's expedition], and condiscendit to pay them cesse; bot Glengarey stood out, and in effecte the heighlandmen fooled them home againe to the lowlandis; some with fair wordes; others stoode to ther defence; and the Inglishe finding nothing amongest them save hunger and strokes, were glad (ther bisquet and cheese being all spent, and ther clothes worne, with their horsses out-tyred), to returne, cursing the heighlandes, to ther winter quarters." General Dean, he reports as having "lost some few men and horsses in viewing of the heighlanders." Regarding Overton, he says, "If my Lord Marquesse of Argyle had not protected him, he and all that wes with him had gottin ther throttes cutte. So, weill laughin at by the heighlanders, he wes forced to returne with penurey aneuche, werey glade all of them that ther lives were saved."

To hold Scotland in subjection, fortresses were dotted over the country by Monk in considerable profusion. These were seldom more than earthen mounds, but they were mounted with heavy cannon, and provided with skilled garrisons. In many districts of the Highlands, however, previously existing structures were utilised, and at Inverness, a formidable fortress was constructed at a cost of £80,000, which, according to the Memoirs of Richard Frank, a trooper in the Protectorate army, was very amply provided in all particulars. An interesting description of this imposing structure, which was over three years in building, is also to be found in the Diary of the minister of Kirkhill. At the upper end of Loch Ness was another fort, and communication between the two was kept up by means of a ship of war, carrying four guns, which plied upon the loch. Trooper Frank tells us that its land transit from the shores of the Moray Firth, a distance of six miles, was effected by the aid of "a regiment—or it may be two—at that time quartered near Inverness, who by artifice had fastened thick cables to her forecastle, and then they got levers and rollers of timber which they spread at a distance one before another." During the transit three cables were snapped.

In the year 1653, the Royalists, during the absence of Monk from Scotland, engaged in an attempt to free their country from the yoke of Cromwell. At the head of this movement, was the Earl of Glencairn, who was supported principally by Highland chiefs. Among these were Lord Lorne, Glengarry, Lochiel, Mac Gregor, Mac Naughton, the Earl of Atholl, and Farquharson of Inverey. In the neighbourhood of Aberfoyle, a minor victory was gained over Colonel Kidd, Governor of Stirling Castle, which served to give an impulse to the attempt in its earlier stages, but the clandestine withdrawal of Lord Lorne, with his followers, numbering one thousand foot and about fifty horse, together with the replacement of Glencairn as commander in-chief by General Middleton, agreeably to the instructions of the King, took the spirit out of the insurrection, and led to the formation of two parties within the army. Glencairn and most of the other Lowland nobles shortly thereafter left the army. 1653 A.D.

Meantime, Monk had arrived upon the scene, and, entering the heart of the Highlands with a large army, one division of it under General Morgan surprised, defeated, and dispersed the

army of Middleton, on the 26th July, 1654, in a defile near Lochgarry. Middleton escaped, but with difficulty, and ere long the chiefs arranged a peace with Monk, by whom they were treated leniently.

One of the last of the Highland chiefs to lay down his arms was the renowned head of the Camerons, Evan Cameron of Lochiel, or Evan Dubh, as he was commonly called. On more than one occasion, this distinguished Highland chief, while serving under Middleton, found it necessary to withdraw from the general body, and return to Lochaber to protect his property against the depredations of the garrison of Inverlochy. On the first of these occasions, Lochiel had a rencontre with an English officer of great personal strength, who, during the fight, marked him out for single combat. "Lochiel," says Scott, in telling the story, "was dexterous enough to disarm the Englishman; but his gigantic adversary suddenly closed on him, and in the struggle which ensued both fell to the ground, the officer uppermost. He was in the act of grasping at his sword, which had fallen near the place where they lay in deadly struggle, and was naturally extending his neck in the same direction, when the Highland chief, making a desperate effort, grasped his enemy by the collar, and snatching with his teeth at the bare and out-stretched throat, he seized it as a wild cat might have done, and kept his hold so fast as to tear out the windpipe. The officer died in this singular manner. Lochiel was so far from disowning or being ashamed of this extraordinary mode of defence, that he was afterwards heard to say, it was the sweetest morsel he had ever tasted."

Some years later, when Evan Dubh went up with Monk to London, he had a curious experience which very vividly brought back to him the scene just described. One day, when being shaved in a barber's shop, the operator observed, "You are from the North, sir." "Yes," said Lochiel, "I am. Do you know people from the North?" "No," replied the barber, "nor do I wish to; they are savages there. Would you believe it, sir, one of them tore the throat out of my father with his teeth, and I only wish I had the fellow's throat as near me as I have yours just now." Evan Dubh never again entered a barber's shop.

1660 A.D. Charles II. was restored to the throne in May, 1660, but, notwithstanding the new order of things, the forts in the Highlands

were not evacuated by the English garrisons until several months had elapsed, and not indeed until after a strong remonstrance had been made by the Scots. The formidable citadel of Inverness was, ere their departure, utterly demolished, but the key of Inverlochy was put in the possession of Lochiel. Some of the English soldiers continued their residence in Inverness after the bulk of the garrison had been removed, and their influence in moulding the speech of the people of that town is usually acknowledged. The departure of those that left is thus pictured for us by the minister of Kirkhill :—"Never people left a place with such reluctance. It was sad to see and hear their sighs and tears, pale faces and embraces, at their parting farewell from that town, and no wonder; they had peace and plenty for ten years in it; they made that place happy, and it made them so."

On the 27th day of May, 1661, the Marquis of Argyll was brought to the block, and called to suffer that fate which had been a few years earlier endured by his great rival, the Marquis of Montrose. Argyll bore himself, now that death had actually to be faced, with dignity and Christian fortitude, and his memory continues green in the traditions of his country. Shortly thereafter his eldest son was on the verge of sharing a similar fate, but, later, he was released from imprisonment, and accorded the right to bear the title of earl. From King Charles, Glengarry also received a peerage, with the title of Mac Donnell and Aros. 1661 A.D.

In the year 1666 the young chief of Keppoch, Alexander Mac Donald Glas, and his brother, fell under the daggers of certain of their followers. Both of these gentlemen had received a liberal education in the south, and, being desirous of improving their estates, had set about the task with zeal. Their zeal, or the manner of it, did not commend itself to some of their people, with the result stated. At the instigation of Ian Lòm, who brought his influence as clan bard to bear upon the chief's kinsmen, these murders were amply avenged by the son of Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat, by whom the assassins were seized in bed and beheaded, and their heads presented to Lord Mac Donnell of Glengarry. 1666 A.D.

It may be here noted that not till the period at which we have now arrived were the leading northern towns brought into regular postal communication with Edinburgh. In the year 1667 Aberdeen secured the privilege of a post twice a week, and

in 1669 Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, the then postmaster-general, agreed, on being petitioned, to establish a weekly foot post to and from Inverness, "wind and weather serving."

In the year 1674 the Earl of Argyll came into conflict with the Mac Leans, the occasion being some debts due by Duart, which the late Marquis had purchased. Failing to come to a satisfactory arrangement, as to the payment of these debts, the Earl took the usual legal proceedings, and obtained a decree of the Court of Session against the young chief of Duart. Forthwith Argyll invaded Mull. This he did without opposition, killing or houghing many of the cattle, and taking possession of the Castle of Duart, in which he placed a garrison. He thus obtained without difficulty the submission of the islanders, as well as a promise to pay to him their rents.

1675 A.D. A refusal to comply with this latter condition the following year led to preparations being made by the Earl for a second expedition, and in September he assembled a force of fifteen hundred men, including a hundred of the King's troops, and a similar number of militia-men. The latter were under the command of Andrew Mac Farlane, the laird of Mac Farlane. Realising their danger, the Mac Leans, on this occasion, secured the assistance of Lord Mac Donnell and other chiefs, who sent a contingent of a thousand men. Their active support, however, was not required, as the ships of Argyll never reached the island, they having been driven back, damaged and dismantled, by a dreadful hurricane. The enterprise was now postponed by the Earl, and both parties laid the case before the King, by whom it was referred to three lords of the Scottish Privy Council. A meeting was arranged, but no decision was come to. It appears, however, that Argyll was allowed, unrestrained, to take possession of the island of Mull in the year 1680.

1678 A.D. The year 1678 witnessed the descent into the lowland western counties of the army of irregulars from the north, known in history as the "Highland Host." Isolated within their mountain barriers the bulk of the Highlanders had taken little interest in the questions of Church government which, during those years of persecution, had agitated and divided the people of Scotland, but now, through the instrumentality of the notorious Duke of Lauderdale, Archbishop Sharpe, and the Bishops and clergy generally, they were called in to bear a hand in those measures of

harassment and spoliation by which the government hoped to break the spirit of the western Covenanters, or drive them into open rebellion. On the 24th of June eight thousand mountaineers descended on Stirling, and thence spread themselves over Clydesdale, Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, harrying and spoiling to their heart's content. In some respects they were little better than banditti, but they were acting under the authority of the Crown, and were only carrying out their instructions. These instructions bore that they should "take effectual course for reducing them [the Covenanters] to obedience," "by taking free quarters from those who are disaffected, and by disarming all you shall find necessary, and securing all horses above such a value as ye shall think fit." For the encouragement of these marauders it was also declared that they should be indemnified "against all pursuits, civil and criminal, which might at any time hereafter be intended against them for anything they shall do in our service by killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning such as shall make opposition to our authority."

It is not a little to the credit of the Highlanders that, notwithstanding the free rein thus given, not one Covenanter lost his life during this unwelcome invasion, nor was cruelty practised upon them. In other respects, however, the Highlanders made the most of their opportunities in the few weeks during which they enjoyed free quarters, and in so doing they earned the bitter hatred of the Lowlanders. When they returned, says Wodrow, "one would have thought they had been at the sacking of some besieged town by their baggage and luggage. They were loaded with spoil. They carried away a great many horses and no small quantity of goods out of merchants' shops, whole webs of linen and woollen cloth, some silver plate, bearing the arms of gentlemen. You would have seen them with loads of bed-clothes, carpets, men and women's wearing clothes, pots, pans, gridirons, shoes, and other furniture, whereof they had pillaged the country." In Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick alone the damage inflicted was estimated at £137,000 Scots.

As is well known, the replacement of the Highlanders by the regular troops brought no relief to the persecuted victims. On the contrary it grievously augmented their sufferings, and, hunted like wild beasts, they were forced to endure the most bitter persecutions.

HAMPSTEAD LIBRARIES

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Argyll refuses to take the Test—Imprisonment and flight of Argyll—Sentenced to death—The insurrection of 1685—Capture and execution of Argyll—Sufferings of the Campbells and their allies—The Revolution—Doings of 'Coll of the cows'—The last clan battle—The insurrection under Dundee—Battle of Killiecrankie and death of Dundee.

1678-1689.

For several centuries the power of the house of Argyll had been the envy of many of the nobles of Scotland, both Lowland and Highland, and from time to time covetous eyes were cast upon their territorial possessions, and upon those heritable jurisdictions which gave them so widespread an influence, and constituted them the most powerful of the Scottish nobility. To diminish that power was often the desire of their enemies. It was so at
1681 A.D. this juncture, and in 1681 what seemed a favourable opportunity for effecting this occurred in the enactment of the Test Act, an act which was strenuously opposed by the Earl, and which instituted a test which even the Duke of York was heard to declare no honest man could take. Such was also the opinion of Argyll, and, though aware of the plotting of his enemies, he declined to subscribe it unless coupled with an explanatory declaration which he proffered. That declaration did not, however, meet with the approval of those in power, and he was forthwith seized and committed a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh. On the 12th of December he was brought to trial and found guilty of "treason, leasing-making and leasing-telling" by judges who were lost to all sense of justice. Sentence was delayed till the King should be communicated with, and in a few days his Majesty gave instructions that it should be passed, but that its execution should be deferred till the Royal pleasure should be further declared. In speaking to the King of the injustice of the treatment of Argyll Lord Halifax frankly declared:—"I know nothing of Scotch law, but this I know that we should

not hang a dog here on the grounds on which my Lord Argyll has been sentenced."

Not caring to trust himself to the questionable clemency of the King, the Earl, on the 21st December, made his escape from the Castle disguised as a page of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his daughter-in-law, and found his way to Friesland, where he took up his quarters on a small estate which had been purchased by his politic father as a place of refuge for the family in the event of civil troubles. Three days after his flight, sentence of death was passed upon him, while his titles and estates were declared forfeited. These latter were, however, restored to Lord Lorne, his eldest son, but the heritable jurisdictions were distributed by Charles among the friends of the Court during pleasure.

After the discovery of the Rye-house plot in England, measures were taken to prevent a rising in the Campbell country, from the fact that the exiled Earl was reported to have promised aid to the conspirators, by calling his clansmen to arms against the Government in Scotland. The precautionary measures were of a very thorough nature, and over the shires of Argyll and Tarbert six lieutenants were placed, while a royal proclamation was issued on May 5th, 1684, arranging for the presence of a considerable force of armed men, drawn from all parts of the country. Scotland remained undisturbed, however, at this time, and the preparations were unnecessary. 1684 A.D.

Not many months passed, however, ere such preparations were unmistakeably required, for an insurrection was in deed essayed. The death of the "merry monarch," and the accession of the Duke of York as James the Seventh of Scotland and Second of England, brought no relief to the sorely persecuted Covenanters. On the contrary, it greatly aggravated their sufferings, while the despicable Scottish Estates showed themselves more than ever the enemies of civil and religious liberty, and the creatures of the King. At this juncture it was resolved by the English and Scottish exiles in Holland—men who were weary of separation from their homes, and disgusted with the grievous misgovernment of their country—to raise the standard of rebellion both in England and in Scotland. In this effort they sought to anticipate the great Revolution that was at hand. By these influential exiles the co-operation of the exiled Duke of Monmouth was invited, and also that of the Earl of Argyll.

Argyll. As a Highland chief of great power and influence the accession of the latter was of the first importance. That the King knew it to be so was made apparent by him in his remark to the Dutch ambassadors when he said—"Of all men living Argyll has the greatest means of annoying me."

1685 A.D. The command of the Scottish expedition was nominally conferred upon Argyll, and on the 2nd day of May, 1685, he left the shores of Holland with an expedition consisting of three ships and about three hundred men, with large store of arms and ammunition for the expected Lowland volunteers. Among the more prominent of the Earl's companions were Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane.

To the Government of James the intention of the expedition was early known, and, before they had loosed from Holland, active steps were taken to frustrate the attempt. The chief men of the Campbells were summoned to Edinburgh, where many of them were detained as hostages, and on the 29th of April the Marquis of Atholl received a commission as Lord Lieutenant of the shires of Argyll and Tarbert. From the Marquis, Stewart of Ballechin received a commission, under the authority of which he seized Inveraray Castle, and held courts, at which many were tried on a charge of rebellion and refusing to take the Test Oath. As a result of these trials, eighteen gentlemen of the name of Campbell were executed at Inveraray. When news was received of the arrival of the expedition at Orkney, further precautionary steps were taken. Troops were drafted into the west, the forts were garrisoned, ships of war were despatched to cruise along the coast, and part of the army of Ireland was moved to the Ulster sea-board.

Arrived at Dunstaffnage, Argyll landed his second son Charles to rally the clansmen, after which he proceeded to Campbeltown, where he published a strongly worded declaration against the Government, and summoned his clan to arms—Tarbert, "a very centrical place," being fixed upon as the rendezvous. Argyll soon learned, however, that the action of the Government had already taken the spirit out of his clansmen; but, independent of this, it is not improbable that, by this time, the occupiers of Argyll's estates, many of whom were peace-loving farmers (some of them Lowlanders), were not so easily roused to arms as was their wont in byegone days. In any case, and notwithstanding

the fact that the Fiery Cross had been sent forth in all directions, his forces at Tarbert numbered not more than eighteen hundred men.

In other respects also, the circumstances were not a little discouraging, for within the army much diversity of opinion existed as to what the immediate course of action should be. The cause of this is to be found in the fact that Argyll's supreme position was only nominal, and all questions regarding the expedition were determined by a meddlesome Committee. At Tarbert the bickerings became particularly violent between Argyll and his Lowland allies, but in the end the immediate course of procedure took the form of a compromise, and it was arranged that Argyll should remain in the Highlands, while Hume and Cochrane, with a part of the forces, should proceed to the Lowlands and endeavour to rally the Hill-men to their banner. The latter was a futile effort, for the coast of Ayrshire was guarded by English frigates, and the expedition returned to Argyll without having secured any accession of force. At this time the Earl was in Bute, where he had already (30th May) set fire to a part of Rothesay Castle "because a house of his had been burnt in Cowall."

Meantime the Royal forces were concentrating from all directions and in overwhelming numbers, and at last, and after the most stubborn opposition on the part of the Lowlanders, that was conceded to Argyll which he had all along contended for, viz., that he should make an attempt upon Inveraray, the capture of which he felt assured would suffice to rally to his standard great numbers of his clansmen, and afford him a base of operations from which it would be indeed difficult to dislodge him. As a preliminary the Castle of Eilean Dearg, at the mouth of Loch Ridden, was selected as a place of arms, and in it he stored five thousand stand of arms and three hundred barrels of powder, while a few small cannon were placed in position. It was then garrisoned with one hundred and fifty men, under the command of an officer named Elphinstone. 1685 A.D.

Within the next few hours the Castle of Ardkinglass was taken by Rumbold, one of Argyll's officers, and Argyll himself was about to advance to Inveraray, when news came to him of the near approach of the Royal frigates to Eilean Dearg. The receipt of this intelligence made the Lowland gentle-

men peremptory that he should return at once, and Argyll hastened back with the intention of attacking the frigates. This latter proposal, however, the Committee emphatically declined to agree to, while their mismanagement of the commissariat led to the provisions running short, with the result that the Highlanders deserted by hundreds. Notwithstanding this all-important fact, the Earl, yielding to the pertinacious insistence of the Lowlanders, agreed to make an attempt upon the Lowlands, and, passing the mouth of Loch Long, he landed in Dumbartonshire. Next morning he learned that the frigates had forced a passage through the narrows, that Eilean Dearg had been deserted ere yet a blow had been struck, and that his ships had been taken.

To make an effort to reach Glasgow was now imperative, and this Argyll attempted to do, though thwarted by those who had formerly urged it. Pushing on his way he reached the river Leven, on crossing which he found himself confronted by considerable bodies of troops. These he was not permitted by the Committee to attack, and so he tried to avoid them by making a night journey among the hills. In the morning he found himself at Kilpatrick, with his army reduced to a weary, dispirited body of five hundred men, and it became immediately evident that the only practicable course was that every man should seek his own safety.

1685 A.D. Assuming the dress of a peasant, Argyll crossed the Clyde in the character of guide to Major Fullarton, one of his officers, but at Inchinnan he was seized by a party of militia, by whom he was conveyed to Renfrew. When, later, he was taken to Edinburgh, no trial was considered necessary, as the former sentence was still in force, and on the 26th of June, 1685, Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, was beheaded. During his last days, and amid the insolence of his enemies, the nobler part of his nature shone out brightly, and he died like a Christian hero. No threat of torture could avail to make him disclose aught to the disadvantage of his friends, and "the last sleep of Argyll" revealed his Christian confidence as he lay calmly slumbering on the confines of eternity.

Ere Argyll's hour had come, Colonel Rumbold, a brave Englishman, had already met a similar fate, and his head adorned the West Port. The spirit that was in him was revealed in his vindication of himself, when he declared that he never would

believe that Providence had sent the greater part of mankind into the world with saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, and some few ready booted and spurred to ride them. "If every hair in my head were a man, in this quarrel I would venture them all."

Following upon the execution of Argyll, his estates and offices were confiscated, while his two sons, Lord Lorne and Lord Neil Campbell, were banished from the realm. The further consequences to the Campbells and their allies are thus effectively set forth by Macaulay :—"In the meantime the vengeance of the conquerors was mercilessly wreaked on the people of Argyleshire. Many of the Campbells were hanged by Atholl without a trial; and he was with difficulty restrained by the Privy Council from taking more lives. The country to the extent of thirty miles round Inveraray was wasted. Houses were burned : the stones of mills were broken to pieces : fruit trees were cut down, and the very roots seared with fire. The nets and fishing boats, the sole means by which many of the inhabitants of the coast subsisted, were destroyed. More than three hundred rebels and malecontents were transported to the colonies. Many of them were also sentenced to mutilation. On a single day, the hangman of Edinburgh cut off the ears of thirty-five prisoners. Several women were sent across the Atlantic, after being first branded in the cheek with a hot iron. It was even in contemplation to obtain an Act of Parliament proscribing the name of Campbell, as the name of Mac Gregor had been proscribed eighty years before."

There can be no doubt, however, that by many of those over whose lands he was superior—men who fretted, as their fathers had done, under the power and grasping ambition of the house of Argyll, and who hated that house with a bitter hatred—the fall of the Earl and the dispersion of his family, was welcomed as a positive relief, and was a cause of unbounded joy. Stewarts of Appin, Mac Naughtons, Mac Leans, Camerons, Mac Donalds, Mac Alisters, rejoiced in their freedom, and fully availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them to improve their position; while many looked forward to receiving all their possessions direct from the Crown, and thus completing their emancipation. The last thing these clans desired, was the restoration of the house of Argyll, but to that house the whirligig of time brought,

ere long, ample compensation, and once again both place and power were theirs.

1689 A.D. In the year 1689, the great Revolution occurred, and King James fled from his kingdom. In anticipation of the landing of William, Prince of Orange, the Scottish militia were embodied in the autumn of 1688, the chief castles were provisioned, and orders were sent to the Highland chiefs to be ready to assemble their men on short notice. Early in October, the regular army, to the number of three thousand men, marched in two divisions to London, under General Douglas, brother of the Duke of Queensberry, and John Graham of Claverhouse, and shortly after their arrival in the southern capital, the latter was created a peer, under the title of Viscount Dundee.

Immediately before his flight King James entrusted the conduct of affairs in Scotland to Dundee and the Earl of Balcarres. Notwithstanding this fact, however, and his vows of fidelity to James, the former did not hesitate to enter into negotiations with William, and to promise to acquiesce in the new order of things, with the result that, for his protection, (and the "bloody Clavers" needed protection in passing through southern Scotland) he was permitted to travel to Edinburgh under the escort of a troop of horse.

On the 14th of March, a meeting of the Estates was held in Edinburgh in response to the summons of William. To that convention Argyll and other peers who had been unjustly deprived of their rights and honours were duly summoned—for their deprivation by King James was treated by the majority as if it had never been—and on the 11th May Argyll had the distinguished honour of administering at Whitehall the Scottish coronation oath to William and Mary.

Meantime, active steps were being taken in the north with a view to striking a blow in favour of King James. Two days after the assembling of the Convention of Estates, Dundee, justly dreading the execution of swift vengeance upon him by the Hill-men who now crowded the city, retired to his mansion of Dudhope in Forfarshire, accompanied by fifty of his old troopers, the sharers of his crimes. Warned by this event, and by the attitude of others of the friends of James, the convention set about putting the kingdom into a

state of defence. In this they were effectively aided by the timely arrival on the 25th of March of eleven hundred men belonging to the Scots Brigade, which had accompanied the Prince from Holland. At their head was Major-General Hugh Mac Kay of Scourie in Sutherlandshire, a distinguished veteran of thirty years' foreign service, and a worthy man, whom William had now appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in Scotland.

Up till the 13th of June the Castle of Edinburgh continued to be held for James by the Duke of Gordon, but on that date it was evacuated by him. The hopes of the Jacobites were now concentrated upon Dundee, who persistently refused to return to his place in Parliament, and was in consequence declared an outlaw and a rebel. Already, as was well known, Dundee had been in communication with certain Highland chiefs, and this, together with the fact that an emissary had been intercepted who was the bearer of letters of a bitter, relentless character from James to Balcarres and Dundee, determined the Duke of Hamilton, by virtue of his powers, to endeavour their arrest. Balcarres was immediately seized, but Dundee succeeded in retiring to the wilds of Rannoch, where he entered into communication with the Mac Donalds and the Camerons. Thereafter family cares induced him to return home for a short time, but the approach of a force of four hundred and fifty men under Mac Kay drove him again by unfrequented paths to the north, and on the 1st of May he arrived with a small body of horsemen before Inverness, where he found assembled a considerable body of Highlanders, the followers of Colin Mac Donald of Keppoch, a restless unscrupulous chief, but a devoted Jacobite. 1689 A.D.

For a considerable number of years this chief—Coll of the Cows, as he was called from his raiding propensities—had been at strife with the burghers of Inverness. On one occasion during the reign of the second Charles he threatened to storm and plunder the town, and in the terms of peace which he offered we find a good example of the high-handed attitude that might be assumed, on occasion, by chiefs within the Highland line. His demand was that a heavy tribute should be paid him, that the magistrates should bind themselves by an oath to deliver up to the vengeance of the clan any burgher who should shed the blood

of a Mac Donald, and that every burgher who should anywhere meet a person wearing the Mac Donald tartan should ground arms in token of submission. A compromise was at this time effected through the intervention of the Privy Council, but the old enmity nevertheless continued.

During the reign of James VII. this turbulent chief had continued to engage in lawless practices, and more particularly against the Mac Intoshes, till at length he was proclaimed a rebel. Letters of fire and sword were issued against him, but in 1688 "Mac Donald took the Brae on them," as their well-known pipe-tune of that name continues to testify, and at Mullroy he defeated, with great slaughter, the whole strength of the Mac Intoshes, though the latter were aided by Captain Mac Kenzie of Suddie, and his independent company. In the battle of Mullroy we have the last clan battle fought in the Highlands, and of it an amusing and graphic description was given by a certain Donald Mac Bane, an apprentice tobacco spinner of Inverness, who was in the army of Mac Intosh, and who had no hesitation in confessing that he infinitely preferred his tobacco-spinning to engaging in such play. Both sides fought bravely. Mac Kenzie, the captain of the royal contingent, was killed by a pistol hurled at him by Mac Donald of Tullich, while the Mac Intosh was captured. The latter was subsequently handed over to the Mac Phersons, who, hearing of the defeat of their friends, at once took the field in their favour, and compelled Keppoch, who was not in a position to resist, to surrender his prisoner to them.

1689 A.D. At the time when Dundee approached Inverness, Coll was threatening that town with his nine hundred followers. To the suggestion of the Viscount, that he should throw in his lot with him, the Chief of Keppoch at once signified his assent, and through the intervention of the former the dispute with the people of Inverness was settled, the town agreeing to pay two thousand dollars, the which Keppoch had claimed as moneys due to him by the inhabitants. For a time, however, Coll deserted Dundee, to the great disappointment of the latter, and set off to the hills, driving great herds of cattle before him, and pillaging as he went. Ere Keppoch departed, Dundee, hoping to gain over the Mac Intoshes to his standard, attempted to effect a reconciliation between them and the Mac Donalds, but it was unavailing, and the Mac Intoshes, as well as almost all the northern clans,

either remained neutral in the military affairs of the immediate future, or took the side of the Prince of Orange.

Fixing his head-quarters near the house of the accomplished and brave Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Dundee, or *Ian Dubh nan Cath*, Black John of the Battles, as he was called by the Highlanders, evidently bent on emulating the dashing exploits of Montrose, and with the same material, now sent forth the Fiery Cross o'er hill and dale, summoning the clans to meet him on the 18th May at Dalmacomer. Meanwhile, he himself sped through Badenoch and Atholl with a view to raising the clans of those districts.

Mac Kay, on his part, dreading a speedy attack by the Jacobites, accepted an invitation tendered to him by the people of Elgin, who feared a similar fate, and occupied that town. Thence, on learning of the departure of Dundee from that neighbourhood, he pressed forward to Inverness and set the defences in order, after which he made an effort to recruit his forces from among those clans that viewed the Revolution with favour. In this his success was slight, only some five hundred men, made up of Mac Kays, Grants, and Rosses, responding to the call.

On the 11th of May, and ere yet the clans had mustered, 1689 A.D.
Dundee, with a small body of horse, pounced down upon the city of Perth and made prisoners of the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, whom he seized in bed. He also took possession of thirty horses as well as of a sum of nine thousand marks, which he found in the office of the collector of taxes there, and which he looked upon as the property of his master James. After a time, the captive lairds were sent for safe keeping to Duart Castle in Mull. Leaving Perth, Dundee now descended upon the town from which he derived his title, but, not finding that he could accomplish anything there, he passed two nights at his country seat of Dudhope, and then returned to the rendezvous in Lochaber.

Here he found the western clans assembling under their respective chiefs, and, ere many days had passed, Camerons, Stewarts from Appin, Mac Naughtons from the head of Loch Fyne, Mac Donalds of Keppoch, Glengarry, Glencoe, Clanranald, Largie, and Sleat, and Mac Leans under Sir John of Duart and Lochbuy, all had arrived, and constituted a goodly array. Than the composition of this body of men nothing could indicate more

clearly the fact that the constraining force in bringing them together was not so much questions of religion, or loyalty to the house of the Stuarts, as the relations which they all bore to the house of Argyll. That this latter was the main determining factor was fully realised by the Government, for we find them at this juncture, and under the inspiration of Viscount Tarbet, an able statesman sprung from the Mac Kenzie family, making an effort founded on that understanding, to detach them from Dundee and win them for the Prince. By these tribes and the Government alike it was recognised that, ere long, Argyll would certainly seek revenge for all the insults and injuries which had been suffered by his clan, during the period of confiscation, while it was also felt that, sooner or later, payment of the large arrears of rent that had been allowed to accumulate during the same period, by those tribes who held land of the house of Argyll, would be demanded by the Earl. To lessen friction in this latter regard the Government took upon them the payment of some of the arrears, and to this end they set apart a sum of five thousand pounds. In their choice of an agent, however, to carry out the arrangement with the chiefs, the Government showed little wisdom, for they selected a member of the hated clan, viz. Campbell of Calder, with the result that the chiefs only laughed at the proposals. Contributory efforts made by Tarbet and Mac Kay to detach Lochiel and Glengarry also came to naught.

Soon after the assembling of the clans, Dundee, supported by his leading Lowland officers, the Earl of Dunfermline and Lord Dunkeld, made an attempt to place the Highlanders under the discipline and training of regular troops. It did not take long, however, for the experienced and trusted Lochiel, who was regarded as a singularly good and noble specimen of a Highland chief—sagacious, brave, skilful, one who in other and more favourable circumstances would have been regarded as among the foremost men of his age—to convince Dundee that such an attempt would be extremely unwise and hazardous, the clansmen being already organised under their chiefs and leading men after that natural and accustomed fashion which they would not readily forego, and trained to do their work in the way that was best suited to their natural characteristics. To attempt to turn such men at short notice into trained soldiers would have been to make raw recruits of them, whereas they were veterans under their own

conditions of warfare. The attempt may be viewed as showing how very unfamiliar Dundee really was with the material upon which he mainly relied.

Meantime, Mac Kay was anxiously waiting at Inverness for 1689 A.D.
certain reinforcements from the south which he had requested should be hurried through Atholl to Badenoch, where he purposed meeting them. These reinforcements consisted of six hundred men from his old Dutch regiments, and they were commanded by Colonel Ramsay. On learning of Ramsay's intention, Dundee immediately took steps to intervene between him and Mac Kay, and a knowledge of this move caused Ramsay, unnecessarily as it turned out, to retrace his steps from the borders of Badenoch, and to return to Perth.

During the next few weeks the armies of Mac Kay and Dundee exerted themselves in most harassing fashion, marching and counter-marching to no purpose. During these weeks, however, Keppoch captured and burned the Castle of Ruthven, and found eminently congenial occupation in consigning to a similar fate the old Castle of the Mac Intosh called Dunnachton. To the disgust of Dundee he also ravaged the whole district, and inflicted great privations upon the people. On several occasions a battle seemed imminent between the two armies, but Dundee always evaded it, while Mac Kay's efforts were hampered by serious disaffection among a body of his dragoons, who kept up communication with the enemy. In his policy of evasion, Dundee was actuated by the desire of waiting for reinforcements from Ireland ere he decided to strike a blow, and ultimately, and until these should arrive, he retired to Lochaber. There he permitted such clans as wished to do so to return home for a season.

With not a little poetic exaggeration and high-flown language, James Philip of Almericlose, Dundee's standard-bearer, in a Latin epic poem called the "Grameid," describes the country traversed in these fruitless marches, the achievements of his leader, and the persons of the chiefs and their following. Speaking of Glengarry he says—"First from his northern shores the brave Glengarry leads three hundred illustrious youths in the first flower of vigorous manhood, each of whom a tartan garb covers, woven with Phrygian skill in triple stripe, and as a garment clothes their broad chests and flanks. A helmet defends the temples of the head. A coloured plaid veils their shoulders, and otherwise

they are naked. The chief himself, mounted on a foaming steed and towering in glittering arms, advances into the plain, claymore in hand, his cloak shining with gold, and a broad baldric with buckled clasp crossing his left breast. Following him closely comes his brother Allan the brave, with a hundred men all clothed in garments interwoven with the red stripe, their brawny calves bound with the red buskins. Afar they bristle with spears, and they stand firm with sword belted round their loins, with shields, strengthened with brazen knobs, protecting their bodies." In similar inflated phraseology, the poet describes Mac Ian of Glencoe, Sir Donald Mac Donald of Sleat, Keppoch, Clanranald, Grant of Urquhart, the leaders of the Frasers, and the renowned Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel. To the martial appearance of the latter he does full justice.

By the time Dundee had arrived in Lochaber he had received from James his commission as Lieutenant-General, and on the 27th June we find him writing impatiently to Lord Melfort, who was with James in Ireland, desiring to be furnished with as many troops as possible, to be landed at Inverlochy and in Kintyre.

Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the retiral of Dundee to Lochaber, Mac Kay returned to Edinburgh with a portion of his forces. The remainder he quartered in Inverness, Strathbogie, and Elgin, that in these several places they might take their ease and refresh themselves. The special purpose that Mac Kay had in view in returning to the south was to hurry forward preparations for erecting a chain of fortresses throughout the Highlands, which fortresses, as he had previously indicated to Parliament, he considered absolutely necessary for the controlling of the inhabitants. Of these forts Inverlochy was to be the chief. On his arrival in Edinburgh the commander-in-chief learned, with no little mortification, that no steps whatever had been taken to further the execution of the design on which he had set his heart. This state of things was due to the divided condition of the Whig party, and much time was, even now, wasted in getting the necessary preparations made to enable Mac Kay to start on his western journey.

1689 A.D. Early in July, Dundee heard of the arrival of his Irish succours upon the west coast under General Cannon, and he forthwith proceeded to Inverlochy to give them welcome. It was with

feelings of no little disgust that he found awaiting him a miserable show of three hundred men, ill-armed, ill-clad, and badly disciplined, instead of the five or six thousand that he had asked should be landed there. Besides, to add to his disappointment, the ships which carried their stores and provisions were lost to them, for they had been seized in the neighbourhood of Mull by English cruisers.

Meantime, circumstances had been developing among the Atholl glens which changed the prospective course of events, and precipitated matters. In the absence at Bath of the irresolute, unstable Marquis of Atholl, who is characterised by Macaulay as "the falsest, the most fickle, the most pusillanimous of mankind," Stewart of Ballechin, his chamberlain, had taken possession of Blair Castle, and was now engaged in fortifying it. This fact being made known to Mac Kay by Lord Murray, the eldest son of the Marquis, the former eagerly adopted a suggestion by the latter that he (Murray) should endeavour to capture the castle for King William, though he by no means felt sure that he would be able to secure the general allegiance of the clan. To Lord Murray's summons twelve hundred men responded, and sat down before the castle, but his mission was a failure, as he could neither count on their loyalty to him, nor would Ballechin surrender the castle. The upshot was that the besiegers, who were in an awkward position, and knew not whom to follow, gradually melted away, till, later, Lord Murray, whose support was apparently faint and equivocal, could only bring to the help of Mac Kay two hundred men.

By this time the forces of Dundee were again mustered in great measure, and he at once, at the head of three thousand men, set forward with rapid movements to the support of Ballechin. In the view of both Mac Kay and Dundee the possession of Blair Castle was of the utmost importance, for it commanded the route by which the former purposed proceeding to Inverlochy. On the 26th July the Covenanting General advanced from Perth at the head of an army of four thousand men, and at nightfall encamped in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld. That night Dundee reached Blair Castle, where he learned that the enemy were already in the Pass of Killiecrankie. To determine his course of action a council of war was now held, at which the Celtic chiefs represented that their men were impatient for the fight, and

1689 A.D.

that their only fear was that the enemy should escape. This communication was such as Dundee hoped for, though his Lowland officers did not at first approve of immediate action, and he gave the word to march. By some of his officers it was now suggested that the Covenanters should be attacked in the Pass, but to the proposal Dundee replied—"No, it is not enough to drive them back; they must be destroyed. Give us a decisive victory, and Scotland is ours in a week. Let Mac Kay and his troopers enter this *cul-de-sac*, and not a man of them escapes."

Early in the afternoon the army of Dundee came in sight of the forces of Mac Kay, the bulk of which had already emerged from the Pass, and were resting themselves after a toilsome, awe-inspiring ascent such as they had not, in all probability, ever experienced before. To Mac Kay the position of affairs was a source of no little anxiety, for he recognised that, in the event of defeat, his only escape must be through the narrow ravine from which he had just emerged, while the Highlanders, who had taken up an advantageous position on the higher ground, might attack or retreat at pleasure.

Realising the desirability of ranging each clan by itself, Dundee marshalled his forces in varying sized battalions. On the right, close by the Garry, were the Mac Leans; on the left were the men of Skye. Next to the Mac Leans were the Irish, and contiguous to these latter were the Mac Donalds of Clanranald and Glengarry, with other contingents of the Mac Donalds. On the left of the Glengarry men was placed the small body of cavalry, and between them and the men of Skye was Lochiel with his Camerons.

For two hours the armies faced one another in battle array, the silence being only broken by an intermittent discharge of musketry. Than the fact that Dundee found himself able during this prolonged period of waiting to restrain the natural impetuosity of the Highlanders, we could have no better evidence of the great influence he had already gained over them. Mac Kay's policy was to abide the attack of his adversary, while the Jacobite leader patiently awaited the approach of twilight to begin the onset. At last the hour of seven had passed, and the word was given by Dundee to advance. Casting aside their plaids and other impedimenta, the line set forward in characteristic fashion, and with a loud and ringing shout which told of assured victory.

With their fire, especially on the right wing, the Covenanters did much execution, but the Highlanders sped on without flinching, and reserved their fire till they were close at hand, when they poured in a murderous volley. Then, casting away their firelocks, they rushed down the incline, broadsword in hand, and hurled themselves upon the enemy ere the latter had succeeded in screwing in their unhandy bayonets. In an instant the Highlanders were through the Covenanting ranks, and in two minutes the battle was lost and won. With the exception of the borderers under Leven, and the English regiment of Hastings, neither of which had been attacked, as, owing to intervals between the battalions, no Highlanders were opposed to them, all the regiments were broken and flying from the field "like," says Mac Kay, "the vilest cowards in nature." Through all, the Covenanting General remained cool and intrepid. As a last resort he tried to retrieve the field by means of his cavalry, but he failed to rally the troopers, who fled in dismay, and in the utmost disorder. "In the twinkling of an eye," he tells us, "our men as well as the enemy were out of sight, having gone down pell-mell to the river where the baggage stood." Aytoun thus pictures the charge:—

"Like a tempest down the ridges
Swept a hurricane of steel,
Rose the slogan of Macdonald,
Flashed the broadsword of Lochiel!
Vainly sped the withering volley
'Mongst the foremost of our band—
On we poured until we met them,
Foot to foot and hand to hand.

. . . . . .

"Horse and man went down before us—
Living foe there tarried none
On the field of Killiecrankie,
When the stubborn fight was done."

But to the Highlanders the victory was dearly bought, for early in the fight they lost their commander, who was struck down by a bullet as he raised himself in his stirrups that he might the better wave on his cavalry to the fray. Of the Highlanders some nine hundred men were killed.

Among Mac Kay's forces the slaughter was very great, for well had the broadsword done its deadly work; and had the 1689 A.D.

Highlanders followed up the retreat, hardly a man could have escaped. Fortunately for the fugitives there stood within the pass twelve hundred beasts of burden, laden with the provisions and baggage of the vanquished army, and to secure these was more to the foray-loving mountaineers than the further slaughter of a conquered foe. And so it was that Mac Kay, to his great astonishment (he did not then know of the death of Dundee, though he soon surmised it must have occurred), was permitted to draw together, as he fled, the remains of his shattered army, and to lead them, panic stricken though they were, across the mountains towards the valley of the Tay. To the fugitives every new object caused a fresh panic, and the broadswords of the Highlanders were ever before them.

"I faught at land, I faught at sea,
At hame I faught my aunty, O;
But I met the devil and Dundee,
On the braes o' Killiecrankie, O.

An ye had been whare I ha'e been,
Ye wadna been sae cantie, O;
An ye had seen what I ha'e seen,
I' the braes o' Killiecrankie, O."

On the second day after the battle, Mac Kay reached Stirling with about four hundred men. There he found that all Scotland was in a state of consternation as the result of exaggerated reports of the battle. The safety of their General, however, and the news of the death of Dundee, served to allay the panic to a wonderful degree, and people were ready to look upon the slaughter of the Jacobite General as being in itself equivalent to a victory. It should be remembered, to the credit of General Mac Kay, that the lesson taught by the battle led to his devising the simple plan of fixing the bayonet by means of a socket to the outside of the barrel, instead of being inserted in the inside as formerly—one of the most important inventions of war.

From the field of battle, called by the Highlanders Rinroy, or Renrorie, the victorious army retired to the Castle of Blair, laden with spoil, it is true, but sadly bearing with them, also, the almost lifeless body of their General, wrapped in two plaids. A few hours thereafter he expired. The remains of this bitter persecutor, but capable and ambitious soldier, found a last resting-

place in the old church of Blair Atholl, which has long since disappeared. To his memory the Duke of Atholl, on the two hundredth anniversary of his death, placed a tablet, with an appropriate inscription, in the vault of the Atholl family, in the churchyard of Old Blair.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Highlanders under Brigadier Cannon—Surprise and defeat of Atholl-men by Mac Kay—The Highland army baffled by the Cameronians at Dunkeld—Disbandment of the Highlanders—The affair of Cromdale—Construction of Fort-William—Attempt by William to purchase the support of the Clans—The Massacre of Glencoe.

1689-1695.

Upon the clans with Jacobite leanings the effect of the great victory at Killiecrankie was electrical, and the Highlanders swarmed in their hundreds to swell the victorious army. Stewarts from Appin, Mac Phersons, Mac Gregors, Frasers, Farquharsons, Gordons, all hastened to the standard of James, while the hesitating men of Atholl no longer hesitated, but eagerly joined the clansmen. Within the next few days, the army numbered well-nigh double the claymores that had been at the service of Dundee. But it lacked, what was of much greater importance, the master-spirit to give its elements coherency and effectiveness. On the death of Dundee, the command devolved upon the Irish officer, Brigadier Cannon, who, in accordance with instructions from James, had been acting, up to this time, as second in command. A very few days sufficed to show that the new commander-in-chief was utterly unfitted for the position that now was his.

Meantime Mac Kay had set himself with remarkable energy to the raising of a new force, and within four days of his defeat at Killiecrankie, he was on the march once more to Perth. The following day, when approaching that town, he surprised a body of Atholl-men some three hundred strong, who had been sent by Cannon from Dunkeld on a provisioning expedition to Perth. At the expense of a single soldier, Mac Kay routed the Jacobites, killing one hundred and twenty of them, and taking thirty prisoners. Upon both sides this action, slight though it was, had a marked though opposite effect.

Leaving Dunkeld, after a few days, Cannon proceeded towards the north, probably with a view to recruiting. At the Braes of Mar he was joined by several of the northern clans already referred to, and at Kildrummy by a force of three hundred horse. Arrived at Auchindoun, he learned that Mac Kay was already at the Castle of Strathbogie and within six miles of him, and he forthwith summoned a council of war to discuss whether or not battle should be given. Thinking it only just that they who brought the men into the field should alone have the right to determine such a question, the Highland chiefs entered a preliminary protest against the Lowland officers being allowed to vote upon it, but the point was settled against them. On the main question the chiefs, realising the necessity for vigorous action in order to keep the clans together, were unanimous in voting that Mac Kay should be attacked at once, but in this they were also over-ruled, with the result that Lochiel and Mac Donald of Sleat, neither of whom had sufficient respect for Cannon or the Lowland officers to permit themselves to be guided by them, left the camp and returned to their homes. They, however, directed their followers to remain with Cannon.

In Atholl, at this juncture, circumstances were occurring which determined Cannon to return to that district immediately he heard of them. Somewhat distrustful of Mac Kay since his overthrow at Killiecrankie, the Scottish Privy Council, contrary to the advice of that officer, sent forward to Dunkeld the Cameronian regiment, that they might seize, if possible, the Castles of Blair and Finlarig before the advent of winter. That they had gone to certain destruction was the opinion of those most capable of judging, and the speedy return of the whole Highland army, at this juncture, to Atholl made such a consummation highly probable. Misgivings as to the fate that was in store for them pervaded for a time the ranks of the Cameronians, but the enthusiasm of Colonel Cleland, their commander, who, though deprived of his cavalry supports, disdained to abandon the post committed to him, re-assured them, and when, on the morning of the 21st August Cannon and his forces 1689 A.D.
appeared on the hills around Dunkeld, they were ready to dare the worst for the cause they considered sacred.

Ere the arrival of the Highlanders, Cleland had made such defences as were possible. Of his twelve hundred men many were

placed in the Cathedral and in Dunkeld-house, while the remainder were posted behind adjoining garden walls and in ditches, where they awaited the attack of the enemy, numbering from four to five thousand men. About seven o'clock in the morning the Highlanders began to move down from the hills towards Dunkeld, and in a very few minutes the Cameronian outposts were driven in, and the Highlanders entered the town at four different points. Within the enclosures, however, the Cameronians stubbornly resisted every attempt to dislodge them, and upon the Highlanders they poured a destructive fire. For work of the character in which they were now engaged the clansmen felt that the broadswords were no match for the pikes and halberds of the brave defenders, and time after time they were driven back, till, ultimately, they were forced to retire to the houses, and to the heights around the town. From these positions they kept up a sharp fire, but it was returned by the Cameronians with interest.

Early in the fight Cleland, the brave Cameronian commander, was shot dead, and shortly thereafter Major Henderson, his successor in the command, met with a similar fate. To add to the misfortunes of the defenders, their ammunition began to fail—first their bullets, and then their powder. To replace the former, many of the soldiers betook themselves to the roof of Dunkeld House, whence they stripped off the lead, and hurriedly shaped it into slugs. After three hours of incessant firing, they were reduced to their last flask of powder, and contemplated retiring in a body to Dunkeld House, there to hold out to the bitter end.

At this juncture, Captain Munro, on whom the command had devolved, gave instructions that fire should be applied to the thatch of the houses occupied by the Highlanders. Upon this being done, the doors of many of the houses were coolly locked. A wild scene ensued, and, amid piercing shrieks and cries of despair, a considerable number of the imprisoned clansmen were burned to death. As many as sixteen perished in one house, and all the houses except three were consumed. At eleven o'clock, their ammunition being spent, the main body of the Highlanders began to retire to the hills. Their loss amounted to three hundred men.

By loud shouts, and the singing of a psalm of thanksgiving, the Cameronians gave heart-felt expression to their great joy at

their unexpected victory. And it was a greater victory than they then knew, for it finished the war. Between the chiefs and Cannon mutual recriminations followed, and after signing a bond of association for the support of the cause of King James, and for mutual protection, they dispersed, Cannon proceeding to Mull, where he resided with Sir John Mac Lean, while the Lowlanders shifted for themselves, as best they could. Thus melted away the army that, for a time, had been the terror of Scotland, and the victory of Killiecrankie was fruitless. A few days later, the Castle of Blair was taken by Mac Kay without opposition, and garrisoned with five hundred men; and, subsequently, Finlarig Castle, the seat of Breadalbane, was seized for the Government by Lord Cardross.

Mac Kay's desire was now to proceed at once with the erection of the projected fort at Inverlochy, but the squabblings of the Presbyterians delayed the necessary arrangements. With the following spring the Highlanders, inspired by the zealous Lochiel, again prepared to take the field under Major-General Buchan, who has been sent to them by James in April. With a view to making things lively along the borders of the Lowlands, till the spring work was completed, and the clansmen should be free to come to him in their thousands, a small force of eight hundred men was immediately placed at the disposal of the new General, who had Cannon as his second in command. 1690 A.D.

At this time, Sir Thomas Livingstone lay at Inverness with a considerable force, and, in accordance with instructions from Mac Kay, he proceeded to keep a watch over the movements of Buchan, who was marching through Lochaber and Badenoch to Speyside. On the last day of April, Buchan encamped in fancied security on the secluded plain of Cromdale, but that night a body of Livingstone's dragoons and four hundred Highlanders, chiefly Grants, were guided through a difficult pass to the neighbourhood of the reposing clansmen. In the grey of the early morning, they effected a complete surprise, and scattered the forces of Buchan with great slaughter. Three hundred were left dead, the commanders fled to the hills, bare-headed and almost naked, and the pursuers only desisted from the pursuit, when a thick mist came down, and compelled them to stay their efforts. Within a few days of this surprise and dispersion, the High-

landers returned home for the time being, and Buchan proved himself quite as unfitted for his task, as Cannon had done the year before.

Upon the Privy Council the effect of this affair was to hasten the despatch of the long-delayed expedition to Inverlochy, and on the 15th May the naval portion set sail from Greenock, under the command of Major Ferguson. On the 18th of June, Mac Kay left Perth with the land forces, numbering about three thousand horse and foot, and, having been joined in Strathspey by the troops under Sir Thomas Livingstone, he arrived, practically unopposed, at Inverlochy on the 3rd of July. By the 18th of that month the fort was completed, and named Fort William after the King. In it was placed a garrison of a thousand men under Colonel Hill. Having thus put things in a satisfactory condition, Mac Kay, in compliance with urgent instructions from the Privy Council, who dreaded a French invasion, returned as speedily as possible to the south, accompanied by the remainder of his forces. Besides Inverlochy, eight other posts were now, or shortly afterwards, furnished with small garrisons. These were situated at Ruthven, Blair-Atholl, Braemar, Drummond, Finlarig, Dunstaffnage, Inverness, and Erchelish in Strathglass.

On the 1st of July the battle of the Boyne was fought, and King James's affairs, both in Ireland and Scotland, were alike desperate. In Scotland, however, during the next two months, Mac Kay and Livingstone were kept in active employment by Buchan and Cannon, who had again succeeded in gathering a small force around them, but nothing of moment occurred, and the surrender of the Earl of Seaforth to Mac Kay, together with the inability of Buchan to muster any considerable body of men, led to the disbanding of the few that had remained with him. Cannon and his officers thereupon retired to the Isles, under the protection of Sir Donald Mac Donald, while Buchan and several Lowland officers, enjoyed for a time the hospitality of Glengarry. In Aytoun's ballad "The Island of the Scots," with its explanatory notes, the romantic, but trying and pathetic career of Dundee's officers in France is effectively portrayed.

1691 A.D. The event in Highland history which next claims our attention is the perfidious massacre of Glencoe, in connection with which we find a government composed of cultured men giving an exhi-

bition of deliberate treachery and cruelty before which inter-tribal feuds pale. Need we wonder that, under such treatment and teaching, some of the gentler virtues were late in blossoming among the Highland wilds? Shortly put, the antecedent circumstances were these. During the spring and summer of 1690, when the above minor events were happening in the Highlands, an effort was being made to detach the clansmen permanently from the interest of King James. This end it was proposed to attain by the judicious distribution of money among the Highland chiefs, and by King William there was placed for that purpose, at the disposal of the Privy Council, a sum of fifteen or twenty thousand pounds. By the instructions of the King as much as £2000 might be offered to each of the principal chiefs, or, in lieu of that sum, a dignity under an earldom.

In their choice of an agent, however, to treat with the Jacobite chiefs, and to arrange for the distribution of the money the Government, as on a former occasion, was extremely unhappy, for they again entrusted the duty to a Campbell—John, Earl of Breadalbane. This nobleman was even less to be trusted than the generality of the Scottish statesmen of that time, and by a contemporary he is thus described :—"He is as cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, but as slippery as an eel. No Government can trust him but where his own private interests are in view." By the chiefs it was believed that he would neither do justice to the King nor to themselves, and they heartily distrusted him.

Breadalbane's commission was dated 24th April, 1690, and after considerable delay a conference was convened by him at Achallader in Glenorchy. To this conference, which was held more than a year after the date of his commission, viz., in July, 1691, the Jacobite chiefs came, but complications evolved as to the method of paying the moneys, and nothing definite was arranged. Failure also attended other efforts that were subsequently made to come to terms.

The chief obstacle to the successful termination of the negotiations seems to have been the unhappy relationship which existed between Breadalbane and Mac Ian of Glencoe. The latter was a notorious freebooter, but a stately, sagacious, brave man. Not a few of his depredations had been perpetrated upon the Earl's lands, and at the conference at Achallader Breadalbane hurled reproaches upon the chief of Glencoe, and

demanded reparation. Mac Ian, on his part, was by no means anxious that the chiefs should come to terms with the Earl, for he realised that whatever money was apportioned to him was certain to be retained by Breadalbane in name of compensation. How the money was ultimately employed has never come to light, but it is certain that the chiefs got none of it.

Annoyed and disappointed at the ill-success of their commissioner in coming to terms with the chiefs, the Privy Council, to-
1691 A.D. wards the end of August, 1691, issued a proclamation promising an indemnity to all persons who had been in arms, and who should take an oath of allegiance to the Government before the first of January following. Those who failed to comply were to be treated with the utmost rigour as traitors, and formidable preparations of a warlike character were forthwith set about. In King William's letter to the Privy Council regarding this matter there occurs the following enigmatical but significant passage :— "That ye communicate our pleasure to the Governor of Inverlochy, and other commanders, that they be exact and diligent in their several posts ; but that they show no more zeal against the Highlanders after their submission, than they have ever done formerly when these were in open rebellion."

Still faithful to their former King (James), the chiefs submitted to him the order of the Government, and awaited instructions before complying. These instructions, unfortunately, did not arrive till the beginning of the fourth week of December. They counselled compliance, for King James realised what his friends would suffer did they refuse ; and so, each chief, as he received his copy of the mandate, presented himself, though with not a little reluctance, before the nearest magistrate, and duly subscribed.

Meanwhile, as time passed, and the chiefs had not as yet come in, there was one man who gloried in the hope that at least some of them would refuse to take the oath, and thus afford him an opportunity of cutting off their clans, root and branch. That man was Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, and Secretary for Scotland. "The letter is still extant," says Macaulay, "in which he directed the commander of the forces in Scotland how to act if the Jacobite chiefs should not come in before the end of December. There is something strangely terrible in the calmness and conciseness with which the instructions are given. 'Your

troops will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners.'" Thus brooded this able statesman over contemplated deeds of blood.

By the 31st of December all the chiefs, except one, had subscribed the oath of allegiance. The solitary recalcitrant was Mac Ian of Glencoe. It was not the intention of the chief of Cona's vale to occupy this invidious position, for on the last day of the year, he and his principal clansmen, had repaired to Fort William with a view to taking the oath. There he learned with feelings of the greatest distress that there was no magistrate resident at Fort William, and that the nearest place where his oath could be tendered was Inveraray. Furnished with a sympathetic letter from Governor Hill to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, Sheriff of Argyll, Mac Ian set off with the utmost despatch, but so long was the way, and so toilsome and difficult the journey through the snow, that it was the 3rd of January ere he arrived at his destination. There a fresh disappointment awaited him, for the Sheriff was absent from Inveraray, and it was not till the 6th of January that Mac Ian was able to present himself before him. Overcome by the tearful entreaties of the old chief, Sir Colin, after much hesitation, administered to him the oath, and, by express messenger, transmitted to the Council at Edinburgh, a certificate detailing the special circumstances of the case. 1691 A.D. 1692 A.D.

Grievously disappointed as Sir John was at the general submission of the chiefs, it was with a feeling of fiendish joy that he learned from Argyll that there was one solitary clan, and that the clan of Glencoe, which had not, in the strict letter of the law, complied with the conditions which brought them within the scope of the indemnity. Nor were Argyll and Breadalbane much less gratified by the unfortunate circumstance. In a letter, the Secretary thus recorded his own satisfaction with Mac Ian's position before the law:—"Argyll tells me that Glencoe hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable set."

With the most malicious determination, Sir John now set himself to gratify his cruel desires upon the tribe of Glencoe, whom he hated with a fierce but wholly unaccountable hatred. His first step was to cancel and suppress the certificate that had

been transmitted by the Sheriff of Argyll, and then to procure the signature of the King to an order for the extirpation of Mac Ian and his clan. There is no reason to suppose that the King had been previously made aware that Mac Ian had really taken the oath, though after the prescribed date. How far the King was personally responsible for the inhuman order which was signed by him, and by him alone, it is impossible to determine. It is possible that he had not read it, or, if he had, it is charitable to suppose that he did not realize its full meaning. Its terms were these:—"As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves."

Many letters exist to testify to the thoroughness and secrecy with which the Secretary desired the work of butchery should be done, and in Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in Argyll's regiment, he found a fitting and zealous instrument for its execution. Sir John, doubtless, realised that to place the Mac Donalds at the disposal of their hereditary enemies, was the most certain way to ensure their destruction. So determined was he that none should escape, that he caused all the avenues by which they might flee the district to be carefully guarded by the neighbouring proprietors, such as Argyll, Breadalbane, and the Laird of Weem; and to him it was a matter of the greatest gratification that the period of the year made it impossible that any, who might escape the sword, should long survive the exposure of the mountain side. "Pray," he wrote, in his desire for thoroughness, "when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden . . . better not to meddle with them than not to do it to purpose." And so it was determined that the men, women, and children of Glencoe, were to perish, not by open warfare, but by dastardly and treacherous assassination.

Glenlyon's superior officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and Major Robert Duncanson, and through them he received his
1692 A.D. instructions. On the first day of February, 1692, Glenlyon marched to Glencoe with a force of one hundred and twenty men. On his arrival within the gloomy but grand vale, he was met by John, the eldest son of the chief, at the head of twenty men, and by him interrogated as to his intentions. Giving as the reason of their presence, the collection of taxes, the strangers were

warmly welcomed, while all suspicion was lulled as to any possible evil intentions by the consideration that Alexander, the second son of the chief had for wife the niece of Glenlyon. Indeed, the quartering of the red coats among them was taken, by the old chief and his tribe, as evidence that all was right between them and the Government, and they housed them in the several hamlets to the best of their ability.

For twelve days were the soldiers of Glenlyon hospitably and gratuitously entertained by the unsuspecting men of Glencoe. Morning by morning did Glenlyon visit his niece, and take from her hand his morning draught, while the evenings were usually beguiled by card-playing with the sons of the chief. And thus, like so many other evenings, passed the evening of the twelfth, Glenlyon sharing in the mirth around the old man's friendly hearth, while murder lurked in his heart. The festivities over, they retired to rest—

> "And soon the strong sleep bound them,
> While the winds without kept whistling rout,
> And the thick snows drifted round them."

No peaceful slumbers, however, we may well believe, came that night to the eyes of Glenlyon, for in his possession was an order, communicated to him that day by Duncanson, for the extermination, at five o'clock on the following morning, of the whole tribe of Mac Donalds of Glencoe, under seventy, man, woman, and child. "Root and branch" they were to be cut off, and especial care was to be taken that "the old fox and his cubs" did on no account escape. By the hour specified it was expected that Hamilton and Duncanson, with a party of four hundred men, would be in possession of the more important outlets from the Glen, and so be in a position to assist in the work of death.

Ere John Mac Ian had retired to rest that night he had overheard some ominous remarks—remarks that had made him uneasy and suspicious that some evil was intended. Shortly after midnight he was awakened by certain noises which so alarmed him that he proceeded to the quarters of Glenlyon, where he found the Campbells preparing for active service. On demanding an explanation, Glenlyon assured him that their intentions were against the people of Glengarry, and by this perfidious statement, and a crafty remark as to their marriage relationships,

he so lulled the apprehensions of John that he at once returned to bed.

1692 A.D. The night of the 12th was stormy, and the snow lay deep. It was just such a night as the Master of Stair had hoped for, and yet, contrary to the monster's expectation, the very fact of the storm diminished the contemplated butchery. This fortunate circumstance resulted from the fact that Hamilton and his party found the journey so toilsome that they were unable to be in their appointed places when the hour of five arrived, and so the exits from the Glen remained open. Notwithstanding the absence of Hamilton, Glenlyon, upon the stroke of five, set about his bloody work, for his orders were imperative. And then

> "From every clachan in long Glencoe
> The shriek went up, and the blood did flow
> Reeking and red on the wreathèd snow."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "At Inveruggen, Campbell grim
> Made the floor with gore to swim—
> Nine he counted in a row,
> Brothered in a bloody show,
> And one who oft for him had spread
> The pillows 'neath his traitor head,
> To woo the kindly rest."

At Auchnachoin Sergeant Barber and his party, with a volley of musketry, laid low the tacksman and seven of his family, who had been sitting happily around the glimmering fire.

While these proceedings were being enacted at Inveruggen and Auchnachoin, Lieutenant Lindsay and a party of soldiers wended their way to Invercoe, where was the residence of the chief. On knocking, they were immediately admitted, and the old chief rose to receive his visitors. While dressing, he gave orders for a supply of refreshments to be brought to them, which he had no sooner done than he was shot through the head, while two of his attendants were also slain at the same moment. From the wife of the chief her clothes and trinkets were immediately thereafter torn by the assassins, while her rings were pulled from her quivering fingers by the teeth of a soldier. From the brutal treatment the helpless creature received she died the following day. Twenty lay low at Invercoe when Lindsay's work was done.

To miscalculation on the part of Hamilton as to time, and to the method chosen for effecting the deadly work—the musket rather than the noiseless bayonet—is largely to be attributed the fact that so many escaped as fortunately did. It is doubtless true also, and for the sake of our common humanity it is well to realise it, that many of the soldiers loathed the work in which they were engaged, and probably did their part as perfunctorily as possible. The number killed was thirty-eight, including some women and children. One of the latter was a boy twelve years old, who clung to Glenlyon's legs and begged hard for life, but a heartless ruffian named Drummond shot him dead. Roused by the rattle of the firing as it resounded through the Glen, men, women, and children fled for their lives half-naked through the snow, and sought for refuge among the inhospitable hills. In this way over one hundred and sixty escaped, for a time at least, the fate that had been intended should be theirs, and among them were the sons of Mac Ian. John, the elder of the two, had fled from his dwelling just as twenty soldiers with fixed bayonets approached the door.

Viewed from the standpoint of the Master of Stair, the affair of Glencoe was, after all, a sad failure. Such was the view of Hamilton, when he arrived upon the scene, about eleven o'clock, to find the work only half done. Had he been present in time, it is evident he would have performed his share with a diabolical pleasure, and we can accurately measure his zeal by the fact that he murdered, in cold blood, the only male he could lay his hands on—an old man over seventy, who had been spared by Glenlyon in accordance with his instructions. The work of the soldiery was thereafter completed, so far as they could overtake it, by setting fire to every homestead.

"Fire made league with Murder fell,"

and everything was consigned to the flames that could be consumed. This accomplished they took their departure to Inverlochy, driving before them many sheep and goats, nine hundred kine, and two hundred ponies.

It is impossible to over-state the sad plight of the half-clad, homeless wanderers. Many miles separated them from a sheltering roof, and despair filled their hearts. Upon many of the aged and tender ones, night came down ere half their way was made, and they laid themselves to rest

"Some on the scaurs of the jagged Bens,
Some in black bogs and stony glens,
Faint and worn, till kindly Death
Numbed their limbs, and froze their breath,
And wound them in the snow."

When, after a time, the survivors ventured to leave their hiding places it was to bury their dead out of their sight. This done, they forsook, for a season, their bare and blackened homesteads, and, in their homelessness and abject poverty, found shelter and sustenance among their kindred farther north. Through the influence of Colonel Hill, Governor of Fort William, they were, ere long, permitted to resume possession of their homesteads, on finding security for their peaceful and honest behaviour. Amid the enmities of rival races it is pleasant to find Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, the sheriff who had received Mac Ian's oath of allegiance, acting as surety for two considerable men of the clan.

It was not till many months had passed that the people of Great Britain, as a whole, realised, adequately, the diabolical nature of the deed that had been committed away among the silence of the hills. They did not suspect, as Macaulay puts it, the "circumstances which give a peculiar character to the slaughter of Glencoe, the breach of faith, the breach of hospitality, the twelve days of feigned friendship and conviviality, of morning calls, of social meals, of health-drinking, of card playing;" but bit by bit the whole sad tale was revealed, and within the next three years the force of public opinion so gathered in strength and volume that, to avoid a motion in the Parliament which was
1695 A.D. to sit in May, 1695, the Marquis of Tweeddale, who was the Lord High Commissioner, arranged matters so that he was able to announce that he and several other privy councillors had been already commissioned by the king to examine into the whole affair. Glengarry and Keppoch were permitted, at the investigation, to conduct the case on behalf of their unhappy kinsmen, while John, the new chief of Glencoe, was examined as a witness.

By the Estates the report was eagerly awaited, and when, after much tantalizing delay, it was presented, it bore evidence of thoroughness and impartiality. Upon the Master of Stair was cast the whole burden of guilt. Breadalbane was not proved to have been actually an accomplice, but his conduct of the negotia-

tions with the clans in connection with the distribution of the money, and his declared preference for James, laid him open to the charge of high treason, and he was, for a time, consigned to Edinburgh Castle. On consideration of the Report, the Estates unanimously found that the order signed by William did not authorise the slaughter of Glencoe. In respect to the still remorseless Dalrymple much diversity of opinion existed as to the character of the recommendations that should be made to the King regarding him. Eventually they censured him, but so mildly that no attempt was made to punish him in any other way than by removing him from his office. Justice, nevertheless, demanded very different treatment, and, had the King and Parliament done their duty, he would have reaped a murderer's reward.

Somewhat inconsistently, the Estates were inclined to deal much more severely with Sir John's immediate agents in the tragedy, and the King was requested to command the Lord Advocate to prosecute them. Cruel and base as the actions of these men were they were not, in responsibility, to be classed with the exalted instigator, and it was well that the King, who cannot have been blind to his own share of responsibility for the outrage, should have evaded these demands. It is not, however, to his credit that some of the perpetrators of the foul deed afterwards received promotion in his service. Of Glenlyon, it is recorded, that, though in public he strove to appear unconcerned, he was never afterwards the man he had been, and, whether in waking or in sleeping, Glencoe was ever before him.

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CHAPTER XL.

Scottish resentment at ungenerous treatment by England—The Treaty of Union and the Protestant succession—Jacobite emissary visits Scotland—Jacobite note on some Highland characteristics—Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, on the relationship between Lowlander and Highlander—Attempted invasion of Scotland by the Chevalier—Scottish discontent with the Union—Subsidies to Highland Chiefs—King George and the Jacobites—The Earl of Mar and the "Hunting" at Braemar—Government precautionary measures—The Rebellion of 1715—Raising of the Standard—Attempted seizure of Edinburgh Castle—John, Duke of Argyll, takes the field.

1695-1715.

In the year 1698 Scotland was ripe for a rebellion in favour of the exiled Stuart King, for the ungenerous treatment meted out by the English nation to the unfortunate Darien Company was productive of much bitterness throughout the northern kingdom, and served to make the King very unpopular with his Scottish subjects. At that time, however, the Jacobite leaders were not in a position to avail themselves of the favouring circumstances.

Two years later the hopes of the Jacobites were raised by the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the Princess Anne; and it seemed to them as if the way were being cleared for the accession of the Prince of Wales to the throne. The very next year, however, their hopes were dashed and their designs frustrated by the passing of an Act by the English Parliament, declaring the Princess Sophia, Electress-Dowager of Hanover, granddaughter of King James VI., to be next in succession to the Crown of England after his Majesty and the Princess Anne. The family of Hanover was the only Protestant branch descended from James VI., and the result of this Act was, by one grand swoop, to cut off from all chance of succession to the English throne forty Catholic descendants of that king, all of them nearer heirs to the Crown than the favoured Princess.

Early in the year 1703, an act of indemnity was passed in favour of all persons who had taken any part against the Government since the Revolution, and permitting such of them as were abroad freely to return home. Many influential Jacobites, some of them with ulterior ends in view, took advantage of this privilege; and, anxious to bring all parties round to her interest, the Queen bestowed upon several of them marks of her royal favour. 1703 A.D.

Notwithstanding this politic measure on the part of the Queen, the persistent ungenerous treatment of the smaller by the larger kingdom, and, particularly, the determination that Scotland should neither participate in the trading privileges of England (as, in fact, she had been allowed to do, sixty years before, by the far-seeing, large-hearted Protector), nor be permitted to create a like system for herself, was productive of much soreness in Scotland. At an earlier date, King William, who was also hampered by his relations with the Dutch, had dismissed his Scottish ministers because they persisted in doing their best for the commerce of Scotland. But such unworthy treatment only sufficed to bring out the spirit of the Scottish people. International jealousy and hatred were, for the time being, intense. To show their resentment, the Scottish Parliament, with the most stubborn resolve, decided, over and over again, that they would not name a successor to the Crown until a satisfactory treaty was concluded with England for the regulation of commerce. So strained were the relationships that the respective Parliaments were actually taking measures with a view to active proceedings in the field.

At last the threatening attitude of the Scottish people had its due effect, and it was fully recognised by the wiser heads in England that Scotland must be allowed to participate in the English trading privileges if the nations were to continue under the same sovereign. To put an end to the unsatisfactory condition of things that existed, an overture for an incorporating union was made by England (it should not be forgotten that a temporary union had been effected by Cromwell), and in the treaty of union, which was ere long concluded, Scotland, through her commissioners (they were, however, the carefully selected nominees of Queen Anne), agreed, in terms of the second article, to the accession of the Princess Sophia and her 1705 A.D.

heirs, being Protestants, in default of issue of the Queen. The following year (1706) the treaty was ratified by the Scottish Parliament, and thus Scotland was brought into line with England in the matter of the succession, while the losses at Darien were made good with interest, and community of trading privileges was established.

By a large proportion of the people of Scotland, however, the treaty was viewed with the utmost disfavour; indeed, to the great body of the Scottish people the union was highly obnoxious. Multitudes of inflammatory pamphlets issued from the printing presses; addresses and petitions flooded the Parliament house; while in Edinburgh and Glasgow the popular fury found expression in riots which had to be quelled by the military. Even the Cameronians found reason for vigorously opposing it, and matters went so far that it was arranged that they and the Highlanders should take the field in concert against it. But traitors were at work, and at the last moment the Duke of Hamilton, who all through the transaction of these affairs played a notoriously double part, sent swift messengers to all the commanders and musterers, desiring them to disband their troops and return to their homes.

To many of the Scottish people, besides the Jacobites, practical experience of the working of the union did not by any means suffice to commend it to them, and much discontent prevailed. Anticipating this condition of things, the Court of France, instigated by the Jacobites, despatched into Scotland, in the
1707 A.D. spring of 1707, an Englishman named Lieutenant-Colonel Hooke, the intention being to enquire as to the advisability of hazarding an invasion under the Chevalier. Curiously enough, Hooke did not enter into any negotiations with the Highland chiefs, though they were, undoubtedly, the most likely parties to furnish an effective force on short notice; but, from those leaders with whom he did communicate, he received a reception with which he was, upon the whole, well satisfied. A definite scheme of action was formulated, and the emissary was able to report that the people were ripe for a revolution, should they receive aid from France in men, money, and arms, and have the presence of the Chevalier. A specially favouring circumstance was the fact that the government forces in Scotland at that time did not number more than 2500 men, scattered throughout the country. Nevertheless, not

a few Jacobites considered the action of Hooke ill-timed, while within the Council of the Jacobites there were traitors who kept the Government informed of all the proceedings.

In a communication made at this time by the heads of the Jacobites to Louis XIV. we find the following note, which is of interest as placing before us some characteristics of the Highlanders—characteristics which they account for in a reasonable way. This communication serves also to illustrate the great difficulty there always is in discovering the truth regarding a people when they have the misfortune to be written upon by those who are out of sympathy with them, and by those alone. "That which is commonly objected against the Highlanders is, that they do not keep discipline, and that they plunder. To which it may be easily answered, that at all times the Highlanders were in the fields, they neither had pay nor provisions, but what Providence sent them from day to day, and each soldier being obliged to go and search for himself, it was impossible to send an officer with each of them; so abuses could not be prevented; and were the most regular troops in Europe in the same circumstances, they might be found as ill, if not worse, than the Highlanders.

"Most part of all Lowlanders are their inveterate enemies, and seldom or never speak or write favourably of them, and that from mere envy; because a Highland clan is capable to render the King better service than some of their first nobility, and, as to their lesser, a dozen and more of them cannot bring so many men to the field as one clan."

Regarding the relationship between Lowlander and Highlander Mrs. Grant of Laggan is also instructive when she writes thus in her *Superstitions of the Highlanders*:—"The Lowlander considered the Highlander as a fierce and savage depredator, speaking a barbarous language, inhabiting a gloomy and barren region, which fear and prudence forbade all strangers to explore. The attractions of his social habits, strong attachments, and courteous manners, were confined to his glens and kindred. . . . . If such was the light in which the cultivators of the soil regarded the hunters, graziers, and warriors of the mountains, their contempt was amply repaid by their high-spirited neighbours. The Highlanders regarded the Lowlanders as a very inferior mongrel race of intruders, sons of little men, without heroism, without

ancestry or genius, mechanical drudges, etc., etc., who could neither sleep upon the snow, compose extempore songs, recite long tales of wonder or of woe, or live without bread and without shelter for weeks together following the chase. Whatever was mean or effeminate, whatever was dull, slow, mechanical or torpid, was in the Highlands imputed to the Lowlanders, and exemplified by allusions to them; while in the Low country, everything ferocious or unprincipled, every species of awkwardness or ignorance, of pride or of insolence, was imputed to the Highlanders." And thus the two peoples largely misunderstood each other. An old Irish poem thus assigns certain national characteristics :—

> " For cuteness and valour, the Greeks,
> For excessive pride, the Romans,
> For dulness, the creeping Saxons,
> For beauty and amourousness, the Gaedhils."

As a result of the report of Hooke, an expedition for the invasion of Scotland was fitted out at Dunkirk in the spring of the following year. Alarmed at the prospect thus opened up, and conscious of the discontent that prevailed in the north, the united Parliament made the most vigorous preparations to meet the emergency, and, with a view to lessening the power of the chiefs, they passed a bill releasing the Scottish Clans from all vassalage to such chiefs as should appear in arms against Her Majesty, and also, with great promptitude, equipped a large fleet to watch the proceedings of the expedition by the shores of France.

1707 A.D. On the thirteenth day of March, the Chevalier arrived off the Firth of Forth with an expedition consisting of seven men-of-war and nineteen frigates, carrying about 4,500 troops and a large supply of arms and ammunition. Having anchored off the Isle of May the pre-concerted signals were made, but early next morning the British fleet was seen approaching. Thereupon the French Admiral, Fourbin, cut his cables, and proceeded northwards under full sail, with the intention of rendezvousing at Cromarty or Inverness. With the exception of the Salisbury, which had been at one time an English ship, the whole fleet escaped, but strong contrary winds set in, and a council decided that it was undesirable to risk the dispersion of the fleet, and it

was unanimously resolved to return to Dunkirk. Thus the crisis passed in tame enough fashion.

Meanwhile, the British fleet, finding that the French out-sailed them, had returned to the Firth of Forth, thus leaving the French ships free, had more vigorous tactics been adopted, to effect an unopposed landing on the northern or western coasts. Had the Chevalier set his foot upon Scotland there is every reason to expect that a universal rising in his favour would have immediately occurred.

The persistent illiberal treatment accorded to Scottish interests in the united Parliament, together with the ill-judged arrogance of English members towards the Scottish representatives, served to increase still more the dissatisfaction entertained by the great mass of the Scottish people, and almost involved the dissolution of the union. In the year 1712, a bill with that object was 1712 A.D. actually introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Findlater. That bill had the support of the most influential Scotsmen in the house—among them the Duke of Argyll, his brother the Earl of Islay, and the Earl of Mar—and, on a division, it was only lost by a majority of three on the proxies. By the Jacobites this growing alienation was viewed with the liveliest satisfaction. Roman Catholics also became more active, more particularly in Inverness-shire, where, in spite of the protests of the Kirk, the priests publicly performed their functions.

Other circumstances served likewise to give heart, at this time, to the sympathisers with the Chevalier, circumstances which seemed to point to a possible restoration, and that with the connivance of the Queen. It was noted, for example, that subsidies were annually remitted by the Tory Government to the Highland chiefs. Through the Earl of Mar, who was the active agent in this distribution, each chief was given about £360 a year, and, poor in money as those men were, these sums would doubtless be peculiarly acceptable. These largesses were looked upon by the chiefs as bounty-money or payment for keeping their followers in readiness for action, and while they accepted them from the Government of Queen Anne, they, in an address presented to her Majesty in 1713, expressed the hope that on her demise "the hereditary and parliamentary sanction might possibly meet in the person of a lineal successor." According to Treasurer Oxford

even larger bounties had been given to the Highland chiefs by King William. That such grants should have been bestowed alike by Whig and Tory governments seems not a little anomalous. By the Jacobites, another hopeful circumstance was found
1714 A.D. in the fact that, in 1714, the Duke of Hamilton, the acknowledged leader of the Jacobites, was appointed ambassador to Paris. This action seemed to bear only one possible interpretation, viz., that it was an arrangement for bringing over the heir of the house of Stuart; but the death of the Duke in a duel with Lord Mohun, followed as it was by the demise of the Queen on the first day of August, 1714, put an end to the design, if, indeed, it had been actually contemplated.

Notwithstanding the marked discontent of the Scottish people during the immediately preceding years, there can be no doubt that the accession of the new Sovereign, George, Elector of Hanover—"the wee wee German lairdie"—was acceptable to the great body of the people. The deep mortification of the Jacobites, however, found expression in many ways, and the health of James VIII., "the king over the water," was drunk in frequent and copious libations. Bodies of armed men, too, were seen marching to the Highlands, and a party of Highlanders appeared in arms near Inverlochy. These latter were, however, speedily dispersed by a detachment from the garrison, and by the authorities active measures were taken throughout the country to frustrate any rising that might be designed. At the same time several prominent personages were committed to prison or otherwise restrained. Sir Donald Mac Donald of Sleat, and Captain Campbell of Glendaruel found secure lodgment, for a season, in the Castle of Edinburgh.

King George had not long landed in England ere he showed, unmistakably, that he looked upon the Tory Government of the late Queen as his enemies, and the Whigs, to whom he was indebted for his crown, as his only friends. These parties he treated in keeping with those convictions, and the Tories were dismissed from office with scant courtesy. Upon the Whigs, who replaced them, all the royal favours were injudiciously showered, with the result that much dissatisfaction was created among a large portion of the nation.

Among the nobles who suffered in this way was the Earl of

Mar, who, under Queen Anne, had been Secretary for Scotland. Anticipating misrepresentation and prejudice, Mar had addressed to his Majesty, ere yet the latter had left the Continent, a long letter setting forth the loyalty of his ancestors, his own faithful service in connection with the Revolution and to the late Queen, assuring King George of the most loyal service, and wishing for him a long and prosperous reign. To the same end, and doubtless to show to the new Sovereign the importance of his friendship, Mar caused a letter to be addressed to him by the chiefs of some of the clans, in which, while expressing their loyalty to King George, they assured Mar that, as they had always been ready to follow his lordship's directions in regard to Queen Anne, they were equally ready to concur with him in faithfully serving his Majesty. This document, which was probably composed by Mar himself, bore the names of Sir John Mac Lean of Duart, Mac Donnell of Glengarry, Cameron of Lochiel, Mac Donnell of Keppoch, Sir Donald Mac Donald of Sleat, Mac Intosh of Mac Intosh, Mac Kenzie of Fraserdale, Mac Leod of Contulich, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, and Mac Pherson of Cluny. It was said that an address, conceived in the same spirit and signed by the chiefs, was presented to the King by Mar, but that the new monarch refused to accept it, believing it to have been drawn up at the exiled Court.

Notwithstanding his dismissal from office, and several rebuffs from the King, the Earl of Mar, hoping against hope for the royal favour, lingered on in London for about a year. It is not improbable that he purposed, should circumstances favour it, the performance of a political somersault such as he had, on more than one occasion, effected already.

Meanwhile, the spirit of discontent engendered by the harsh treatment of the Tories by the King and by those who were his advisers, was deepening throughout both England and Scotland, and the exiled Court was fully alive to the position of affairs. By both the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, who were at the time in France, the cause of the Chevalier was now openly espoused, and, by the middle of summer, the preparations of the latter for a descent upon Scotland were far advanced. As early as May, the Jacobites in Scotland began to bestir themselves. Arms and horses were being provided, and on the 2nd of August, 1715, Mar, chafing under mortified ambition, and thirsting for 1715 A.D.

revenge, set out from London, in the guise of a humble workman, to place himself at the head of a contemplated insurrection in his native land. As the sequel disclosed, however, Mar was, from his lack of military experience, wholly unfitted to bring such an enterprise to a successful issue. On the 17th of August, he crossed the Tay with a troop of forty horse, and on his journey north, towards his strong Castle of Kildrummie, he sent the favourers of his project invitations to a great hunting or *tinchel* to be held at Braemar on the 27th of August.

That the plans had been well matured, ere the arrival of the Earl of Mar in Scotland, is evident from the heartiness with which the invitation to the sham hunting was responded to. On the appointed day, there appeared at a General Council held at Aboyne, such a representation of influential men, Highland and Lowland, as gave promise of an insurrection of a most formidable character. Among the nobles and chiefs possessed of great power in the Highlands were the Marquis of Huntly, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Seaforth, and the Chief of Glengarry. Besides these there were "twenty-six gentlemen of interest in the Highlands," one of whom, Colin Campbell of Glendaruel, represented the powerful, but wily, Earl of Breadalbane.

In a plausible and fluent speech, the Earl of Mar, who was a gentleman of the most agreeable manners, addressed the Council, informing them, among other things, that his military chest contained £100,000. He also assured them that effectual assistance would be received from France, and that a general rising in England was almost a certainty. Thereupon, and notwithstanding the simultaneous news of the death of Louis XIV. of France, it was unanimously agreed to rise in arms. After taking the oath of allegiance to Mar, as representing James VIII., the Council broke up, each man hastening homewards to send round the Fiery Cross, and muster his men in readiness for Mar's summons.

Meanwhile, the most active measures were being taken by the Government for the placing of the kingdom in an attitude of defence. Upon the head of the Chevalier, a price of £100,000 was placed; landowners were warned that all clauses in charters and leases which imposed the ancient obligation of "Personal Attendance, Hunting, Hosting, Watching, and Warding" were now illegal; and an Act was passed on the 30th of August under

the authority of which sixty-two suspected nobles, large proprietors, and chiefs were cited to repair to the capital, under the pain of severe penalties. With the summons, only two complied, but several leading Lowland Jacobites were arrested, and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh. The chief effect of the Act, and the suspension of Habeas Corpus, was to drive into active support of the insurrection those who had already, in any measure, committed themselves.

On the 6th of September, at the village of Kirkmichael in Braemar, the standard of insurrection was raised by the Earl of Mar, in presence of a force of about two thousand men. This important step had been preceded, three days earlier, by the proclamation, at Castletown, of the Chevalier as King James VIII., and now it was followed by the issue of a circular letter and declaration, and by a remarkable manifesto, so framed as to be calculated to rouse intense national feeling. Ere yet the clans and other bodies of men had gathered in any considerable numbers, the accession of James VIII. was proclaimed by influential leaders at the market-crosses of Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, Montrose, Brechin, and Inverness. The proclamation was made in the last town by Brigadier Mac Intosh of Borlum, who had distinguished himself in the service of France. On the 15th September, he seized the Castle, which he found unoccupied, and garrisoned it with a force of five hundred men. In view of future eventualities, it was an important acquisition, while the arms and ammunition found in it were of immediate service. 1715 A.D.

Early in the course of the insurrection a plan was matured for the seizing of Edinburgh Castle by a body of eighty conspirators, chiefly Highlanders, under the leadership of Lord Drummond, and on the night of the ninth of September an attempt was made to carry it into execution, with the aid of certain of the garrison, who had been bribed. But the plan miscarried, for, late that night, the governor received timely warning of the proposed attempt, and, in consequence, doubled the guards; while a number of the conspirators dallied over their wine in a neighbouring tavern, until long after the time for action had passed. When, at length, the attempt was being made to fix the large rope ladder by which admittance was to be gained, the footsteps of the patrol, who were to relieve the sentinel, were heard approaching, and the ladder was immediately dropped upon the conspirators beneath.

At the same moment the sentinel fired off his piece, and, in the haste of dispersion, four of the party were seized by members of the city guard. Had the attempt succeeded, the intention of Mar was to march south at once, and seize the capital.

While these events were occurring in the Lowlands, General Gordon, who had been despatched by Mar to take command of the Jacobite clans of the west, found himself at the head of four or five thousand Highlanders, chiefly Mac Donalds, Camerons, and Mac Leans. With these he, on the 17th September, attempted to surprise Fort William, but only succeeded in capturing an outwork, after which he marched towards Inveraray, the Castle of which, and the entrenchments, he found garrisoned by a force of 2,500 men, under the Earl of Islay. It was not the intention of Gordon to hazard a battle, his only idea in taking that particular route on his way to the south being to give confidence to Argyllshire sympathisers, such as Auchinbreck and Lochnell to join in the insurrection. After remaining inactive a few days, Gordon directed his steps toward Perthshire.

On the 14th of September John, Duke of Argyll, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Scotland, arrived in Edinburgh, and three days later reached Stirling. Argyll was one of the three greatest British commanders of his day, and his recognised ability as a statesman and an orator, made his appointment generally acceptable—

> "Argyll—the State's whole thunder born to wield,
> And shake alike the senate and the field."

The choice of Stirling as his head-quarters was of the utmost importance, as giving command of the Forth, and ensuring the separation of the northern insurgents from their friends in the south. Here, on his arrival, Argyll found assembled a little army of 1,800 men, and to raise this small force to one of respectable proportions was his immediate, and his earnest endeavour. From various quarters, volunteers speedily poured in. Glasgow, and other towns in the south and west, loyally sent their burgesses in considerable numbers, and three small garrisons of volunteers were despatched to occupy posts from which they might protect the Lowlands from predatory Highland incursions. At this time, as we have seen, Argyll's clan were engaged in protecting their own country from the forces under General Gordon.

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CHAPTER XLI.

Arrival of Mar at Perth—The Chevalier expected—Raid on ships at Burntisland—Collection of land tax by Mar—Rob Roy—Inactivity of Mar—Departure of a body of Highlanders to England—Defeat at Preston—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Landing of the Chevalier—Retreat and disbandment of Rebel army—Punishment of the insurgents.

1715-1717.

On the 28th of September, the Jacobite leader entered Perth with a force of five thousand men, and here he fixed his head-quarters. As a base of operations Perth was entirely suitable, for, while near the Highlands, it gave him the command of a valuable provisioning Lowland area, as well as of the whole east coast from the Firth of Forth northward. Upon the day of his entry into Perth, Mar was joined by James Murray, son of the Earl of Stormont, who was the bearer of despatches and verbal messages from his "King." Through these he had the assurance of speedy succour, and a promise of the early landing of the Chevalier accompanied by a considerable number of volunteers. A minute inventory of the arms ready for shipment in France, shows them to have been sufficient for twelve thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, besides twelve brass and forty iron field pieces, and a great quantity of swords and pikes. Of these arms only a very small quantity reached Scotland.

Mar now busied himself with the fortification of Perth, and he made his position more secure by mounting fourteen cannon which he brought from Dundee, Dunottar, and other places. From another source, also, the insurgents, towards the end of September, succeeded, by means of a spirited expedition, in increasing their military stores. By some means or other it became known in the camp at Perth that a small ship, freighted with arms and ammunition, which were intended for the loyal clans in the north, who were being raised by the Earl of Sutherland, lay wind-bound at Burntisland off the coast of Fife. For her capture, an expedition was at once organised under the Master of

Sinclair, who set himself at the head of four hundred horse, each trooper having a foot soldier mounted behind him. After a ride of thirty miles they reached their destination at midnight. Leaving the cavalry to guard the outlets of the town, the foot-soldiers hastened to the harbour, where they seized the boats, and boarded and secured the ship without opposition. Having next taken possession of the contents of another small vessel that lay near, as well as of some arms that they found in the town, the rebels returned to Perth the following day, bearing with them, as a prize, four hundred and twenty complete stands of arms.

1715 A.D. To the replenishing of his military chest Mar now turned his attention, and, by the collection of the land tax in the districts under his influence, together with numerous forced gifts and loans, he was enabled to write to one of his officers thus:—"The army now here is on a regular foot of pay, at three pence a day and three loaves, or that quantity of meal in place of the bread, which is fully as good as the pay of the soldiers at Stirling." This would appear to have been the first occasion on which the clans received pay for military service.

Among the prominent personages who, early in September, had been cited by the Lord Advocate to appear at Edinburgh was the celebrated Rob Roy—a fact which may be taken as evidence that this great chief of the caterans had, ere this date, more or less definitely committed himself to the cause of Mar. Indeed, evidence exists, in his dealings with the Duke of Montrose, that Rob was in the counsels of the Jacobite party as far back as 1712, for the Duke, who held a bond on Inversnaid in security for some money lent to Mac Gregor in connection with certain cattle-dealing transactions which had turned out badly, wrote to Rob Roy in that year stating that, if he would supply information of Argyll's coquetting with the Jacobite party, he would cancel the said bond. Mac Gregor was proof against the tempting offer, with the result that Montrose, having thus placed himself in the power of his debtor, resolved upon the ruin of the latter as a measure of self-protection. Nor was he scrupulous in the use of means, for, while Mac Gregor was absent in England striving to collect money due to him for cattle he had sold, with the desire that he might be able to meet all his obligations, excessive interest and all, Montrose had a warrant issued for his apprehen-

sion, on the ground that he was a notorious absconding bankrupt. This warrant was issued on the 3rd of October, 1712, and on the 22nd November, ere Rob had returned from England, the Duke procured his outlawry. This done, the factor, Graham of Killearn, proceeded to Balquhidder, where he evicted the outlaw's wife and family in mid-winter, and demolished the house. Thence he turned his steps to Inversnaid, of which he took violent possession. All this Montrose did although the stipulated time for the redemption of the bond had not expired. When Mac Gregor returned, and with sufficient money to meet his every obligation, it was to find that his life was at the mercy of his meanest foe, that his homestead was in ruins, that his wife and children were outcasts amid the winter storms, and that his lands were reft from him. From his enemies he learned the power of the strong arm, and we need not wonder that, suffering under a sense of great injustice, he became, what he is so well known to have been, an Ishmaelite, one whose career was ever afterwards filled with turmoil and turbulence, but one who was possessed of a kind heart withal.

In the affairs of 1715, Rob Roy bore a part. On the 9th of September, there was addressed by Mar to "the King's forces in Argyllshire," an order which bore reference to a projected seizure of the Castle of Inveraray. To Drummond of Bahaldie and Rob Roy, this service was committed, and to them we find Mar sending a further communication, on the 4th of October, urging the importance of the seizure, and desiring that the Castle should be taken by blockade rather than by storm. The Jacobite leader's reference to this matter shows that he meant to conduct his operations after a civilised fashion. "I shall not," he says, "begin with burning houses, so I hope you will have no occasion of doing that with the house of Inveraray ; and though you may threaten it, you must not put it in execution, till you acquaint me and have my return."

In disturbed conditions of the country, such as prevailed at this time, caterans of all descriptions found glorious opportunities for the practice of their illegitimate profession, and, on the present occasion, the Mac Gregors took full advantage of their opportunity, to the great detriment of the more staid lieges. Early in October they had seized all the ferry-boats and other vessels on Loch Lomond. Thus furnished, they made frequent

piratical trips from Rowardennan, and took much spoil from their Lowland neighbours.

To put an end to those plundering forays the people of Paisley and other western towns banded themselves together, and entered upon an expedition into the country of the enemy. To the number of full six hundred men, one hundred of whom were seamen from a ship of war in the Clyde, they set out on the 11th of October, dragging with them up the Leven to Loch Lomond five man-of-war boats, on three of which guns were mounted. As they sailed up the loch, and marched upon its banks, they made a brave display. Rea, the historian of the expedition, thus picturesquely describes a party of Grants, who had joined the forces of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, under James Grant of Pluscarden :—" That night they arrived at Luss, where they were joined by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, and James Grant of Pluscarden, his son-in-law, followed by forty or fifty stately fellows in their hose and belted plaids, armed each of them with a well-fixed gun on their shoulders ; a strong handsome target, with a sharp pointed steel of about half an ell in length screwed into the navel of it, on his arm ; a sturdy claymore by his side, and a pistol or two, with a dirk and knife in his belt." Here we have a faithful description of the arms and bearing of the military Highlander of that period.

Crossing the loch, the invaders of the Mac Gregors' country fired off some guns, after which a party of them landed and valiantly and defiantly beat their drums for a whole hour in the hope of provoking a contest, but no Mac Gregors appeared. On their way back to the loch they stumbled on the boats that the Mac Gregors had seized, and took possession of them. Thus ended this bloodless expedition, Deprived of their boats, the Mac Gregors now, for a time, bestowed their attentions upon Fifeshire and the lowland districts of Perthshire.

1715 A.D. Meanwhile, Mar remained week after week inactive at Perth, and effectually demonstrated his unfitness for the position he occupied. To have attacked Argyll at Stirling while yet the forces of the latter were comparatively weak, and so have secured the passage of the Forth, was plainly his proper course of action, but he foolishly lingered on, hoping, from day to day, to hear of the arrival of the Chevalier, and the expected reinforcements from France. By the beginning of November, when he was

joined by the northern clans, Mar's army numbered twelve thousand men, and we can imagine the possibilities of the situation under such a leader as Montrose or Dundee.

For a portion of the rebel forces employment was, at length, found in southern parts. Early in October about three hundred north of England Jacobites had taken the field under the command of Thomas Foster, Member for Northumberland, who had received his commission from the Earl of Mar. After having proclaimed James as King in several places, Foster sent a messenger to Mar with a request for a reinforcement of infantry. This request was acceded to, and under Brigadier Mac Intosh of Borlum, uncle of the young chief of the Mac Intoshes, and an intrepid, experienced old soldier, a force of sixteen hundred Highlanders was ferried across the Firth of Forth. This hazardous feat was accomplished with little loss on the 12th and 13th October, and that in spite of the ships of war which lay in the Firth. A skilful diversion had aided the enterprise.

Unable to resist the temptation, which now presented itself, to effect the capture of Edinburgh, the Brigadier, taking advantage of the dismay of the citizens at the success of his movements, determined to make the attempt ere resuming his march to England. Accordingly, on the evening of the 14th, he proceeded to Leith, and took possession of Cromwell's citadel, after he had liberated from the jail some of his men, who had been seized during the ferrying operations. By this time, however, the Duke of Argyll, who had been summoned in haste from Stirling, had arrived upon the scene with a force of five hundred horse, while the city guard and a body of new levies had taken up positions of defence on the order of Campbell, the active Provost of the city. Next morning the rebels were summoned by Argyll to surrender, but, though the latter threatened, he realised right well that he was not in a position to compel them to capitulate, while the insurgents felt the utmost security in their position. By night-fall, however, the rebels resolved to give up the idea of capturing the capital, and so, without further loss of time, they set out towards their original goal. To facilitate their escape, Mar advanced upon Stirling on the morning of the 17th, and thus procured the recall of Argyll.

On the 22nd October, the rebels reached Kelso, where they 1715 A.D.
came up with their English allies. Two days earlier these latter

had been joined by some two hundred south of Scotland Jacobites, under the leadership of Lord Kenmure. To mark their respect for the bravery the Highlanders had displayed in their crossing of the Firth, the Scottish cavalry marched out to meet them, and, to the martial strains of the bagpipes, accompanied them into the town. The following day was Sunday, when religious services were held. Patten, one of the preachers, and a historian of the expedition as well, records the observation that "it was very agreeable to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behaved and answered the responses according to the rubric, to the shame of many who pretend to more polite breeding."

During the week that followed, the greatest diversity of opinion existed in the army as to the immediate course of action. To direct their steps towards the west, there to unite their forces with those of General Gordon, or to proceed north and attack Argyll's rear at Stirling, while Mar set upon him in front, were the main proposals of the Scottish officers. By the English officers, on the other hand, it was stubbornly contended that the most reasonable course to pursue was to march into Lancashire, and ally themselves with the twenty thousand Jacobites of that county, who, they asserted, were ready to jump into saddle. By the Highlanders, this latter proposal was resisted with the greatest spirit. Unfortunately, as it happened, the English had their way, and it was with the immediate loss of five hundred Highlanders, who absolutely refused, though tempted with large pay, to put a foot upon English soil. These latter dispersed themselves among the Dumfries-shire hills, but many were captured in Clydesdale on their way to the north, and committed to prison.

Upon crossing the border the command of the insurgents devolved upon Foster, the English general, a man who proved himself to be wholly incapable, and possessed of no military ability whatever. Penrith was reached on the 2nd November. Here they came up with a force of rustics, variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand strong, who were assembled to oppose their advance. These latter, however, were not sufficiently trained and equipped to resist the little army of rebels, and they fled in confusion. Amid much rain, and depressed by the fact that they received but the most meagre countenance in the country they passed through, the insurgents continued their southward course

with nought to cheer them but the bagpipes of the Highlanders. "The horse and the footmen," says an eye-witness, "did not draw their swords nor show their colours, neither did their drums beat, only six Highland bagpipes played." Not till they had reached Preston did they meet with a general and hearty welcome. Here they were joined by about twelve hundred allies, but it was a poor realisation of the English boast of twenty thousand who, it had been averred, were ready and eager to swell the ranks. At this time the insurgents numbered nearly four thousand men, but the Lancashire recruits were so unsoldierlike, and so badly armed that old Borlum could not refrain from expressing his contempt for them. "Look ye there, Foster," he broke forth, "are those fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with? Good faith, Sir, an' ye had ten thousand of them I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons."

At that moment two several parties of royalist troops, under Generals Wills and Carpenter, were hastening, with all speed, to "proud Preston," where Foster was contemplating an attack upon Liverpool. On the night of Friday the 11th, Foster received intelligence of the approach of Wills, but, instead of at once busying himself with making preparations to resist the enemy, he coolly retired to his bed, leaving the other leaders to hold a hurried conference to arrange for the defence of the town. Notwithstanding this culpable neglect of duty, the sleepy general did not hesitate next morning to change the dispositions that had been made, with the result that neither the pass, the bridge, nor the fords leading to the town were defended, and the enemy were permitted to pass the Ribble unmolested. Across the principal streets, however, barricades, as planned by Mac Intosh, were erected, while many of the houses were occupied by the defenders.

In the defence of the barricades, the clansmen had ample opportunity for displaying their skill at rifle practice. This they did to such effect that, of two hundred assailants who entered one street, one hundred and twenty were killed within a few minutes. Baffled completely in their attacks on each of the barricades, the besiegers had recourse to setting many of the houses on fire, as the result of which they, in some instances, obliged the besieged to retire further into the town. In the back part of the town, of three hundred of Wills' men who had tried, towards night-fall, to

enter the "back Ween," one hundred and forty were killed. All through the night the scattered fight continued, yet of the insurgents only seventeen were killed in the defence. In the meantime, however, large numbers of the local rebels took advantage of the darkness to effect their escape, thus leaving to its fate the original army, who scorned to flee.

Next morning General Carpenter, who had been in Scotland, and who had been following up the insurgents from the time they left the Border, arrived with a force of two thousand five hundred cavalry. This circumstance sealed the fate of the insurgents, for General Foster forthwith began to sue for terms. This he did to the great chagrin of the Highlanders, whose desire was to be permitted to rush forth and cut their way through the enemy, or die in the attempt. By Wills, the only terms that would be conceded involved surrender at discretion, and on the following morning, after some dangerous demonstrations by the Highlanders, who declared they knew nothing of terms of surrender, the capitulation was agreed to, and Preston was quietly taken possession of by the royalists on the 14th November. The English prisoners numbered four hundred and sixty-two, while the Scottish unfortunates were one thousand and eighty-eight, almost all of whom were Highlanders. Their treatment will be referred to later.

Let us now turn our gaze northwards, and see how it fared, during those weeks, with Argyll and Mar. After a period of inexcusable inactivity, an inactivity which could by no means be understood by the Highlanders, it was at last determined, at a
1715 A.D. council of war held on the 9th November, that an effort should be made by the army of Mar to effect the passage of the Forth. Accordingly, on the following morning, the main body of the army issued from Perth, and, advancing to Auchterarder, passed the night there. Next morning they were joined by the western clans under General Gordon. The following day, the latter was sent forward in advance with three thousand clansmen, and eight squadrons of horse under Brigadier Ogilvie and the Master of Sinclair, with a view to taking possession of Dunblane, while the main body followed more leisurely. In this move, however, Gordon was anticipated by Argyll, who, hearing of the intentions of the insurgents, deemed it advisable to advance and meet them, and endeavour to bring about an engagement with Mar

on ground which suited his cavalry. That night the armies bivouacked within three miles of each other, Argyll having chosen a position upon a rising ground about two miles north-east from the town, where he was only separated from Mar by the elevated and uneven waste of the Sheriffmuir. His army numbered about four thousand men. Mar encamped for the night at Kinbuck.

The next morning was Sunday, 13th November. At an early hour, while engaged in marshalling his forces, the Jacobite general saw, in the distance, a clump of officers, whom he rightly judged to be Argyll and his staff surveying the Jacobite position. With his usual indecision, and this though the enemy did not number half of the forces at his command, Mar now called a council of war to determine whether or not they should fight. As the result of the deliberation the unwilling general was forced by his troops to lead them to battle. By the Highlanders, the determination to fight was hailed with loud huzzas, and the tossing of a cloud of bonnets into the air. They were right weary of inaction.

It was under very considerable disadvantage that the respective commanders completed the marshalling of their forces in order of battle, for on account of the nature of the ground neither was able to see fully the other's dispositions. When, therefore, the time to attack arrived, the unexpected had to be encountered by each. Each army was drawn up in two lines. Of the Jacobites the first line consisted of ten battalions of foot, chiefly Highlanders, under Clanranald, Glengarry, Gordon of Glenbucket, Brigadier Ogilvie, Sir John Mac Lean of Duart, and the two brothers of Sir Donald Mac Donald of Sleat. The second was composed of an equal number of infantry commanded by the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls of Seaforth and Panmure, Viscount Strathallan, Drummond of Logie Almond, and Robertson of Struan. On the extremities of both lines bodies of cavalry were stationed, while a reserve of about eight hundred men was posted at some distance in the rear. Of the army of Argyll, which consisted of about four thousand men, the right was commanded by himself, the left by General Whitham, and the centre by General Wightman. Among the horse, in the wing commanded by Argyll, were the Scots Greys.

Upon the order to advance being given, the forces of Mar swept, in four columns, across a frozen morass, and began the

gradual ascent which led to the position of Argyll. As the forces approached one another, it was found, by those who were able to see the relative positions, that each had tended more to the right than had been designed, with the result that each army was out-flanked on its own left. Mainly owing to this out-flanking, the right of each army was victorious.

Placing himself at the head of the clans on the right, Mar spiritedly led forward the Highlanders to the attack, ere yet the battalions on Argyll's left had completely formed. Arrived within pistol-shot, the Highlanders poured in a volley upon the opposing infantry, by whom the fire was instantly returned. At this point, and to the great grief of his followers, Alan Muidertach, the much-loved captain of Clanranald, was mortally
1715 A.D. wounded. For a moment, but only for a moment, his clansmen were completely dejected and paralysed. In an instant, stepping to the front, Glengarry roused them to action by tossing his bonnet in the air and shouting aloud "Revenge! Revenge! Revenge to-day and mourning to-morrow!" The effect was electrical; sword in hand the Mac Donalds rushed upon the Royalist battalions with the utmost fury, and, pushing the bayonets aside with their targets, committed great havoc among them.

The whole attack of Mar's right is thus described by the Master of Sinclair, a soldier who had been trained under Marlborough, and who fought in this wing:—"The order to attack being given, the two thousand Highlandmen, who were then drawn up in very good order, ran towards the enemy in a disorderly manner, always firing some dropping shots, which drew upon them a general salvo from the enemy, which began at their left to us, and run to their right. No sooner that begun the Highlanders threw themselves flat on their bellies; and when it slackened they started to their feet. Most threw away their fuzies, and, drawing their swords, pierced them everywhere with an incredible vigour and rapidity, in four minutes time from their receiving the order to attack. Not only all in our view and before us turned their backs, but the five squadrons of dragoons on their left, commanded by General Witham, went to the right about, and never looked back until they had got near Dunblane, almost two miles from us."

Mar pursued the fugitives for about half-a-mile, but intelligence of the course of events in other parts of the field induced him to

return, for on his left and centre affairs had taken a very different course. There an attempt to re-form, when Argyll's position was definitely ascertained, threw the lines into some confusion. When the attack began, the well-directed fire of the Highlanders —Stewarts, Mac Kenzies, Camerons—and their after rushes, were steadily received by the English troops, who succeeded, by their fire, in restraining the onset of their assailants. For a time, little advantage accrued to either party, but eventually the tide of battle was turned by Colonel Cathcart's dragoons, who, taking Mar's left wing in flank, charged his horse. These, being more lightly mounted, were forced to yield ground, though not till they had sustained a struggle lasting half-an-hour. At the same moment, the Jacobite foot gave way before the attacks of Argyll's infantry, and a general rout ensued. In the retreat the foot, notwithstanding humanitarian efforts on the part of Argyll to prevent their slaughter, suffered considerably, but the rebel horse of Perth and Angus fought so stubbornly, and made so many counter charges that the driving of them over the river Allan, a distance of three miles, occupied as many hours.

Learning now, in turn, of the fate of his left wing (both commanders had been at a great disadvantage in not being able, from the nature of the ground, to view the scene of action as a whole) Argyll ceased the pursuit, and, joining Wightman, put the remains of his army, about a thousand strong, into order of battle. He then courageously took up a position within the shelter of some enclosures at the bottom of a hill, the Stony Hill of Kippendavie. Upon that hill Mar had already posted his remaining available forces, numbering about four thousand men. Referring to his unenviable situation at this juncture, General Wightman, in his official despatch, says :—"If they had either courage or conduct they might have entirely destroyed my body of foot." But Mar had neither, and his supineness in permitting Argyll with his weary troops to retire scathless towards Dunblane, drew from Gordon of Glenbucket the indignant exclamation (Claverhouse's most telling epitaph), "Oh for an hour of Dundee!" That evening Mar retired to the Roman camp at Ardoch, and there bivouacked.

"Now, if ye speir wha wan the day,
I've tell'd you what I saw, Willie.
We baith did fight, and baith did beat,
And baith did rin awa', Willie."

The equivocal position occupied by Rob Roy during the progress of the rebellion has been much commented upon, and he has been accused, with good cause apparently, of standing idly by, with a body of Mac Gregors and Mac Phersons, during the latter part of the fight, and surlily refusing to engage when his aid might have turned the tide of battle definitely in favour of Mar. His inaction is hit off in the old satirical ballad thus :—

"Rob Roy he stood watch
On a hill for to catch
The booty, for aught that I saw, man ;
For he ne'er advanced
From the place where he stanced,
Till nae mair was to do there at a', man."

The actual position occupied by Rob Roy during the progress of the Rebellion may be gathered, if we may believe himself, from a letter which he, later, addressed to Field-Marshal Wade. In that letter, while not seeking to entirely excuse the fact of his having joined in the Rebellion, he hopes that certain circumstances which he details will, in a measure, extenuate his guilt. He says :—"It was my misfortune, at the time the Rebellion broke out, to be liable to legal diligence and caption, at the Duke of Montrose's instance, for debt alledged due to him. To avoid being flung into prison, as I must certainly have been had I followed my real inclinations in joining the King's troops at Stirling, I was forced to take party with the adherents of the Pretender ; for the country being all in arms, it was neither safe nor indeed possible for me to stand neuter. I should not, however, plead my being forced into that unnatural Rebellion against his Majesty, King George, if I could not at the same time assure your excellency that I not only avoided acting offensively against his Majesty's forces upon all occasions, but, on the contrary, sent his Grace the Duke of Argyll all the intelligence I could from time to time of the strength and situation of the Rebels ; which I hope his grace will do me the justice to acknowledge. As to the debt to the Duke of Montrose, I have discharged it to the utmost farthing," etc., etc.

The losses of the Jacobites at the battle of Sheriffmuir have been stated at eight hundred, and those of the Government forces at six hundred. Indefinite though the battle was, there can be no doubt that to Argyll accrued the fruits of victory. This was more

manifest in the near future than immediately, for many of the clans, for one cause or other, returned to their homes, and, though those who remained were anxious to again attack the forces of Argyll, some of the Lowland leaders spoke of surrendering on terms, and induced Mar, after he had returned to Perth, to enter into communication with Argyll with a view to arrange conditions. To this advance on the part of Mar, Argyll, who was sympathetically anxious to bring the war to a close, and desirous of sparing his countrymen, was forced to reply that he had only power to come to terms with individuals.

The position of the rebels, after the almost simultaneous check at Preston and at Sheriffmuir, was rendered still more hopeless by the evacuation of Inverness by the garrison under Sir John Mac Kenzie of Coul. Believing its retention impossible in view of the approach of the Frasers and Grants under the notorious Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat, Mac Kenzie retired from the northern town on the 12th November.

Affairs were thus sufficiently gloomy in November for the desponding Jacobites; nor were they improved by the 22nd December, when the Chevalier landed at Peterhead. Although, through his dilatoriness, the golden opportunity had been allowed to pass, and although he arrived with only six gentlemen in his train, the announcement of the landing of James on the shores of Scotland was received by his friends at Perth with great delight. On the 6th of January, 1716, he reached the royal palace of Scone, and 1716 A.D. on the following day made his public entry into Perth.

A very slight acquaintance with James the Eighth made it very evident to all how poor a man, physically and intellectually, he really was, and how difficult it would be to stir up any measure of enthusiasm on behalf of one possessed of his "princely virtues." To the Highlanders the physical unfitness of their *Ardrigh* brought a feeling of intense despair. They saw him to be weak and spiritless, not such a one as they could look up to with feelings of respect, not such a one as was likely to lead them to victory. In other respects, also, their expectations were disappointed, for he had come empty-handed and without reinforcements, bringing neither men, arms, nor money. But the disappointment was mutual, and James could hardly conceal his chagrin at the aspect of the camp, and the paucity of his supporters. With the appearance of a select body of Highlanders,

who, at his request, paraded and exercised before him (he wished to see "those little kings with their armies"), he expressed the greatest satisfaction, but their limited number, and the fewness of other troops, caused him the keenest disappointment, and led him to anticipate irretrievable ruin in the near future.

With the passing weeks, the hopelessness of the task the Jacobites had set themselves, the task of effecting a restoration, impressed itself keenly on the leaders. They saw their forces diminishing, while those of Argyll had been largely increased. Before the end of December six thousand men had been added to the little army of the latter, the great bulk of them being Dutch troops under General Cadogan. Recognising their precarious position, and anticipating, in the altered circumstances, a speedy renewal of hostilities on the part of Argyll, the advisers of the Chevalier, with a view to making the approach of the royal army the more difficult, set fire to the villages that lay between the positions of the two armies. These villages were Auchterarder, Muthill, Crieff, Blackford, Dalreoch, and Dunning. This was done about the middle of January. Although this action was not undertaken with cruel intentions, the destruction effected resulted in the greatest hardship to the people, for a snowstorm raged over the district, and many succumbed to the exposure. It is to the credit of the Chevalier that, ere bidding adieu to the country, he left a sum of money for the purpose of indemnifying those who, owing to the necessities of war, had been left homeless, and whose possessions had been destroyed. It was a gracious act, and, probably, a similarly considerate one was never done before or after.

1716 A.D. From the date of the battle of Sheriffmuir till the 29th of January the army of Argyll lay inactive on the banks of the Forth. Circumstances make it probable that Argyll's delay in having recourse to further active measures was due to his humanitarian instincts. He seems to have cherished the hope that, if left alone, the army of the Chevalier would, ere long, gradually melt away. The presence of General Cadogan, however, who had been instructed by the Government to quicken the efforts of the commander-in-chief, compelled the latter to comply at last with his repeated representations. On the 29th, therefore, Argyll's army of ten thousand men moved forward

towards Perth, and, by evening, reached Auchterarder, where it passed the night, shelterless, among the snow.

The news that the Royal army was on the move was received by the forces of the Chevalier with widely varied feelings. By the Highlanders, and the gentlemen volunteers, the prospect of active service was hailed with intense delight, and that notwithstanding the disparity in numbers between the armies. On the other hand, by Mar and those in the inner circle it was received with something akin to dismay, and, at their council meetings, retreat was resolved upon as the only practicable course. When this determination of the council came to the knowledge of the Highlanders, their feelings of disappointment and resentment were intense; insubordination was rife, and mutiny threatening. Realizing the position of affairs, eight hundred Highlanders betook themselves, on the evening of the 30th January, to their homes, and at twelve o'clock that night the retreat began. Next morning, by ten o'clock, the frozen Tay was crossed, and along the Carse of Gowrie the army marched towards Dundee, and thence to Montrose, which they reached on the 3rd February. By this time large numbers of the Highlanders had taken the way to their homes, and when, under General Gordon, Aberdeen was reached on the 6th, not more than one thousand men remained under his command. At Montrose, a carefully formed plan for the escape of the Chevalier, Mar, and others, was put into execution, and they succeeded in joining a French vessel, which, a few days afterwards, landed them on the coast of France.

Meantime, the forces of Argyll pressed forward on their toilsome pursuit, but were unable to come up with the retreating army, though they seized, *en route*, some two hundred stragglers. On the eighth of February they arrived at Aberdeen. Ere this, however, Gordon had led his steadily diminishing ranks through Strathspey into Badenoch, where they quietly dispersed. Later, many of the officers found their way into France by ships that had been sent for them, while another party crossed to Orkney, and thence into Sweden, where they were heartily welcomed into the service of that country.

Thus ended the Rebellion of 1715, a Rebellion from which much might have been expected, had it been carried out with that energy and dash which alone can make of such efforts a

1716 A.D. success. In the spring and early summer of 1716, Acts of Attainder were passed against the Earl of Mar and the other exiled leaders. As regards the prisoners taken in Scotland, a few of them were put to death under martial law, and on the third of September, eighty-nine others were illegally taken from the jurisdiction of the Scots law, and carried from Edinburgh across the Border, there to be tried under English procedure. This action was productive of an intense feeling of irritation in Scotland, and so much were the English law officers impressed by its reality and significance that they released many without trial, while of those who, having pleaded guilty, were sentenced to death, not one of them suffered the extreme penalty, though a few were afterwards transported to the plantations. The following year the great body of the rebels, and among them those that had been detained in prison, found relief by the passing of an Act of Indemnity. For the unfortunate Clan Gregor, however, there was, as yet, no forgiveness, and they were specially excepted from sharing in this act of grace.

With those prisoners who had been taken on English ground after the battle of Preston it fared very differently. Referring to this matter, Tytler says:—"The treatment the Jacobites received on laying down their arms was discreditable in the extreme to their captors; they were confined in one of the churches, and in spite of the severity of the weather were stripped and otherwise ill-treated by the soldiers. A great number of the Highlanders . . . were banished to the plantations of America, and about five hundred of them were sent to Chester jail, and to Liverpool and other prisons, which were then in a most horrible condition," etc., etc. Of the Scottish leaders the Earl of Kenmure was executed on Tower Hill on the 24th of February, 1716; the Earl of Carnwath and Lord Nairne were respited; through the influence of his friends, Lord Charles Murray received a pardon; the Earl of Nithsdale, aided by his heroic wife, escaped, dressed in woman's clothes; the Earl of Winton sawed through the bars of his prison and found his way to Rome; while the hardy Brigadier Mac Intosh, with fifteen of his associates, made his escape on the 4th of May, the day before his trial, after having knocked down the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinels.

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CHAPTER XLII.

Pacification of the Highlands—Jacobite rising with Spanish aid in 1719—Disarming of the Highlanders—Black-mail—Erection of Forts by Wade—Formation of roads—Education in the Highlands—Publication of religious works—Backward state of agriculture.

1717-1738.

On the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715, the Duke of Argyll proceeded to London, and the command of the forces in Scotland devolved upon General Cadogan. The immediate aim of that general was to ensure the tranquillity of the disaffected districts, and to that end he placed parties of Highlanders under Lord Lovat and Brigadier Grant in Brahan Castle, and in Erchles and Borlum, while his own troops were, in large measure, located in various centres convenient to the Highlands. For others of them he found occupation in Lewis, where the Earl of Seaforth had still a considerable body of rebels assembled under the command of Brigadier Campbell (who had served in the army of the Czar), and in Skye, where Sir Donald Mac Donald was at the head of one thousand men. On the approach of the Government forces, however, neither of these leaders made any active resistance. Both of them sought safety in flight, and ultimately retired into France.

These efforts on the part of Cadogan were supplemented by a simultaneous attempt to disarm those clans that had taken part in the late Rebellion. For the arms surrendered, compensation was given, but by many of the chiefs the order was complied with only partially, and with great reluctance. This was true more particularly of Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clanranald, but the ample means possessed by Cadogan for enforcing the order, and the heavy penalties for non-compliance made plain, to even these chiefs, the advisability of making at least an apparent submission. Many arms were, therefore, delivered up without resistance, but when, in 1724, General Wade made an inspection of the northern districts, he soon learned that the Act had been, for all

practical purposes, generally evaded, and that the effective weapons had been retained, while obsolete ones had been delivered up, and the government bounty received for them.

The Rebellion of 1715 had not long been suppressed in the effective fashion we have seen, when a fresh scheme was matured, with a view to the restoration of the house of Stuart. At the head of this project was Charles XII. of Sweden, but he was countenanced in his plans by the Czar Peter of Russia, and also by Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister of Spain. The death of the Swedish King, however, in 1718, brought the scheme to an end ere anything had been attempted. But the exigencies of Continental politics which, for a time, had withdrawn from the Jacobites the support of France, continued to them the support
1719 A.D. of Spain, and, in March of the following year, a considerable expedition was fitted out in that country, with a view to effecting a landing on the coast of England. Simultaneously with this effort it was resolved to make a descent upon Scotland, in order to rouse anew the Scottish Jacobites. Of the ships constituting these expeditions only two frigates reached their destination, all the others having been disabled by a violent storm, and driven back to Spain. The fortunate frigates were two of those destined for Scotland, and on board of them were the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Seaforth, James Keith, later Field-Marshal of Prussia, and three hundred Spaniards, with some arms, ammunition, and money.

Touching at Stornoway, this small expedition was strengthened by a few hundred Mac Kenzies, the clansmen of Seaforth. In the middle of May they sailed up Loch Alsh, and, having received such accession of force in Kintail as raised their little army to fifteen hundred men, they proceeded to fortify the Castle of Eilan Donan at the head of the romantic Loch Duich. Here the rebels remained unmolested for several weeks, but their activity was somewhat paralysed by disputes as to the leadership, between the Marquis of Tullibardine and the Earl Marischal, as also by the fact that so few Highlanders had rallied to their standard. At length, three English ships of war entered the loch, and, battering their fortifications, compelled them to evacuate the Castle, and take shelter in the neighbouring solitude of Glenshiel. Here they encamped in temporary huts, and, on the 11th June, while

yet uncertain what course to pursue, they were attacked by General Wightman, who had hurried to the west with a force of sixteen hundred regular troops, and a body of Frasers, Munros, Sutherlands, and other loyal clans. The rebels occupied the pass at Strachell, and so strong was their position that Wightman, notwithstanding his superiority in numbers, hesitated to attack them. In the fight which ensued, and which, unlike ordinary Highland battles, was prolonged, and lasted for three hours, neither party could definitely claim the victory. The unpromising prospects of the rebels, however, caused them to despair of ultimate success, and it was resolved that, on the following day, the Spaniards should yield themselves prisoners, while the Highlanders, who could with little difficulty effect their escape, should avail themselves of the opportunity to do so. This was done. The Earl Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine retired immediately to the Western Isles, and, later, escaped to the Continent. Wightman, who had lost in the battle twenty-one men killed and one hundred and twenty-one wounded, returned forthwith to Edinburgh in triumph, bearing along with him two hundred and seventy-four Spanish prisoners.

As the result of the survey of the Highlands, already referred to, conducted by General Wade in 1724, a new disarming Act was passed in the following year, on the initiative of the celebrated Duncan Forbes of Culloden. The enforcing of this Act was entrusted to General Wade, who was appointed to the office of Commander-in-Chief. To assist him in the execution of his duties, several frigates were stationed off the northern coasts, while his local land forces were reinforced by large contingents from England. The evident determination of the Government to carry out their purpose thoroughly, was productive of considerable excitement among the leaders of the Jacobites, both at home and abroad, and led to many conferences and exchanges of communications as to the course that should be pursued by the clans. Should they resist, or should they quietly comply? That was the question that agitated them. Ultimately a policy of compliance was wisely resolved upon, with the result that when, in the early autumn, Wade presented himself in the north he was met with every appearance of cordiality. At Castlebran eight hundred sets of arms were delivered up by the Mac

1725 A.D.

Kenzies alone. This clan had for years refused to pay to the collector nominated by the Government the rents on Seaforth's forfeited estate, and Stewart, in his "Sketches," tells us that "when the rents were collected for the purpose of being sent to Lord Seaforth in France, four hundred of his old followers and tenants escorted the money to Edinburgh, to see it safely lodged in the bank. Their first appearance there on this errand caused no small surprise, and strong animadversions were passed on the Government for allowing such proceedings." A stop was now put to this state of things, but the clansmen were not called upon to make good those sums which they had, in their obstinate fidelity, sent to their chief. By the Mac Donalds of Keppoch, Glengarry, Skye, and Glencoe, and by the Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin, a surrender of arms was also made at the respective centres.

With the result of his efforts, and the promises of submission which he had received, the Commander-in-Chief was highly gratified, and it was his firm belief that he had succeeded in entirely divesting the late rebellious clans of their arms. To the King, he conveyed the assurance that the warlike Highlanders were now entirely submissive, and but simple peasants, travelling "to their fairs and markets with only a staff in their hand." There can be no doubt, however, that the Highlanders succeeded in over-reaching Wade, and that very great quantities of the more effective arms had been now, as on a former occasion, carefully concealed. They were meeting force by craft. In connection with this disarming process, licenses were granted by the Commander-in-Chief to drovers and others engaged in such traffic, empowering them to carry arms for the defence of their persons and property.

Notwithstanding the unpopular character of much of Wade's duty, he seems to have succeeded in making himself popular with the people. Writing in 1729 to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, then Lord Advocate, he describes an experience he had had with Caterans thus:—"The Knight and I travelled in my coach with great ease and pleasure to the feast of oxen, which the highwaymen had prepared for us, opposite Loch Garry, where we found four oxen roasting at the same time, in great order and solemnity. We dined in a tent pitched for that purpose. The beef was excellent; and we had plenty of bumpers, not forgetting your Lordship's and Culloden's health; and after three hours' stay,

took leave of our benefactors, the highwaymen, and arrived at the hut of Dalnacardoch before it was dark." It would have been an interesting sight to have looked in upon that strange company. Of course, Wade did not look upon his hosts as highwaymen in the ordinary acceptation of the term, or he would not, we may readily believe, have accepted hospitality at their hands. They were Kearnachs, Caterans, or cattle-lifters, probably leviers of *black-mail*, men whose occupation is effectively described in the following fashion in the Gartmore MS. of 1747 :—"The confusions and disorders of the country were so great, and the Government so absolutely neglected it, that the sober people there were obliged to purchase some security to their effects, by shameful and ignominious contracts of *black-mail*. A person who had the greatest correspondence with the thieves, was agreed with to preserve the lands contracted for from thefts, for certain sums to be paid yearly. Upon this fund he employed one half of the thieves to recover stolen cattle, and the other half of them to steal, in order to make this agreement and *black-mail* contract necessary. The estates of those gentlemen who refused to contract, or give countenance to that pernicious practice, are plundered by the thieving part of the watch, in order to force them to purchase their protection. Their leader calls himself the *Captain* of the *Watch*, and his banditti go by that name. And as this gives them a kind of authority to traverse the country, so it makes them capable of doing any mischief. These corps through the Highlands make altogether a very considerable body of men, inured from their infancy to the greatest fatigues, and very capable to act in a military way when occasion offers." In 1741 the nephew of Rob Roy, one of the Kearnach Captains, agreed by formal contract with various landholders in the counties of Perth, Stirling, and Dumbarton to recover cattle stolen from them, or to pay the value within six months of the loss being intimated, if such intimation were made to him within a reasonable period. The payment for this insurance cannot be considered very heavy, for it only amounted to £5 on each £100 of valued rent.

As early as the year 1567 this contracting for *black-mail* was declared a capital crime for both parties to the contract, as it was a great encouragement to rapine, but in no instance was the law put into execution, and the practice went on in the absence of a capable and energetic government, able to afford protection.

Wade's operations during his term as commander-in-chief were by no means limited to the process of disarming and securing submissions. Here and there, throughout the remote glens, forts of various sizes, and bristling with cannon, were constructed. One of the most commodious of these was Fort-Augustus. Upon the waters of Loch Ness he also launched a small man-of-war named the "Highland Galley," capable of conveying fifty or sixty soldiers, besides the crew. Unlike the ship constructed by Cromwell's soldiers, the "Highland Galley" was built on the banks of the Loch, and we are told that "when she made her first trip she was mightily adorned with colours, and fired her guns several times, which was a strange sight to the Highlanders, who had never seen the like before—at least, on that inland Lake." But of still greater consequence as a means towards the effectual control of the Highlands, was the construction, by this energetic officer, of a system of military roads with their necessary bridges. By these roads the forts were brought into more intimate touch with one another, and along them troops, heavy artillery, and military stores could be hurried into many of the most remote and inaccessible regions, with an ease formerly quite unknown. The standard breadth of the roads was sixteen feet, and the entire length constructed about two hundred and fifty miles. They were eleven years in making. The undertaking was a great and a beneficent one, and laid the foundation for the future opening up of the Highlands. By the chiefs, however, this aspect of the subject was not appreciated at the time, for they complained that they were laid more open to the attacks of their enemies, while the ordinary Highlanders, with their thin brogues, practically eschewed them, and, for long, preferred the springy turf to the gravelly road. By the year 1737, inns for the convenience of travellers might be found along the new roads, located at a distance of about ten miles from each other. A report of that time speaks thus regarding houses for the sale of drink—"The buddiell or aqua vitæ houses—that is, houses where they distil and retail aquavity—are the bane and ruin of the country. These houses are everywhere, and when the price of barley is low, all of them malt and distil in great quantities."

Towards the enlightenment and moral and spiritual training of the people, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Know-

ledge did not a little, at this period, by the founding of churches and schools, both on the mainland and in the isles. After the rising of 1715 the Government, desirous of still further supplementing the supply of schools, procured from Parliament a vote of £20,000 for the purpose. The commissioners, who were appointed to enquire into the subject, presented their report to the Secretary of State, naming therein one hundred and fifty-one places where schools were needed, and specifying in detail the educational necessities. Nothing further, however, was heard of the matter, and it ended with the report. The educational opportunities thus unfortunately continued scanty. It would be, however, a great mistake to consider the Highlanders of those earlier centuries as, in effect, illiterate. From their Sennachies they learned much, and received both impulse and inspiration from their bards and musicians. Intimate association with the higher ranks had also upon them an educative influence, while in many instances they were under the pastoral care of ministers who were not only men of good families, but men of cultivation and learning. It was such influences that made of the Highlanders Nature's own gentlemen, as they have always been accounted, men whose physical surroundings, however poor they might be, did not lead to any feeling of degradation, whose poverty and want of education, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, did not make them other than well-conditioned, physically, mentally, and morally.

As regards the higher classes, there can be no doubt that, from at least as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century, they were men of considerable culture and education. Many of them served as officers in continental armies, many of them were trained at universities either at home or abroad, and the younger members were not infrequently educated for the Church, law, or physic. Burt, who had his headquarters at Inverness during Wade's period of power, and from whose letters we have already quoted, bears testimony that the chiefs and higher tacksmen could speak English, Gaelic, and French with equal fluency. From other sources we learn also that Latin was a common medium of communication, both among themselves, and in their association with strangers. In 1745, several keepers of inns throughout the Highlands found it a convenient means of communication between

them and the officers of Hessian troops, that were quartered among them in connection with the Rebellion.

Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the translation and publication of "The Book of Common Order" and "Calvin's Catechism" as the earliest books printed in Gaelic in Scotland. The following summary, extracted from Brown's "Memorials of Argyleshire," gives a succinct account of later translations of religious works:—"Next after Carswell the meed of praise is due to the Synod of Argyle. In 1649-50 it translated into Gaelic 'The Shorter Catechism' and 'Brief Sum of Christian Doctrine.' In 1653 it commenced to render the Psalms of David into Gaelic metre, and in 1658-9 it printed the first fifty Psalms, and in the following year the remaining one hundred were rendered into metre, were twice revised in January and May, 1661, and were ready for the press, but, on account of the trouble that followed, these were not printed by the Synod till 1694. The translation of the Old Testament from Genesis to Canticles inclusive was resolved upon, 2nd November, 1660. Sixteen members of Synod had the several books assigned to them. There is sufficient evidence in the Records that the greater part of their work had been in MS. before the Restoration, and these MSS., with Dr. Smith's translation of the Prophets, doubtless were the foundation of the first Gaelic Bible published in 1783-1801. Its next translation was 'The Confession of Faith,' prepared by Mr. Daniel Campbell of Glassary, and Mr. David Mac Laurin of Kilfinnan, and published by order of the Synod in 1725. Its final translation was forty-five of the Scripture Paraphrases, prepared by Mr. Alexander Mac Farlain of Kilninver and Kilmelfort, and published in 1758. To the credit of Argyle, be it said, the expenses of translation and printing the above publications were defrayed by the translators.

"After this Mr. James Stewart of Killin, with the assistance of Dugald Buchanan, the poet, rendered a translation of the New Testament into Gaelic at the request and expense of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and had it printed in 1757, but this was no great feat, as he had [some of] the above Gaelic translations in print to guide him, and also a copy of the Irish Old and New Testaments, which Sir Robert Boyle presented to the parish of Killin in 1688."

Affixed to the preface to the complete metrical version of the

Psalms published by the Synod in 1694 is a Gaelic quatrain which has been thus translated :—

"Not mellow voice, but fervent prayer ;
Not music strings, but upright mind,
Not loud-toned voice, but love unfeigned,
Will reach the ears of the Divine."

The first complete metrical translation of the Psalms was made by Mr. Robert Kirke, Episcopal Minister of Balquidder, and published in 1684. To it is also prefixed a quatrain :—

"Little book proclaim thy song
With holy zeal, stay not thy pace ;
Salute the generous sons of Fionn,
And Islesmen of an alien race."

Turning now to a consideration of the physical well-being of the people, and the condition of agriculture in the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find that by that time most of the chiefs had removed from their square towers or castles, and had constructed for themselves more comfortable dwelling houses, "not large," says Burt, "except some few, yet pretty commodious." Within these mansion houses, as in the older keeps, a generous hospitality was exercised by the chiefs. In his letters, Burt passes not a few strictures upon the Highlanders and their surroundings. Some of them were, doubtless, warranted, others of them are the result of imperfect knowledge, while yet others are explained by the circumstance that he had not entrance to the best society in Inverness. The fact is that he was not respected by the Highlanders, for he occupied no high social position, nor was he a military officer. He was probably a surveyor or an accountant. Severe though many of his criticisms are, Burt, with the tastes of a genuine Englishman, could not refrain from acknowledging his hearty appreciation of the "delicious" Highland mutton, and the "sweet and succulent" beef which he could enjoy, to his heart's content, at a penny per pound, while all manner of game, French claret, and brandy rejoiced his soul by their quality and cheapness.

In Burt's day, and till a considerably later period, agriculture in the Highlands, and indeed throughout Scotland generally, was in a very backward condition. It would seem as if there had been, in the centuries that had elapsed since the time of Columba,

a retrogression in the methods of husbandry, rather than an advance. Wasteful practices were indulged in, neither draining nor fencing was promoted, implements were of an ineffective character, and in some instances the weeds were allowed to grow so vigorously that the crops could not be cut, but had to be drawn up by the root. The result of all this was that many parts of Scotland were utterly unable to provide sufficient food for the consumption of their occupants. In the year 1633 it was found necessary to pass a Bill providing "that all impositions for restraining the inbringing of victual may be discharged," on the ground that "the whole Sheriffdoms of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Argyle, Ayr, Wigtown, Nithsdale, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and Annandale are not able to entertain themselves in the most plentiful years that ever fell out without supply from foreign parts."

We can easily infer from this what an amount of misery would be induced in these districts, and more particularly in the Highlands, where they were at all times poor in money, by a succession of a few "ill years." Under such circumstances the people, in their urgent want, had recourse to the gruesome practice, which was, however, common to the poorer inhabitants of all the British Isles up till comparatively recent times, of mixing their meal with blood drawn from the living cow. Of this mixture they made cakes.

Among the wasteful practices that tended to poverty was the neglect to cultivate much of the best part of the land. Cultivation was, in the Highlands, practically, confined to elevated areas, and the low slopes of the hills. One reason for this state of things was that, on the lower levels, with their rich soil, the underwood was more dense than on elevated parts, where grass and heather predominated, and, consequently, clearances were more easily effected in the latter regions. Another reason was the almost entire absence of artificial drainage, as the result of which the more level lands were little better than marshes. That drainage was sometimes practised, after a fashion, in the Highlands, even in the sixteenth century, will be seen from the following extract referring to the draining of mosses in Lismore. It is taken from the "Description of the Isles," written in 1593:—"In mony pairtis thairof are great mosses, and thay will cast ane fowssie or stank throw the ane pairt of the moss, quhairby the water may easier pass away, and teillis syne the remanent of the moss,

so far at the leist as becumis dry be vertue of the fowssie castin, and takis it that thai cast out of the fowssie and guidis the teillit earth thairwith, and thairon will grow the best beir in the Isles, of sic quantitie that I think shame to write it, albeit that I have honest authors to affirm the same." Much of the hill country, as well as the lower lands, was also wasted until quite recent times, for large stretches that are now utilised for cattle and sheep were then given up to deer. It is acknowledged that nowhere even in the south of Europe are the hillsides so clothed with luxuriant grasses as are those of the west of Scotland. For about six weeks of the year, it is true, these splendid pastures were overtaken by the *airidh* or sheiling system; but for the rest of the year they were entirely neglected and wasted. That period of utilisation extended, according to a fixed regulation, from the 8th of June to the 15th of July, and, as many songs testify, the annual migration to beautiful spots among the hills provided a delightful change for the entire township, while it relieved the home pastures for that period. The position of many of these summer residences is still revealed by rings of turf, and they are invariably found to occupy very beautiful situations.

The entire absence of fences, except around their kail-yards, the which, in some districts at any rate, the tenants were instructed by the baronial courts to fence and to stock with red kail and white kail and onions, led also to great disadvantages. From the consequent impossibility of making hay for them, the cattle and horses suffered the greatest hardship in severe winters, and much labour was wasted in herding both sheep and cattle. Mr. Tucker, a commissioner sent down by Cromwell, attributed much of the backwardness of agricultural Scotland to "a lazy vagrancy of attending and following their herds up and down in their pasturage." An English work on Agriculture, published in 1756, refers to the same drawback in that country. Speaking of the necessity of enclosures, it says:—"Upon the edges of all great commons we see a set of miserable cottagers. Hunger is in their faces, and misery upon their backs: they idle away their time in tending their own and other people's cattle, and breed their children to this poor employment." It is only by taking a broad view of these questions, and understanding how other countries were situated at the same time, that we can estimate aright the condition of the Highlands; and it should not be forgotten that,

to this day, fences are by no means common in many continental countries. In time, the recognition that the native cattle could be made much more valuable by attention to breeding and feeding, led to fencing and the reclamation of much land. Then it became possible to grow hay crops, and to provide for the needs of their stock throughout the winter. Up till Burt's time the only crops grown were oats and bere. Neither the turnip nor the potato had been yet introduced. The introduction of the latter into the Highlands from Ireland in 1743 by Clanranald added enormously to the food supply, and, within the next twenty years, it came, as in Ireland, to be one of the chief sources of support. Its cultivation also relieved the ground and enabled rotation to be effectively practised, while it was discovered to have the further advantage that it could be grown upon soil that had hitherto been deemed useless.

By the Highlanders, whose wealth was in cattle, sheep were not reared in any very considerable numbers. The breed, moreover, was small, and the wool hairy and scanty. From the Black Book of Taymouth we learn that it took as many as twenty-seven fleeces to make a stone of wool. Five or six fleeces of the present sheep of the Highlands make up the same weight. Sheep farming began in the Highlands in 1768, but it was not at all universal till more than fifty years later.

Though, as we have seen, mills were in use as far back as the time of Columba, they do not seem to have been at any time very numerous throughout the Highlands. In many districts the quern, from its convenience, continued to be employed even after mills were available. The Rev. Alexander Buchan, who resided in St. Kilda from the year 1705 till 1730, gives the following interesting note on the use of the quern:—"They have no mill going by wind or water in all the country to grind their corn, but hand-mills; which are a pair of stones in form of millstones or grind-stones, about two feet over. They use to spread a cloth (made of wool or straw) or a sheep-skin on the ground to receive the meal, and lay their little mill-stones called querns thereon; the upper stone having a hole at the centre to let in the corn, and a stick, about six inches long and an inch thick, fixed in the middle of the semi-diameter betwixt the centre and the utmost edge for a handle; so one sits down with a leg on each side of the querns, who with one

hand turns the upper quern and with the other feeds in the common barley, the meal all the while issuing out around the querns. Of these querns every family that is able provides a pair, and the poorer sort borrow. They have only one kiln in the isle, which is common to all, for drying their corn; but often they burn the straw of unthreshed oats whereby the oats are sufficiently dryed without the use of the kiln." This latter method of drying the grain is designated "graddan," from the Gaelic word *grad*, signifying speedy. Martin refers to it, and speaks of the skill which the women displayed in dexterously beating off the grain at the proper moment. He says, "experience has taught them this Art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked within an hour after reaping from the ground. The Oat-bread dressed as above is loosening, and that dressed in the Kiln Astringent and of greater strength for Labourers: but they love the *Graddan* as being more agreeable to their taste." Till very recently the same system has been, at times, employed in Harris. But the process, though convenient, was a wasteful one, for much of the straw was destroyed in the combustion.

In the matter of agricultural implements, industry was much handicapped by the continued use of the wooden plough, which simply scratched the surface. For its own particular purpose the *Caschrom* or Foot-plough was a much more effective implement, and its use should not be considered an evidence of backwardness. For the turning up of small patches, where the soil was peaty, it was an ingenious and effective instrument. Similarly, wheel-less carts were, in reality, and in the absence of roads, the only form of vehicle fitted to do the work required of them, while for transplanting material from high ground they were eminently suited. Wheels for such service would have been worse than useless. When employed, they were about 18 inches in diameter and simply made of three pieces of plank pinned together. They were consequently very ineffective, as they soon got worn ir regularly, and led to much jolting in progression. In the operation of harrowing, little can be said in favour of the primitive method, which they sometimes resorted to, of attaching the tails of the ponies to the harrows by means of a rope, the tail and the rope constituting the only trace.

In all those points in agriculture to which we have referred, as well as in the matter of house accommodation and general well-being, the agricultural districts of Lowland Scotland were singularly little in advance of the Highlands till the eighteenth century had well-nigh run its course. For the most part improvements, and the stimulus thereto, must come from without in the first instance, but our nobles and landed gentry, by whom alone improvements could have been introduced, were too busy scheming for the furtherance of their own immediate ends, to have either time or inclination to seek the amelioration of the people's lot. But it is pleasing to contemplate that the conditions of life, degrading though they were in some respects, did not take from the people their noble potentialities. They have at all times shown their capability of culture, and their ability to rise to higher things, when opportunity served.

PUBLIC
HAMPSTEAD

CHAPTER XLIII.

Discontent in Scotland—Forbes's suggestions for the enlistment of Highlanders—The Black Watch—"Bonnie Prince Charlie"—Attempted invasion in 1744—"The 'Forty-five"—Arrival of the Prince—Skirmish at Spean Bridge—Raising of the Standard—Attitude of the Government—Sir John Cope marches to meet the rebels—Evades them in alarm—Charles arrives at Perth—Important Jacobite accessions—Levying of cess—Charles marches south—Alarm in Edinburgh—Canter of Colbridge—Flight of Crown Officials—Capture of Edinburgh—Proclamation of King James.

1738-1745.

While, as we have seen, efforts of a restraining character were made by Field-Marshal Wade and others in the years which followed 1715, the Government of the time continued strangely blind to the necessity that existed that they should endeavour, earnestly, to detach the affections of the people from the old family, and secure their sympathies for the House of Hanover. Throughout Scotland generally such a course of action was urgently called for. Nowhere were the Hanoverians loved or respected, and this condition of things was greatly aggravated by the unsympathetic manner in which Scotland continued to be treated by the Government, and the neglect which her affairs received. All over the country much discontent existed, and although the Lowlanders, as a whole, were too sensible of the privileges they had gained, and the tyranny they had escaped from, ever to wish the restoration of the former dynasty, the same could not be said of the Highlanders, among whom special circumstances—their clan organisation, the power of the chiefs, their limited trade, their more primitive habits, their natural conservatism, their affection for the old race of kings, their martial tendencies, and love of warlike pursuits—made fresh rebellions almost a certainty.

To the mind of Lord President Forbes, this unsatisfactory condition of things was ever present, and caused him much anxious thought. At length, in the autumn of 1738, he devised a plan

which, had it been adopted, would, we cannot doubt, have gone far to make it impossible for any insurrection to arise in the future. To Lord Milton, who at the time filled the office of Lord Justice-Clerk, and had much to do with the management of Scottish affairs under Lord Islay, he thus explained his scheme, with the request that, should he approve of it, he would bring it before his official chief:—"I propose that Government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scottish officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment; and naming the lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns from this list in my hand, which comprehends all the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who are the very persons whom France and Spain will call upon in case of war to take arms for the Pretender. If Government pre-engaged the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relatives at home; and I am persuaded it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands."

1738 A.D. To Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister, to whom the scheme was communicated by Lord Islay, the idea at once commended itself, and received his hearty approval. By his cabinet, however, its reception was very different. They feared that capital would be made out of it by their opponents. These latter, they imagined, would represent that the purpose of the Government was to enslave the people by increasing the standing army; while they were at the same time desirous of pleasing the King, who was anxious that Hanoverians and Hessians should be employed. And so they would have none of the plan, and the Highlanders were continued under those conditions which made them the ready tools of the Jacobite leaders. It was left to Chatham (1756) to make use, in the way proposed by the sagacious Forbes, of the splendid material which had long lain ready to the hands of successive Governments, had they only had the wisdom to have utilised it.

Already, however, several kilted companies, composed mainly of men drawn from the loyal clans, had been organised in the service of the Government. These companies, six in number, and independent the one of the other, were formed in the year 1726. The object of their enrolment was to keep the disaffected High-

landers in check, and to put a stop to the armed vagrancy of broken men. (As early as 1624 two companies, of twenty men each, had been raised in the central Highlands for similar purposes). Their total strength was five hundred and ten, all of them men in a superior rank in life, cadets of gentlemen's families, tacksmen, and others. These men valued the opportunity of enrolment as giving them the much-loved privilege of bearing arms. Their headquarters were the forts that had been built by General Wade. Fort-Augustus was occupied by a company under the notorious Lord Lovat; Balindalloch's company was stationed in Strathspey and Badenoch; George Munro of Culcairn was located with his men in Ross and Sutherland; Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell's company, together with that of John Campbell of Carrick, kept watch and ward in Atholl and Breadalbane; while Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab and his party kept surveillance over the Camerons of Lochaber and Stewarts of Appin. By their fellow-Highlanders, these companies were designated *Am Freiceadan Dubh* or the Black Watch, from the sombre appearance of their dark tartans which contrasted so strikingly with the flaming scarlet of the regular soldiers, who were always spoken of as the *Saighdearan Dearg*, or Red Soldiers.

It is questionable if these companies were really of any very great service, and it is surmised that their sympathies and friendships sometimes interfered with the due performance of their duties. Lovat, too, took unfair advantage of his privileges to discipline great numbers of his clan. This, coming to the notice of the Government, led to the withdrawal of his commission in 1737—a circumstance which caused him great annoyance, and influenced his future conduct.

Three years later a change of a drastic character was made in the organisation of those companies. Four new companies were raised, and the whole formed into a regiment of the line known as the 43rd or Black Watch, afterwards changed into the 42nd—a regiment which all down its history has commanded the enthusiastic admiration of every Briton. Their first Colonel was John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay. Several of the officers of the independent companies retained their positions under the new conditions in which they were placed. 1740 A.D.

In the spring of 1743 it was arranged that the new regiment should proceed on foreign service. To the soldiers, who, it must

be remembered, were, many of them, of a superior rank, this seemed a definite breach of faith. When they took their places in the ranks, it was not with the intention of offering themselves for service in other lands, and much uneasiness was produced when the order was promulgated that they should march into England. To allay this feeling it was given out that King George II. was simply desirous of gratifying his curiosity with a sight of his Highland regiment.

1743 A.D. In the end of April the Black Watch arrived in the vicinity of London, and on the 14th of May they were reviewed on Finchley Common. But no king was there, for his Majesty had just left for Hanover. Three days later the people of London learned with astonishment that the greater part of the rank and file of the regiment had unceremoniously decamped, and were in rapid flight towards their native land. The fact was that the proud clansmen had been disgusted with the boorish treatment they had received from many of the people they had come among, and this, together with stories that had been assiduously and with evil intent retailed to them, to the effect that they were destined for the American plantations, determined them to seek a refuge once again in their own loved country. Avoiding the roads and populous places, they sped on with great secrecy, but at Ladywood, near Oundle, where they were overtaken by Captain Ball, their strange romantic march was stayed. After vainly endeavouring to obtain a free pardon, with the retention of their arms, they were at length induced to surrender.

On the 8th of June all of the deserters were tried by Court-martial, found guilty, and condemned to be shot. Only three of them, however, Corporal Malcolm Mac Pherson, Corporal Samuel Mac Pherson, and Private Farquhar Shaw, suffered the extreme penalty. The others were sent to Gibraltar, Minorca, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, and Georgia. The portion of the regiment that had refrained from deserting had been, ere this, despatched to Flanders, where they served under Field-Marshal Stair, attracting by their dash and discipline the attention of the military world, and laying the foundation of their future glory.

Between the years 1719 and 1743 no active steps had been taken towards the restoration of the more direct line of the Stuarts. Yet the Jacobites were by no means idle. Schemes were

numerous, and intrigues went on in every Court in Europe, but the character of the Chevalier, at that time, was not such as to rouse marked enthusiasm in his favour, and all the plans came to nought. As years passed, however, the hopes of the Jacobites revived, as they found their thoughts increasingly centred, not on James, but upon his promising son, upon him who lives in the pages of historical romance, and in the undying minstrelsy of our country, as the Bonnie Prince Charlie. To the adherents of his house the youthful Charles Edward Louis Casimir had been for many years an object of the greatest interest, and, as he approached manhood, he was represented to them "as a shoot of the stem of Robert Bruce, and as one who by every perfection of mind and body was ordained to play anew the part of that great restorer of the Scottish monarchy." Charles, for his part, talked with much enthusiasm of the land of his fathers and its affairs. At a ball in Rome, on one occasion, he disported himself in Highland garb, and upon his tall, graceful figure the gay Stewart tartan attracted a large measure of admiration.

In the year 1740, when Charles had reached his twentieth year, Continental conditions gave hope of an effort being made, at no distant date, towards a restoration, and among the Scottish Jacobites, who were always more forward than those of England, and more ready to adventure their lives and fortunes in the cause, an association was formed with a view to definite action. Chief among the members were Lord Lovat, the titular Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, and his eldest son, Lord John Drummond, and John Stuart, the brother of Lord Traquair, with William Mac Gregor or Drummond of Bohaldie as agent of the party.

It was not, however, till the beginning of 1744 that matters were sufficiently matured to permit of definite action, and it was determined that an invasion both of England and of Scotland should be attempted, in that year, by means of the troops of France. Early in January the young Prince was summoned from Rome, and on the 20th of that month he reached Paris. Upon the French coast preparations were pushed vigorously forward, and by the 23rd of February they were completed. On that day seven thousand men embarked at Dunkirk. In all, the expedition was to number fifteen thousand men, of whom twelve thousand, under the illustrious Marshal Saxe, were purposed to

1744 A.D.

be landed at some point in England within two or three days' march of London, while three thousand, under the Earl-Marischal, were destined for Scotland, fifteen hundred of them to land at Inverness, and an equal number on the west coast. Prince Charles embarked with Marshal Saxe, and, ere night fell, the fleet stood out to sea, crowding all sail for the shores of Albion. But, as on several previous occasions, when an invasion on behalf of the Stuarts was essayed, the fates were unpropitious, and, with the coming of night, such a gale sprung up as drove the transports and the accompanying squadron back upon the coast of France. Many of the transports, and even those lying in port at Dunkirk, were wrecked, some of them totally, and all the troops on board perished.

The disappointment endured by the youthful Prince at this speedy blasting of his hopes was intense, and it was aggravated when he learned, as he soon did, that nothing more could be expected, at that time, from France. But, bitterly disappointed as he was, Charles did not despair of yet striking a blow for the recovery of his ancestral throne. Months passed, and he still hoped on that France would soon come again to his help; but he hoped in vain. At length, disgusted with his treatment by the French Court, and encouraged by the British defeat at Fontenoy, he resolved to trust himself to the loyalty of those friends who had already hazarded so much in the cause of his house. As he turned over the project in his mind, the idea of restoring his father by the help of his subjects alone increasingly commended itself to him; and, notwithstanding the fact that few of his friends looked upon the proposal with favour, he set about the organisation of that little expedition which led to the romance of the 'Forty-five. This he succeeded in doing without the know-
1745 A.D. ledge of the French ministry, and on the 5th of July (O.S.), 1745, he and his companions, Tullibardine, Æneas Mac Donald (a Paris banker and brother of the laird of Kinloch-Moidart), Sir Thomas Sheridan, George Kelly, Buchanan, Sir John Mac Donald, and Francis Strickland, set sail for the shores of Scotland in a small brig called "La Doutelle." On board the only other ship that was at the Prince's command—the man-of-war "Elizabeth"—most of the war material that he was able to obtain was placed, viz., 1500 fusees, 1800 broadswords, twenty small field pieces, and ammunition. None of that material ever reached its destina-

tion, as the "Elizabeth," when four days out, found it necessary to put back to Brest, after having sustained a stubborn and bloody encounter with a British man-of-war called the "Lion." In the fight both vessels received much damage. Undeterred by this great loss, and uninfluenced by the opinion of some of his friends, who advised him to return to France meanwhile, Charles pursued his way towards the west coast of Scotland, and on the 23rd of July (o.s.) "La Doutelle," having escaped, by her superior speed, the attentions of another British ship, cast anchor off the island of Erisca, which lies between Barra and South Uist.

It was under circumstances sufficiently depressing that the young Prince made his first acquaintance with the land of his forefathers. For the first few days not a man did he meet with but expressed his disapproval of the step he had taken in coming to Scotland unsupported as he was, not a man but prophesied failure, and advised his return to France. On Erisca he was visited by Alexander Mac Donald of Boisdale, uncle of the young chief of Clanranald, and upon him Charles employed his powers of fascination and persuasion with a view to securing his aid. But he failed. Setting sail, the crew of the "Doutelle" approached the mainland, and came to anchor in Lochnanuagh, a rocky bay between Moidart and Arisaig. For the purpose on hand the situation chosen was eminently suited, and Charles was soon visited by the young Clanranald, and by his friend Mac Donald of Kinloch-Moidart, as also by the Lairds of Glenaladale and Dalily.

According to Home, all of these gentlemen were obstinate as Boisdale, and not one of them could he inspire with his own confidence in the success of his undertaking. But there was one man present at that fateful interview on the deck of the "Doutelle" upon whom the words of the Prince had a very different effect. This was Ranald Mac Donald, brother of Kinloch-Moidart. That Ranald was burning to declare himself Charles instinctively saw, and, turning to him as if in despair, he said, "You at least will not forsake me." "I will follow you till death, were there no other to draw a sword in your cause," was his immediate and enthusiastic reply. Charles was moved to tears. At once the enthusiasm of Ranald proved contagious, and, forgetful of the extreme peril to life and property, the surrounding chiefs banished their scruples, and gave in their adhesion

to the cause. It was the spark that ere long set the Highlands in a blaze.

Landing in the Clanranald country, the Prince and his friends now took up their abode in the farmhouse of Borrodale, tenanted by Angus Mac Donald. By the young Clanranald, a bodyguard of one hundred men was provided for Charles, while he himself went on a mission to Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat and the Laird of Mac Leod. These powerful chiefs, both of whom were understood to be friends to the cause, he, however, found obdurate, and, on his departure, they immediately entered into communication with Lord President Forbes. Not long after, they accepted commissions in King George's service.

To all except the Prince, who continued confident and full of heart, this rebuff was extremely depressing, but in the adhesion of the brave Cameron of Lochiel, which took place within the next few days, they found ample reason to rejoice. His was a powerful personality, and his decision was of the greatest consequence to the Prince. It was not, however, to the force of argument that Donald Cameron yielded. The weakness of the pleas advanced he had no difficulty in seeing, and he combated them vigorously; but, face to face with the fascinating Prince, and touched by his appeals, he, in spite of his own better judgment, cast prudence and discretion to the winds, and was conquered.

By this time Charles had donned the Highland garb, and in every way he set himself to secure the sympathies of the Highlanders among whom he moved. Towards this his natural affability, and frank manly bearing, his readiness to join in their sports, and his efforts at mastering Gaelic largely contributed, and there could be no doubt that he was speedily winning all hearts.

1745 A.D. On August the eleventh the Prince left Borrodale, and went on a visit to the house of Kinloch-Moidart. Here he was joined by his future secretary, John Murray of Broughton, who undertook the dispersion of the necessary manifestoes and proclamations. From Kinloch-Moidart he removed on the 18th to Glenaladale, where he was cheered by the adhesion of the veteran Gordon of Glenbucket, who, as we have seen, had been engaged in the affair of 1715. Communications with the heads of several neighbouring clans had brought in further favourable responses, and already it had been determined that the standard should be

raised, on the 19th of August, in the narrow vale of Glenfinnan, near the western extremity of Loch Shiel.

Ere that date a minor affair occurred which was taken by the insurgents as a good augury. It was practically the beginning of hostilities. In our description of the occurrence we will follow Murray of Broughton's version, as given in his recently published "Memorials." He had been in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of action at that juncture. In the position of things in the west, it was determined by those in authority to reinforce the garrison of Fort-William by two companies of the Royal Scots, drawn from Fort-Augustus. In their journey the soldiers had necessarily to pass through the most disaffected district in Scotland, but nothing unusual occurred till the little party had reached High Bridge, eight miles from Fort-William, where they were confronted by a small body of armed Highlanders under Mac Donald of Tirnadrish, who had been hurried forward by Keppoch with a view to, at least, hindering the march while he endeavoured to gather more of his clan together. "Mr. Mac Donald, to make the best of the small number of men [eleven and a piper], had placed them behind the Inn to waite for the approach of the enemy, and as soon as they appeared upon the opposite bank above the Bridge he ordered his Piper to play, and rushed out from behind the house with a loud huzza. By this sudden and unexpected attack ye troops were struck with such an unaccountable panick as with one consent to run of without so much as taking time to observe the number or quality of their enemy, tho to do Captain Scott justice, he endeavoured all in his power to prevail with them to return, but as his brother officers did not show the same spirit or inclination to curiosity his entreaties were of no effect." For four or five miles the soldiers continued their retreat at their utmost speed. During all this time the Highlanders, diplomatically, contented themselves with following them up at a respectful distance, till their chief should arrive with reinforcements. "They now began to exchange fires, and the two companies continued retreating and firing till their whole ammunition was exhausted without so much as wounding one of the Highlanders, who by this time were encreased to about the number of forty-five or fifty att most, and these not half armd." At this juncture Keppoch ran in upon them with his drawn sword, and, having called upon

them to surrender, they laid down their arms. Of the soldiers, a sergeant and four men were killed, while Captain Scott and about a dozen others were wounded. The prisoners were eighty-two in number, and both they and the wounded were kindly treated by the victors. By this time Cameron of Lochiel had arrived upon the scene with five or six of his men, and by him the captives were conveyed to his house at Auchnacarry.

1745 A.D. On the morning of the 19th August Prince Charlie and his more immediate retinue, together with one hundred and fifty of the men of Morar, sought the appointed rendezvous for the "gathering of the Clans." It was with a sense of bitter disappointment that the expectant Prince arrived at the little hamlet in picturesque Glenfinnan, only to find a deserted glen, and not an armed clansman to welcome his approach. For two long hours did he wait, hours of multitudinous surmise and suspense, when at last his deepening fears were allayed by the welcome sound of the distant bagpipe. A moment later and a body of men were seen cresting the hill and entering the glen.

> "The tartan plaid it is waving wide,
> The pibroch's sounding up the glen."

They were the Camerons, from six to eight hundred in number, advancing in two columns with the prisoners taken at Spean Bridge between them. Ere nightfall 1500 men—Camerons, Mac Donalds, Stewarts—gladdened the heart of their Prince by their presence, and the solitary, gloomy glen of the morning resounded to the martial strains of the *Piob Mhor*.

The arrival of the Camerons was the signal for the unfurling of the Standard, and upon the aged Tullibardine the honour was conferred. Aided by two assistants, the chief of Atholl's house let loose upon the breeze, amid the greatest enthusiasm, the red silken banner with its central spot of white. Immediately thereafter the various State declarations were duly made in name of James VIII., and the Prince addressed his followers in an animated speech, in which he dwelt upon the reasons which influenced him in his determination to place his faith in the Highlanders rather than in the men of England or Ireland, and expressed his firm resolve to conquer or to perish.

Meantime, rumours had reached the Government as early as the 2nd July, that the landing of Prince Charles in the

Highlands was contemplated, but little credence was placed in them. By the end of July, however, definite information of the sailing of the Prince had been received, and it was even rumoured that he had landed. In consequence of this communication a proclamation was issued on the 1st of August offering a reward of £30,000 for his apprehension. Other slight precautionary measures were also taken, but an insurrection was considered so very improbable, even by the sagacious Lord President Forbes, that, although the troops in Scotland were at that time very few, no step was taken to reinforce them.

Not until the 8th of August was definite intimation conveyed to Government of the arrival and landing of the Prince. That information had been communicated, in the first instance, to Campbell of Stonefield, Sheriff of Argyll, by Campbell of Aird, factor to the Duke of Argyll in Mull and Morven, and the Sheriff in turn forwarded it to Lord Milton, the Lord Justice Clerk, by whom it was sent express to Sir John Cope, that unfortunate commander-in-chief who has earned such an unenviable place in Jacobite song.

Though still entirely doubtful that any insurrection of a formidable character was to be expected, the Lord President hastened north to Culloden in order that he might place himself in communication with the heads of the well-affected clans, and, at this time, he received promises of loyal support, when occasion required, from the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Reay, Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat, the Laird of Mac Leod, and the chiefs of the Grants and Munros. That the recent disarming Act was now a great disadvantage to the Government was forcibly brought home to them, for, however anxious the loyal clans might be to support the cause of George II., they were, to a large extent, practically unable to do so for want of the necessary arms. To remedy this matter, the Lord-President at once applied to the Government for arms, and busied himself in raising some independent companies.

On the 20th of August Sir John Cope, eager to distinguish himself, and to nip the insurrection in its inception, left Stirling and proceeded northwards, with a force of 1500 foot. In the expectation that, as he proceeded, his ranks would be swelled by many hundreds of zealous volunteers, for he had received promises of support from the Duke of Atholl, Lord Glenorchy, 1745 A.D.

and others, he carried along with him an extra thousand stand of arms, but by the time he reached Crieff, he realised that he was fated to be disappointed in that hope, and, as the arms were cumbersome on the march, he at once sent back three-fourths of them. These circumstances, together with difficulties in the transport of provisions, sufficed to cool the zeal of Cope very considerably, and, were his orders less imperative, he would have gladly retraced his steps to Stirling.

The 20th of August also witnessed the beginning of the march of the insurgents towards the south. By the close of that day, having been joined by the Grants of Glenmoriston and the clansmen of Glengarry, they numbered well-nigh two thousand men. Not a man of them but was devoted to the Prince, and eager to strike a blow for the cause they had so unselfishly espoused.

> "Come weal, come woe, we'll gather and go,
> And live or die wi' Charlie."

Reaching Aberchallader, within three miles of Fort-Augustus, on the 26th August, Charles learned that the Royalist General was then in the neighbourhood of Dalwhinnie. Anticipating a struggle among the hills, and recognising the importance of securing the most favourable possible position in the pass over Corryarrick, Charles pressed forward, but, ere the main body had gained the ridge, his advanced party sent him the surprising intelligence that not a redcoat was to be seen either upon the mountain-side or in the valley beneath. This position of affairs is explained by the fact that each party had received exaggerated reports of the strength of the other. Relying upon the information he had received, Cope had become alarmed, and summoned a council of war. At that Council it was weakly determined that the wisest course, in the circumstances, was neither to await the approach of the insurgents, nor to attempt to proceed towards Fort Augustus, as had been intended, nor yet to retreat to Stirling, where they might be in a position to protect the Lowlands, but to evade the enemy by marching upon Inverness, where they expected to receive reinforcements. Thither, they had also concluded, they would be followed by the enemy. It was a piece of miserable strategy, as Cope soon learned, for, instead of dogging his steps to Inverness, the exulting rebels,

guided by the usually correct military instincts of Charles, seized their opportunity, and marched at once upon the unprotected Lowlands. Within the next day or two, Ewan, eldest son of Cluny Mac Pherson, who had been captured by the rebels, gave in his adherence to the cause, and immediately hastened to the north to rouse his clan. At this time, also, some smaller tribes, led captive by the personal charm of the Prince, joined his ranks, but Charles was much disappointed by the attitude taken up by Lord Lovat, father-in-law of Cluny, who played a waiting, double game. Lovat's intention was to throw his influence, ultimately, on the winning side, while he meantime busied himself in making proposals for his own advantage. He fain would be a Duke.

Ere the end of August, Prince Charles was enjoying the hospitality of his aged supporter, the Marquis of Tullibardine, at the Castle of Blair, which, on the approach of the rebels, had been evacuated by the then Duke of Atholl, younger brother of the attainted Marquis. Here he was joined by several notable Jacobites—Viscount Strathallan and his son, Oliphant of Gask and his son, Murray (brother of Lord Dunmore), John Roy Stewart, and others—and on the 4th September the insurgent army entered Perth. Crowds assembled to see the youthful Prince, and his genial manner and amiable condescension won the hearts of all, while his wearing of the Highland garb, and his readiness to share all difficulties and dangers, made a still deeper impression upon the susceptible Highlanders.

In a very able and striking letter which Charles addressed to his father from Perth on the 10th September, there occur the following passages, which disclose his relations to his followers at that time:—"I have occasion to reflect every day on your Majesty's last words to me, that I should find power, if tempered with justice and clemency, an easy thing to myself, and not grievous to those under me. 'Tis owing to the observance of this rule, and to my conformity to the customs of these people, that I have got their hearts, to a degree not to be easily conceived by those who do not see it. One who observes the discipline I have established would take my little army to be a body of picked veterans; and to see the love and harmony that reign amongst us, you would be apt to look on it as a large well-ordered family, in which every one loves another better than himself. I keep my health better in these wild mountains than

I used to do in the Campagna Felice, and sleep sounder lying on the ground than I used to do in the palaces of Rome."

At Perth the Prince received two most valuable acquisitions in the adhesion of the young Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, brother of the Marquis of Tullibardine. The latter was an able soldier, and of the greatest service to the cause, though he was, unfortunately, possessed of a supercilious imperious manner, which was provocative of considerable unpleasantness between him and his colleagues. Upon both of these noblemen Charles immediately conferred the rank of Lieutenant-General. Ere leaving Perth, the Prince's exhausted exchequer was replenished by levying cess on the towns north of the Tay, though the sums demanded do not seem to have been by any means excessive. On the eleventh September the march to the south was resumed.

In his determination to hasten towards Edinburgh, Charles was influenced by information he had received that Cope had, ere this, arrived at Aberdeen, where he awaited shipping that should transport his troops to the Forth. Pushing forward and across the Fords of Frew the rebels, by rapid marches, reached, on the 16th, the neighbourhood of Corstorphine, within four miles of Edinburgh.

Meantime, the citizens of Edinburgh were in a state of no little terror and confusion. Their defenders were few: within the walls they had none but the small city-guard that could be relied on, while the walls were not in a condition to successfully resist a siege. Under the superintendence of Colin Mac Laurin, the celebrated mathematician, the defences were, in a measure, speedily improved, and guns were mounted on the bastions. Volunteers were also hurriedly enrolled, and on the approach of the rebels to Corstorphine the walls were manned by a force of seven hundred men; but with their limited means of defence, with a considerable number of Jacobites in their midst, and the Provost himself a Stewart, suspected of Jacobite leanings, there was little to give confidence to the general body of the people, and they eagerly longed for the approach of Cope.

1745 A.D. On the 15th, Hamilton's dragoons from Leith marched through the city with a view to joining the troops of Colonel Gardiner in the neighbourhood of the city walls. On their march they were accompanied by the city-guard, and, amid the cheers of the

citizens, a considerable number of the volunteers also fell in ; but by the time the city gates were reached, the ardour of the latter had cooled, and only two dozen of them passed through the gates with their commander. This little remnant it was thought desirable to send back also to the city, and the others, including one hundred and eighty of the Edinburgh regiment, proceeded alone.

The following day the dragoons were afforded an opportunity of showing to the despairing citizens that a wholesome terror of the Highlanders filled their souls, equally with the souls of the raw volunteers. As a few officers belonging to the rebel army were reconnoitring in the neighbourhood of Corstorphine, they unexpectedly came upon an advanced party of the enemy's horse. Approaching these latter in the coolest fashion, the rebel officers discharged their pistols almost in their faces. What their surprise was, we may imagine, when they beheld the Royalists immediately turn tail and fly with the utmost precipitancy. They were panic-struck, and, as in their flight, they communicated their fears to the main body, their commander, General Fowkes, ordered an immediate and a general retreat. That retreat was speedily converted into a disgraceful flight, and the road was strewed with swords, pistols, and firelocks. The foot returned to the city, but the dragoons refused to consider themselves safe till they found themselves sheltered within the walls of Dunbar and the neighbouring towns. In these towns they arrived, says Home, "in a condition not very respectable." Such was the Canter of Coltbridge.

Whilst the dragoons were thus fleeing though no enemy pursued, the city authorities, stricken with terror at the ignoble flight of their chief defenders, were wholly at a loss what course to pursue. Already they had been summoned by the Prince to surrender, and many there were, impelled by various motives, who demanded that this should be instantly done. The Crown officials, judges, lawyers, etc., took refuge in Dunbar ; the volunteers, having no general officer to command them, resolved to disband themselves, and returned their arms to the Castle ; stormy debates were engaged in by the Town Council, and by them two successive deputations were sent to the Prince with a view to arranging time for deliberation. To the Council the gaining of time was of the utmost consequence, for late at night they had learned that Cope had arrived off Dunbar.

But time was also of consequence to Charles, for he always recognised the wisdom of acting with a boldness fitted to paralyse his enemies, and, while he only allowed the Council till 2 a.m. to send him a definite answer to his summons, he determined to take advantage of any opportunity for the capture of the city that might offer during the night. This, as it happened, presented itself after a fashion that could hardly have been anticipated. Close by the gate lay in hiding a small party of Camerons, who, at an earlier hour, had endeavoured to gain admittance, by stratagem, through the Netherbow Port, but had failed. To each man of that party there had been promised a gratuity of two shillings should they be successful. After the return of the second deputation, already referred to, the driver who had conveyed the deputies had occasion to return with his coach through the Netherbow Port, on his way to his stables in the Cannongate. The exit of the coach now afforded the ambushed party a favourable opportunity of effecting their purpose. This they eagerly seized, and rushing in, headed by Captain Ewan Mac Gregor, they overpowered the sentinels, and made themselves masters of the gate. Close by, and associated with the Camerons, was a body of about 900 Highlanders, under the command of Lochiel, Keppoch, and Stewart of Ardshiel, who immediately entered and took quiet and unopposed possession of the city. In the morning the inhabitants awoke to find that what some of them dreaded had actually occurred, and the city had passed into the hands of new masters.

That same day King James VIII. was proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, amid the acclamations of the people. At the ceremony the magistrates, heralds, and pursuivants in their official robes assisted, although by compulsion, and Holyrood was again occupied by a royal Stuart. Not even in his most sanguine moments, since that day on which he raised the Standard in distant Glenfinnan, could Charles have imagined that within a month, and without the shedding of one drop of blood, he would be in possession of Scotland's capital, and be welcomed, as he now was, before the residence of his royal ancestors by an enthusiastic, acclaiming crowd, that filled the park. The day closed among the most brilliant festivities, and again Charles stole the hearts of the people.

PUBLIC
HAMPSTEAD

CHAPTER XLIV.

Advance of Cope—Jacobite recruits—Battle of Prestonpans—Edinburgh gaieties—Strengthening of the rebel army—March into England—Capture of Carlisle—Lukewarm English Jacobites—Cumberland's army cleverly evaded—Arrival at Derby—Alarm in London—Retreat from Derby—A desperate chase—Lord George Murray's victory at Clifton—Scotland re-entered—Mulcting of Dumfries and Glasgow.

1745-1746.

THREE days after Prince Charles had taken up his abode in Holyrood, Cope set out from Dunbar to the relief of the capital with a force of from two to three thousand horse and foot, and six pieces of artillery. During the immediately preceding days, the army of Charles had been strengthened by the adhesion of Lord Kilmarnock, Lord Elcho, the Earl of Kelly, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stuart Thriepland, Sir David Murray, Lockhart, younger of Carnwath, and several other Lowland gentlemen; while bands of Mac Lachlans, Grants of Glenmoriston, and some additional Atholl men had also come in. There was now at the command of the Prince a body of 2,400 men, but many of them were miserably clad, and most imperfectly armed. Considerable numbers of them were not possessed of any weapon other than a club or cudgel, whilst others had to be content with a clumsy, but murderous scythe-blade, set straight on a pitch-fork handle or shaft. Charles, nevertheless, resolved to go forth and give battle to the foe.

On the 20th September, Sir John Cope, learning of the approach of the rebels, resolved to await their attack at the village of Prestonpans, and there he took up a strong position. In that position he had not only the command of houses and enclosures, but was protected by a morass. Many of his officers assured him that the Highlanders would not venture to engage such an army as his. Such a thought might very well have passed through the minds of many besides the royalist officers, for thirty years had passed since the Highlanders had borne arms in active service.

It might very well now be a question as to how they would behave when brought face to face with troops, many of whom were veterans of the continental wars. But the chiefs had little fear. Where they led, they knew their men would follow, and through their mouth-piece, Keppoch, who had served in the French army, they expressed the utmost confidence as to the result.

Prudently keeping to the higher ground, the Highlanders came in sight of the red-coats of the royalists in the neighbourhood of Tranent, and took up a position within a mile of them. Now, for the first time, the two armies met face to face, and yells of defiance burst forth from both as they looked curiously on one another. Eager for battle, the clans demanded that they should be at once led on, but a careful scrutiny of the ground made it plain that the morass and the sheltering walls rendered an attack in front impossible, except at great expense of life, and aggressive movements were consequently deferred till the morrow.

Notwithstanding arguments advanced by his officers, who wished to hearten the men by giving them the opportunity of acting as the aggressors, Cope, satisfied with the security of his position, resolved to remain, meantime, on the defensive. This determined upon, the royalist general retired to comfortable quarters at Cockenzie. Charles had for a bed a shake-down of pease straw, and for a covering the "broad canopy of heaven."

Though wanting in comfort and elegance, the quarters of the Prince had the advantage of convenience, and, while it was yet dark, a message was conveyed to him by Lord George Murray and several chiefs who had been holding an informal council, and to whom, as to their followers, a dilatory policy was distasteful. That message was to the effect that an East Lothian gentleman named Anderson had offered to lead them to the plain below by a circuitous path, with which he was acquainted. At once the suggestion was seized by the Prince, and he forthwith issued
1745 A.D. orders to set the army in motion. By four o'clock the whole force was in full march, and, as they stepped out in the darkness, along the mountain path, they heard the cheering words of the Prince, "Follow me, gentlemen; by the assistance of God I will this day make you a free and happy people." By the time they had reached the firm ground of the plain, morning was breaking, but the white mists still concealed their movements. At length

the tread of armed men fell on the ears of the outposts, and immediately the alarm was given. There was no surprise, for Cope had ample time, as he himself acknowledged, to completely order his defence. As originally purposed, his infantry were stationed in the centre. On the left were the dragoons of Hamilton, whilst those of Gardiner occupied the right, with the artillery, served by sailors, in front of them.

Departing from their marching formation—two open columns three abreast—the rebels now took up their usual fighting formation, arranging themselves in clan groups, with the best armed men in front. On the right of the first line were the Mac Donalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry, and Glencoe, together with a few Grants, the whole being under the command of the titular Duke of Perth. The left, made up of Camerons, Stewarts, and Mac Gregors (the latter under the immediate command of James, son of Rob Roy) was led by Lord George Murray. It was with the greatest reluctance that the Prince consented to abandon the head of the army. He, however, closely associated himself with the second line, which was commanded by Lord Nairne, and which was composed of the Atholl men, the Robertsons of Struan, Menzieses, Drummonds, and Mac Lachlans, with a small body of mounted gentlemen.

The Highlanders' manner of fighting at this period has been thus described by Chevalier Johnstone, aide-de-camp to the Prince :—"They advance with rapidity, discharge their pieces when within musket length of the enemy, and then, throwing them down, draw their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand with their target, they dart with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemies' bayonets, bending their left knee, they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets that receive the thrusts of the bayonets, which they contrive to parry, while at the same time they raise their sword-arm and strike their adversary. Having once got within the bayonets and into the ranks of the enemy, the soldiers have no longer any means of defending themselves, the fate of the battle is decided in an instant, and the carnage follows ; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with the dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword. . . . The attack is so terrible that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it ; and, if the

swords of the Highlanders once came in contact with them, their defeat is inevitable."

On the present occasion it was with difficulty that the impetuous Highlanders could be restrained until the fighting formation could be completed. When, at length, the pipes gave the signal to advance every man of them took off his bonnet, and gave utterance to a short prayer. Then replacing their bonnets, and pressing them well down over the brow, they went forward to the attack in characteristic fashion. Approaching the red-coats at a sharp trot, they discharged their pieces, and, throwing them away, dashed forward sword in hand amidst their foes. On the left the Camerons and Stewarts, nothing daunted by the "musket's mother," as the Highlanders designated the cannon, swept down upon the artillery, storming the battery, and instantly driving the sailors from their posts. Behind these latter were the dragoons of Gardiner, and these, in spite of the strenuous efforts of their brave commander, and notwithstanding the fact that the ground was specially suited to their movements, once again gave evidence of their speed in flight, and of their wholesome dread of the Highland charge. On the right, the Mac Donalds dashed like a torrent on the dragoons of Hamilton, and scattered them in similar fashion. By the royal infantry, whose flanks were now left unprotected, a better stand was made, but the charge of the Highland centre speedily broke down all resistance, and within five minutes from the commencement of the battle all were borne back, and the rout and ruin of the army of Cope were complete.

After the battle it was remarked that not a single bayonet was stained with blood. Indeed, of the Highlanders only thirty were killed, and seventy wounded. On the part of the Royalists, the slaughter that ensued was considerable, for the nature of the ground made retreat difficult. By the Prince, every effort was made to check the carnage. Riding up and down the field, he called upon the clans to spare his "father's deluded subjects," and by the Highlanders, who afterwards showed much sympathy with the wounded, quarter was readily offered. Notwithstanding this, six hundred were slain, and among the number was the brave Colonel Gardiner. Of the infantry, scarce 200 escaped, the rest being either slain or made prisoners. The lack of cavalry on the part of the Jacobites enabled the dragoons, however, to make good their escape with little loss.

Adam Skirving's rollicking ballad has fixed, for all times, the popular estimate of the much-ridiculed Johnny Cope. For his generalship and lack of military capacity, nothing but laughter and pitiless contempt was, at the time, vouchsafed by Whig and Tory, peer and peasant, and from no quarter did a ray of sympathy greet him. The subsequent investigations of a Court of Enquiry, however, bore out that, on every occasion, Sir John had made the best dispositions possible in the circumstances.

In the speed of his retreat, Cope was surpassed by two of his general officers, Brigadier Fowlks and Colonel Lascelles, to whom, according to Dr. Waugh, on their arrival at Berwick the old General, Lord Mark Kerr, sarcastically remarked, "Good God! I have seen some battles, heard of many, but never of the first news of defeat being brought by the general officers before." This circumstance the balladist associates with Sir John himself.

> "Says Lord Mark Car, 'Ye are na blate
> To bring us the news o' your ain defeat,
> I think you deserve the back o' the gate;
> Get out o' my sight this morning.'"

In his despatch to Lord Tweeddale, written at the close of the day of the battle, Cope thus characterises the Highlanders' onset: —"I cannot reproach myself; the manner in which the enemy came on was quicker than could be described, and (of which the men had been long warned) possibly was the cause of our men taking a most destructive panic." Such was the Battle of Prestonpans, otherwise styled by the Jacobites the Battle of Gladsmuir and the Battle of Tranent.

The booty that, upon this occasion, fell to the victors was right welcome, and the arms and clothing were particularly so. In the military chest was found a sum of £2500, which served to supply the Prince with much-needed funds, while the cannon supplemented an arm of the service that badly required strengthening.

In his kindly care for the wounded, in the strenuous efforts he made to secure the decent burial of the dead, and in his deep sorrow at the death of so many of his "father's subjects," Charles displayed a large humanity, which we believe was natural to him. Indeed, throughout the whole conduct of this campaign—his letters to his father, his proclamations, his frequent evidences

of kindly feelings, and his modesty in the hour of triumph—his character presents itself in a very favourable light, and he shows himself to have been possessed of very noble, as well as of very able, parts.

1745 A.D. The day after the battle, the army of the Prince made its triumphal entry into Edinburgh, a hundred pipers playing, the while, the Jacobite air, "The king shall enjoy his ain again." Everywhere Charles was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Levees, drawing-rooms, and balls were held at Holyrood; ladies basked in the sunshine of his presence; and night after night concerts, balls, and receptions were given by the Lowland gentry. "All the fine ladies, if you will except one or two," says Lord-President Forbes, "became passionately fond of the young Adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner." It was very different in England where, on hearing of Sir John Cope's defeat, a panic seized the people, and every Scotsman was suspected of being a Jacobite. Parliament was speedily called together, and far-reaching measures were at once taken for the defence of the country.

The army of the Prince, meantime, encamped at Duddingstone, where the men conducted themselves with great decorum, and were a source of interest to their Lowland fellow-countrymen. On one occasion some of the officers, when at service in the West Church at the foot of the rock, were not a little confounded as well as amused by hearing the Rev. Mr. Mac Vicar pray thus for Charles:—"And for the man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee in mercy to take him to thyself, and give him a crown of glory." Within the city all the other churches remained closed during the stay of the Prince.

In accordance with their usual custom, not a few of the Highlanders had, after the battle, taken French leave, and gone home to lodge their booty, but day by day fresh accessions were made to the Jacobite ranks. With Lovat, Mac Leod, and Mac Donald of Sleat communication was still kept up, but Forbes was yet in the north, using all his great influence to counteract the machinations of the agents of Charles.

Meanwhile, the Castle of Edinburgh had been closely blockaded by the rebels, but, as General Guest, its governor, threatened at last to batter the town, if the garrison were not permitted to supply themselves with provisions, Charles, whose expressed

desire was to save, not to destroy, humanely resolved to raise the blockade, and permit of free access.

In the provisioning and paying of his men during their stay in Edinburgh, the Prince also met with some difficulty, and, notwithstanding the levying of contributions on the towns, considerable discontent on the score of pay occasionally showed itself. In the matter of financial and commissariat levies, Glasgow compromised for a large sum by the payment of £5,500, while Edinburgh was compelled to furnish, for immediate use, two thousand tents, two thousand targets, six thousand pairs of shoes, and other articles valued at over £15,000. By requisitions on unfriendly noblemen and gentlemen, and by appeals to his friends, Charles still further added to his resources.

Between Charles and his Council the most perfect harmony did not always exist at this time, the chief point of difference being found in the fact that the Prince was anxious to push on into England, while the Council, which consisted of the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, O'Sullivan, Lords Pitsligo and Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Secretary Murray, and all the Highland chiefs, thought it wiser to await the coming of Field-Marshal Wade, who was advancing towards the north. But although their numbers had been, for weeks, much greater than those attached to the Prince's army, the advance of Wade's forces was tantalisingly slow; for dread of the Highlanders was great upon them, and they were probably ignorant of their actual numbers.

While writhing under this delay, Charles was further handicapped by the vacillating conduct of the French Court. He was led to expect substantial aid, but it did not come; and in face of the foreign troops that were being hurried into England by the Government, he could not help realising that his chances of success in that country depended very much on the active interposition of France. While he yet lingered in Edinburgh, there came to him, almost the only help that he ever got from his Continental friends, viz., a sum of £5000, 5000 stands of arms, six field pieces, and a few French and Irish officers.

By the end of October, the army of Charles numbered some six thousand men, many of them, however, too old or too young for effective service. From the wilds of Aberdeenshire Gordon of Glenbucket and Lord Lewis Gordon had brought down four

hundred men ; from the eastern lowlands of the same county the venerable Lord Pitsligo arrived with a following of one hundred and twenty men ; from Badenoch Mac Pherson of Cluny led a body of three hundred men ; Lord Ogilvie came in from Strathmore and the Mearns with six hundred men ; and Mac Kinnon joined with one hundred and twenty men ; while a considerable number of Lowland gentry and their retainers, four hundred and fifty in all, enrolled themselves as volunteers. Except for these latter, Lowland enthusiasm was unproductive of recruits, and Charles had perforce to learn that, if he was to gain his end, it must be effected, to all intents and purposes, by the efforts of his loyal Highlanders alone. And yet he had at his command only half the number that followed Mar, thirty years before. With the exception, however, of the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling and a few forts in the Highlands, Charles was, practically, master at this time of the whole of Scotland.

Notwithstanding the fact that no rising in England had occurred, though many assurances of support continued to be sent to him, Charles determined, as October drew to a close, that he would be no longer thwarted in his resolve to march south. This determination he communicated to his Council, who, being thus pressed, consented to an advance. Accordingly, on the 31st
1745 A.D. October, the camp was broken up, and the march began. At this juncture, Field-Marshal Wade, with a force of twelve thousand men, lay at Newcastle, and thither it was naturally expected the forces of the rebels would tend. Not Newcastle, however, but Carlisle was the immediate objective of the Jacobites, and to that town, after taking some steps to deceive the old Marshal, they marched in two columns, and by different routes. By the tactics of Lord George Murray, Wade had been completely deceived, and on November the 9th the columns united. The following day Carlisle was invested. But there were fewer to take part in the investiture than had been expected when Edinburgh was left, for the idea of entering England was no more popular with the rank and file of the Highlanders now than it had been in 1715, with the result that desertions were frequent on the march, and by the time Carlisle was reached the army was reduced by at least a thousand men.

Within the ancient walls of Carlisle were the Cumberland and Westmoreland Militia, and in the defence of the town they were

aided by many armed citizens. In the castle there was also a company of some eighty invalids, under command of Colonel Durand, and it was hoped that they would be able to hold out till relief should come. In a spirit of bravado Mayor Pattison (he was no Scots Paterson, he would have the world know), indicated his intention to resist to the bitter end, and, from the walls, the artillerymen opened fire upon the rebels, as they were engaged in their entrenchments. The fire, however, was very harmless, and within a day or two the brave defenders became intimidated. They had become possessed with a wholesome dread of the Highlanders. Some of them deserted, and on the 14th the officers of the Militia approached Colonel Durand, and informed him that they were determined to capitulate. A similar course was pursued by the town volunteers, who left the castle "to a man." The upshot was that, as Charles refused to grant terms to the town unless the castle also surrendered, both town and castle were forced to capitulate.

"O! Pattison! ohon! ohon!
Thou wonder of a mayor!
Thou blest thy lot thou wert no Scot,
And blustered like a player.
What hast thou done with sword or gun
To baffle the Pretender?
Of mouldy cheese, and bacon grease,
Thou much more fit defender!"

On the 18th, preceded by a hundred pipers, Prince Charles rode into Carlisle town, and took possession. To him it proved a valuable acquisition, for it secured him, later, a safe means of retreat. Within the castle were found some serviceable arms, and the Highlanders were much gratified at finding the broadswords and dirks that had been taken from the clansmen at Preston, thirty years before.

Meantime, Marshal Wade, deceived by the Jacobite tactics, had lost much valuable time, and it was the 16th ere he set off to the relief of Carlisle. His progress was slow, for the roads were extremely bad, and deeply covered with snow. By the time he had reached Hexham he learned, to his dismay, that Carlisle had already capitulated. Retracing his steps, he arrived again at Newcastle, his troops "very much fatigued and half-starved with the cold," and here he purposed resting them for three days, preparatory to engaging in the southward chase after the Prince.

By this time, however, Charles, having left in Carlisle a garrison of two hundred men, had advanced far into Lancashire.
1745 A.D. His army now numbered not more than 4,500 men—a force wholly inadequate to the task on hand. On the 27th November they arrived at Preston, where, says a Mr. R. Anderson, writing to his brother, "We were welcomed by loud huzzas, the first we met with in England." The latter remark is full of significance, and the extreme coldness with which they had been, up till now, received by the English, must have gone far to convince even the most zealous Scottish Jacobites, how little they had to hope for from their southern friends. Even in Preston, and also in Manchester, where they later received an extremely warm welcome, very little practical assistance was afforded them. The recruits were in fact limited to two or three hundred men, who were embodied as the Manchester regiment, under the command of Francis Townley. And this was Lancashire, the centre of English Jacobitism! By the Highlanders, nothing was done in their march through the country to induce prejudice, for it was characterised by discipline, and by almost scrupulous honesty.

By some of the officers, the probability of an early retreat was anticipated, but the army was by no means disheartened, and the spirit and conduct of the Prince were well calculated to stir up the enthusiasm of such a force. Ever since Edinburgh had been left, Charles shared every hardship. The long, toilsome marches he performed on foot, wading through mud and snow at the head of one or other of the clans. In this way, as also by his condescension and affability, he endeared himself to the whole army. The following entered into the composition of his dress at this time—a light tartan plaid belted with a blue sash, a grey wig, and a blue velvet bonnet with silver lace, having a white rose in the centre of the top, by which latter badge he was distinguished from his general officers, who wore their cockades on one side.

It was with feelings akin to dismay that the Government contemplated the steady advance of the rebels. They had made, it is true, large preparations to meet the emergency. In the country they had forces numbering six times those under the command of the Prince, and yet the march of the latter upon the capital was not stayed. Already, a force of 12,000 men had been evaded in the north, but, in Staffordshire, there was interposed between him

and London an army of 10,000 men, under the Duke of Cumberland, who had been summoned from Flanders to assume command of the royal forces, while in London itself there was located a further considerable force, with the King and the venerable Field-Marshal Stair at its head.

To press forward with an army of less than five thousand men, required, in these circumstances, no little courage, but the Prince's faithful adherents were by no means deficient in that virtue, and on the 1st of December they marched out from Manchester. By the Duke of Cumberland, who never dreamed that they could, by any chance, escape him, an engagement was, at this juncture, considered imminent, but through the astute generalship of Lord George Murray, who had been practically commander-in-chief since Carlisle had been left in the rear, this was successfully effected by the nimble Highlanders, and on the 4th December the rebel forces entered Derby. They thus placed themselves between London and the armies of Wade and Cumberland.

When news reached London that another army of defence had been evaded, and that the insurgents were now within 130 miles of the Metropolis, the whole population were filled with consternation. Already the rebels had marched through well nigh 300 miles of hostile territory; how soon were they to be in their midst was the question on each one's lips. Fielding tells us that "when the Highlanders, by a most incredible march, got between the Duke's army and the metropolis, they struck a terror into it scarce to be credited." Business was everywhere suspended, a rush was made on the Bank of England, and it was said that the King was seriously contemplating flight by sea. "There never was such a rebellion," wrote Horace Walpole.

On his arrival at Derby, Prince Charles was in the highest spirits, and contemplated his entry into London, on an early day, with the liveliest satisfaction. Here he was further gratified by the intelligence that France had, at last, made a move in his favour, and that 800 men, Scots and Irish mainly, had actually landed under Lord John Drummond at Montrose and Peterhead, on the last day of November. Letters from Kelly, also, indicated the probability that within three weeks the position of the Prince would be made easy by the arrival of large forces from France, under the Earl Marischal. Among the rank and file the same sanguine feeling, as to the future, prevailed. Crowds of clansmen

might be seen having their broad-swords sharpened by the Derby cutlers, and so high were their spirits that they contemplated meeting very superior forces with the greatest equanimity.

But to the responsible parties, to Lord George Murray and the other officers, the matter presented itself in a very different light. With the action of the English Jacobites and the French Government they were grievously disappointed; and it was impossible for them to contemplate the facing of three large armies, and the taking and holding of London with the small forces at their command, without the gravest misgivings. Accordingly, on the morning of the 5th, Lord George Murray and the other commanders held a consultation, at which they, almost unanimously, came to the conclusion that the clans had now done all that could be expected of them, and that prudence indicated a retreat as the only reasonable course, unless, indeed, the Prince could show that he had been invited by people of note to still go forward.

Charles learned of this decision with feelings of the most bitter disappointment. He expostulated, and he entreated, but as he was not able to afford to the chiefs any definite evidence that he would be better supported by the English Jacobites in the future than he had been since his entry into England, he failed to change their purpose. The following morning the retreat was begun.

It is of little practical moment to speculate on what would have occurred, had the clans determined to pursue their way to London, instead of to retreat. In a race towards London, Charles could assuredly have outstripped Cumberland, and when arrived in the Metropolis, would, probably, have little difficulty in defeating the forces that were at the command of Stair. The regular army, it was well known, was honey-combed with Jacobitism, London held many favourers of the "White Rose," and the Welsh Jacobites, under Sir Watkin Wynn, were preparing to join the Prince in considerable numbers. Added to all this was the fact that the French Government had just issued orders for the landing of a force of ten thousand men on the southern coast of England. In view of these facts, it may well be allowed, that a successful issue was by no means beyond the bounds of possibility.

From the rebel army the spirit of cheerfulness that had hitherto characterised it had now completely fled. The Prince was moody and dejected, the officers sulked, and the men, dis-

appointed as deeply as was Charles at having to retreat, and that without having been beaten, gave free rein to their predatory instincts. No man now walked who could find a horse to steal—as for a bridle a straw rope served.

With such secrecy and rapidity were the early stages of the retreat conducted, that the rebels had been two days on the march, ere the Duke of Cumberland was aware that they had really begun to retire. Manchester was reached on the 9th, and as the inhabitants now failed to welcome them, but instead, showed marked signs of hostility, they were fined in a sum of £5000. On the 10th, Cumberland reached Macclesfield, in full pursuit with all his mounted men, but the rebels were still two days ahead. Wade was also now on the chase with his whole army, but he came upon their path too late to intercept them, and he contented himself with sending to Preston a body of horse to join those of the Duke. The latter, from the first, was not hopeful of overtaking the fugitives. Writing from Lichfield to the Duke of Newcastle, regarding the pursuit, he says :—"But I fear it will be fruitless, for they march at such a rate, that I can't flatter myself with the hopes of overtaking them, though I set out this morning on a march of at least thirty measured miles."

During the retreat, the charge of the rear was unselfishly undertaken by Lord George Murray, who conducted it with much skill. It was at the best an arduous task, and it was rendered more so by the strict injunctions of the Prince that nothing should be left behind. In "Letters from a Nobleman to his Son," we find it remarked that the retreat "was conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition, and address, unparalleled in the history of nations, by any body of men under circumstances equally adverse."

On the 17th December Charles entered Penrith with the main body, but on account of accidents to his carriages, Lord George was forced to pass that night at Shap, six miles in the rear. Next day, when on the march, some two or three thousand horsemen were seen hovering in their neighbourhood. Of these, two were captured, one of them a footman of the Duke of Cumberland, and, by them, Lord George was informed that the Duke was close at hand, with a force of four thousand cavalry. At last, therefore, after a chase of ten days, he had come within striking distance. 1745 A.D.

Determining, in the circumstances in which he found himself, to remain at Clifton until he should receive further orders, Lord George immediately sent on his prisoners to the Prince, and meantime took up a favourable position. In all, the forces at his command did not number quite a thousand men—Glengarry Mac Donalds, Mac Phersons, Stewarts of Appin, and Colonel Roy Stuart's men. It was his Lordship's hope that the Prince would approve of his making a stand, and, in that event, he made request that a thousand men should be sent to him. Later, the Duke of Perth, who had meanwhile joined Lord George, rode back to Penrith with a view to bringing up the main body to the support of the rear-guard, but, as they had already entered on the march to Carlisle, the Prince disapproved, and desired Lord George to immediately retreat to Penrith.

Darkness, and other circumstances, making it impossible for his Lordship to obey the command, he determined to, at once, attack a body of five hundred of Cumberland's dragoons, who had already dismounted, and had commenced firing. Two thousand five hundred additional horsemen had remained mounted in readiness to attack the rear. The charge of the Highlanders is thus described by Chevalier Johnstone:—"The Highlanders immediately ran to the inclosures where the English were, fell down on their knees, and began to cut down the thorn hedges with their dirks—a necessary precaution, as they wore no breeches, but only a sort of petticoat, which reached to their knees. During this operation they received the fire of the English with the most admirable firmness and constancy; and as soon as the hedge was cut down, they jumped into the enclosures sword in hand, and, with an inconceivable intrepidity, broke the English battalions, who suffered so much the more as they did not turn their backs, as at the battle of Gladsmuir, but allowed themselves to be cut to pieces without quitting their ground. Platoons of forty and fifty men might be seen falling all at once under the swords of the Highlanders; yet they remained firm, and closed up their ranks as soon as an opening was made through them by the sword. At length, however, the Highlanders forced them to give way, and pursued them across three enclosures to a heath which lay behind them." In this struggle both the Duke of Cumberland and Lord George had narrow escapes. The

targe of the latter, which had a metal covering, was hit in several places.

The check, thus sustained by Cumberland, sufficed to stay his pursuit of the clans, and enabled them to resume their march that night to Carlisle, without further molestation. Deeming it desirable, in view of a future invasion, to endeavour to retain possession of Carlisle, a fresh garrison was left in the town. That garrison, numbering three hundred men, was mainly composed of Townley's Manchester volunteers, who had unwisely agreed to undertake the duty. Ten days later they were obliged to capitulate to the Duke of Cumberland. This they did on the condition that their punishment should be reserved for the king's pleasure. "As they have no sort of claim to the king's mercy," wrote the amiable Duke later, "I sincerely hope they will meet with none." In this hope he was not disappointed, for, of the eighteen officers of the Manchester Regiment, seventeen were afterwards condemned to death.

On the capture of Carlisle, Cumberland returned to London, where his presence was rendered necessary, owing to rumours of a French invasion. Wade, thereafter, resumed his command in the north of England, and General Hawley continued the pursuit of Charles into Scotland.

Rejoiced at finding themselves once more upon Scottish soil, the rebels, on crossing the Esk, which was swollen to a depth of four feet at the ford, struck up the pipes, and danced reels with characteristic vigour and gaiety. Thereafter they pursued their way by different routes towards Glasgow, where they had some old scores to settle. Two of the parties, taking Dumfries on their way, brought this town also to reckoning for its consistent hostility. In addition to mulcting the inhabitants in a sum of £2000, and one thousand pairs of shoes, they compelled them to surrender all their arms, all their saddlery, and every horse in the place. Free quarters were also demanded for every man. Chambers tells how "the Lowlanders were often highly amused by the demands of the Highland guests," who would enter the houses and ask for "a pread, a putter, and a sheese, till *something petter be ready.*" In another part of the country the orders for the morning meal would be given to the mistress of the house in this fashion:—"You'll put down a pread, matam, and a putter, matam, and a sheese, matam, and a tea, matam—shentleman's

preakfast, matam—and you'll give himself a shilling to carry him to the neist town matam."

1745 A.D. Glasgow was reached on the 24th December, and here the rebels remained for a week, levying contributions in retaliation for the marked hostility of the citizens. It was no light demand that was made upon that quickly-rising commercial community, but the campaign had told severely upon the clothing of the men, and the winter weather demanded that, in some way, their comfort, in this respect, should be promoted and secured. The contribution of Glasgow was as follows :—Six thousand Highland coats, twelve thousand shirts, six thousand pairs of shoes and stockings, and an equal number of bonnets. To the inhabitants, this loss was only temporary, as, in 1749, they demanded, and received from the imperial exchequer, a sum of £10,000 in full of the value of the goods now requisitioned, and of the sum that they had been obliged to contribute in September.

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CHAPTER XLV.

Scotland during absence of the rebel army—Charles's forces doubled at Stirling—Siege of Stirling Castle—Advance of Hawley to Falkirk—Battle of Falkirk—Consternation in London—Arrival of Cumberland in Edinburgh—Return of rebels to the north—Cumberland proceeds to Aberdeen—Attempt to capture Charles—Flight of Loudon and occupation of Inverness by Charles—Activity of the rebels—Trying position of the Prince—Cumberland marches upon Inverness—Provisioning of the rebels shamefully neglected—Abortive night-surprise—Battle of Culloden—Dispersion of the Jacobites—Arrival of Charles at Glenboisdale.

1746.

It will be necessary now to glance for a moment at the position of affairs in Scotland during the absence of the rebel army. By the middle of November, Edinburgh Jacobitism was effectually subdued through the return in triumph of the runaway judges and crown officials, and the quartering in its neighbourhood, and within its walls, of Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons, together with two regiments of foot, that had been sent north by Wade. Notwithstanding coquetting with the rebels during autumn, Perth and Dundee, as well as Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Dumfries now gave unmistakeable evidence of their loyalty. In many towns volunteers were enrolled, and Glasgow alone raised two battalions of six hundred men each, one of which was sent to the defence of Stirling, while the other was retained for the protection of the city. In the north, Lord President Forbes continued resolutely to employ his sagacity and wide influence on the side of the Government, and it was believed that by him alone ten thousand clansmen were restrained from engaging in the insurrection.

With Lovat, the subtle and treacherous diplomatist, however, the Lord President experienced considerable difficulty, and, ultimately, after the battle of Prestonpans, while pretending to Forbes that he could not restrain his eldest son, the old fox secretly encouraged the latter to raise 1500 of his clansmen to join the insurgents. By the end of November, the Frasers

marched southward, after having in vain attempted the capture of Forbes. Upon this, the Lord-President seized the old chief, and committed him as a hostage to the Castle of Inverness. Ere long, however, he made good his escape.

Besides exercising his restraining influence, the Lord President, who complained in September that he was supported by nobody of common sense or courage except the Laird of Mac Leod, set about, as has been already hinted at, the raising of independent companies under the command of those chiefs who favoured the Government. In connection with this effort, he obtained from headquarters twenty blank commissions. These companies were formed from the Mac Donalds and Mac Leods of Skye, the Mac Kenzies of Kintail, the Sutherlands, the Mac Kays, the Rosses, and the Grants, and, as they were located at Inverness, they were helpful in overawing that district.

But, notwithstanding the presence of these companies in those northern parts, the arrival of the troops from France, at the end of November, greatly revived the cause of Jacobitism in the north. On the 9th December, the Lord Justice Clerk, writing to London, had occasion to lament the daily increasing of the rebels, and prophesied the early capture of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling by the help of the French engineers, if the Government did not render timely assistance. Besides the Frasers, others of the Gordons had taken up arms at this time, under Lord Lewis Gordon, but as the Duke did not give any indication of his sympathy, the efforts of Lord Lewis were limited in their success. Mac Intoshes, Mac Kenzies, and Farquharsons, however, swelled the reserve that was quickly forming, and, by the time Charles had reached Glasgow, some 4,000 men were assembled at Perth, under Lord Strathallan, all of them eager to link their fortunes with those of the Prince.

Such was the position of affairs in Scotland when, on the 3rd
1746 A.D. of January, 1746, the rebel army left Glasgow, *en route* for Stirling, with a view to the capture of that town, and the reduction of its castle. Here they were joined by their new comrades, and Charles was now at the head of a force of nine thousand men,—an army of much greater proportions than he had yet commanded. Things looked favourable for the rebels once again, and, with the prospect of early succours from France, the pay of the men had already been nominally raised, while the Prince further

promised them ten guineas each, in two instalments—one, on the landing of the French, the other, on the Restoration.

Just at this time, however, a circumstance occurred, which threatened to lessen the effectiveness of the rebel forces. Ever since the retiral from Derby, Charles continued to act upon a resolution he had then made, that he would, in the future, follow his own initiative alone. He consequently ceased to summon Councils, and consulted with no one but Secretary Murray and Sir Thomas Sheridan. To those who were risking their all in the cause, this course was naturally by no means agreeable, and, under the leadership of Lord George Murray, they unitedly framed a written protest, and sent it to the Prince. But Charles replied with spirit and some temper, and for a time the matter dropped.

The town of Stirling surrendered to the rebels on the 10th of January, and attention was then directed to the castle, which was defended by General Blakeney. Whilst the Prince was engaged in prosecuting preparations for its siege, news was brought him on the 13th of the approach, from Edinburgh, of General Hawley, with a force of nine thousand men, including thirteen hundred horse, and one thousand Argyllshire Highlanders, the latter under Colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll. In character, Hawley was a fitting fore-runner for the brutal Cumberland. "Frequent and sudden executions" were his passion, and his contempt for "undisciplined rabbles" was unbounded. While awaiting the arrival of his battalions in Edinburgh, he relieved his enforced inactivity by causing gibbets to be erected in preparation for the swarms of luckless rebels who, he expected, would immediately come into his power. His was, however, an unfounded assurance, and soon he learned to set a very different value upon his opponents. His gibbets, too, with the grim irony of fate, were, ere long, employed by him for the execution of his own disciplined cowards.

Leaving a thousand men under the Duke of Perth to prosecute the siege of the castle, the Prince went forward to meet Hawley, and on the evening of the 16th concentrated his men on Plean Moor, two miles east of Bannockburn. Ere this, Hawley had united his forces at Falkirk. Throughout the early hours of the following day, the Highlanders were in constant expectation of being attacked, but, as Hawley gave no indication of assuming

the aggressive, the Prince determined to take the initiative, and, about mid-day, he set his army in motion towards Falkirk.

This was a step which Hawley, in his self-complacency, had hardly looked for, and so it was, that instead of being at his post, he was at that moment enjoying the company of the Countess of Kilmarnock, at Callender House. Though informed, earlier, of the movements of the Highlanders, it was not till about two o'clock that Hawley realised that, in very truth, the rebels were in full march to attack him. Already, the royalist drums had beat to arms, and while the men, who had been at dinner when the alarm was given, were hastily forming up in front of the camp, the general galloped up with head uncovered, his grey hair streaming in the wind.

A moment's reflection upon the situation made it evident to Hawley that the immediate aim of the Prince was the possession of the heights of Falkirk Moor, and to prevent him from gaining these, Hawley hurried forward three regiments of dragoons, under Colonel Ligonier (Shonny Ligonier the Highlanders called him), while the infantry were instructed to follow hard up with bayonets fixed. From opposite sides it was a race for the top. The nimbleness of the Highlanders enabled them to possess themselves of one eminence, just as the dragoons took possession of another at a distance of a musket shot. For about fifteen minutes these advanced parties stood facing each other, till their comrades had formed up. No artillery was employed by either party, and each army was disposed in two lines with a body of reserves in the rear. On the extreme right of the first line of the rebel army were, as usual, the Mac Donalds, and on the extreme left the Camerons, while in the centre, ranging from right to left, were the Farquharsons, the Mac Kenzies, the Mac Intoshes, the Mac Phersons, the Frasers, and the Stewarts of Appin. On the right of the second line was the Atholl brigade, and on the left Lord Lewis Gordon's men, with Lord Ogilvie's battalions in the centre. In the rear, with the reserve, was the Prince. The little eminence he then occupied is still known as Charlie's hill. Lord George Murray, who arranged the order of battle, commanded the right wing, but the command of the left wing seems not to have been communicated by the Prince with sufficient definiteness to Lord John Drummond, to whom he had designed it, and he never appeared in his place. As a consequence, the battle

resulted less satisfactorily to the rebels than it would otherwise have done. In the royalist army Hawley commanded the centre, Huske the right wing, and Cholmondeley the left.

The action commenced amid a violent storm of wind and rain, 1746 A.D.
which beat upon the faces of the Royalist troops. That the Highlanders would resist a charge of cavalry, Hawley could not believe, and he gave orders for the advance of Ligonier's dragoons. Anticipating this action, Lord George placed himself at the head of the right wing, and moved steadily forward. Instantly the dragoons bore down upon the Highlanders at full trot, threatening annihilation. But the clans were ready for them, and, like seasoned veterans, coolly halting within pistol-shot, they, taking their time from Lord George, poured in such a deadly volley as threw the dragoons immediately into disorder. Two of the regiments at once wheeled about, and galloped down the hill, but a part of the third (Cobham's) made a brave effort to pierce through the Mac Donalds, many of whom they trampled down. By the Atholl brigade in the second line, their course, however, was speedily stayed. Meantime, the greater portion of this regiment, finding it difficult to regain their former position, rode along in front of the rebel army, receiving a murderous fire in their course. Notwithstanding efforts to restrain them, all the Highlanders in the first line, except those on the extreme left, now rushed down hill, sword in hand, upon the Royalist infantry, and swept the greater part of them from the field.

But there were three regiments on the extreme right of the Royalist army, who, protected by a ravine from the attack of the Camerons and Stewarts, whom they out-flanked, were successful, not only in holding their ground, but in inflicting considerable loss on these latter, as well as on others of the Highlanders of the first line, who received their fire in flank, and were obliged to retire in confusion. Such could not have occurred had the first line been extended, at an earlier part of the battle, by a few battalions from the reserve, and so have prevented out-flanking. Lord George, however, at this juncture advanced down hill with the Atholl men, while the Prince, "with ardour that could not be restrained," brought up the left of the second line. Upon this, the three Royalist regiments retreated in good order, and left the rebels masters

of the field. These latter were not in a condition to continue the pursuit. From a variety of circumstances many of them were, indeed, not certain that they had definitely won. Darkness was also closing in, the Highlanders had their muskets to recover, and Hawley was permitted, undisturbed to effect, his retreat to Linlithgow, while the Highlanders passed the night in Hawley's former quarters at Falkirk. The struggle had been short, but the loss was considerable. On the part of the Royalists it amounted to twenty officers and from four to five hundred rank and file killed and wounded. The Highlanders had thirty officers and men slain, and one hundred and twenty wounded. To the victors there fell all the guns, baggage, and military stores of the enemy, as well as several standards and stands of colours.

"My heart is broke;" so wrote the disappointed Hawley to the Duke of Cumberland that evening. "I can't say we are quite beat to-day, but our left is beat, and their left is beat. We had enough to beat them, for we had two thousand men more than they. But such scandalous cowardice I never saw before. The whole second line of foot ran away without firing a shot," etc., etc. Clearly the fear of the Highlanders was again upon them.

The following day, "with his forces," says an eye-witness, "in a pitiable state of disarray and terror," Hawley retreated to Edinburgh, and, within the next day or two, he addressed in Holyrood House the committee, on whose information he had relied, in terms which show at once the bitter disappointment which he suffered, and the habit of under-estimating and maligning the Highlanders, which was at that time so common. He said—"Gentlemen, . . . how often have you represented the Highland army and the multitude of noblemen and gentlemen who have joined them from the Low country, with their followers, as a despicable pack of herds, and a contemptible mob of men of desperate fortunes. . . As to your diminishing their numbers and ridiculing their discipline, you see and I feel the effect of it. I never saw any troops fire in platoons more regularly, make their motions and evolutions quicker, or attack with more bravery, or in better order than those Highlanders at the battle of Falkirk. And these are the very men that you represented as a parcel of raw and undisciplined vagabonds," etc., etc. Hawley, it is evident, had at last learned to appraise the

Highlanders at their true value. And it was time, when he saw the veteran troops of Dettingen and Fontenoy vanquished by the men he had despised.

In London, as at Edinburgh, the receipt of the news of the battle of Falkirk produced the greatest consternation, and it was at once resolved to despatch the Duke of Cumberland in haste to the north, believing that he alone could restore confidence to the nation. On the 30th January, the new commander-in-chief arrived in Edinburgh, and, amid great demonstrations of loyalty, took over the command. 1746 A.D.

Meantime, Charles, acting on the advice of M. Mirabelle, a French Engineer, was wasting his time and his energies, since the battle of Falkirk, in a vain attempt to take the Castle of Stirling, his army the while being greatly weakened by desertions, caused largely by disappointment at the fruitless nature of their victories, and particularly at the defective arrangements which made it possible for Hawley to escape, unmolested, after his recent defeat. So impressed were the chiefs with the serious position of affairs that, on the day of the arrival of Cumberland in Edinburgh, they addressed to the Prince a paper, strongly urging the raising of the siege, and a retreat to the north.

Charles read this document with extreme surprise and disappointment, for he would fain have awaited the approach of Cumberland, and fought him in the neighbourhood of Falkirk. He, however, yielded to the request, but with great reluctance, and refused all responsibility for the step. On February 1st, after spiking their heavy cannon, the retreat began, and, owing to the Prince having no heart for this backward step, it was conducted after a disorderly fashion till Crieff was reached, on the following day. From this point the army proceeded by rapid marches towards Inverness, in two divisions, one under the Prince himself, taking the Highland road by Blair Atholl, while the other, under Lord George Murray, took the coast road by Montrose and Aberdeen.

On the same day that Charles had retired from before the Castle of Stirling, the Duke of Cumberland left Edinburgh in pursuit, and on the sixth day of February he reached Perth. While waiting here for provisions and other stores, the Duke busied himself in hunting for rebels, and in making arrangements for the protection of the more southern and western parts. On

the 20th, he again set his army in motion for Aberdeen, which he reached on the 27th. Long ere this, however, Lord George Murray had passed into Speyside, while the Prince had arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness. During his march through Badenoch the latter had captured the fortified barrack of Ruthven.

After placing his troops in cantonments, till Lord George Murray should arrive with his division, Charles accepted the hospitality of Lady Mac Intosh at Moy Castle, the seat of the Mac Intosh. At this time the Chief was with Loudon at Inverness, in command of one of the independent companies, but his wife, who was a daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld, was a staunch Jacobite, and had not only raised some of the clan for the Prince, but actually rode at their head in martial attire, and bearing arms.

Learning of the unprotected situation of the Prince, Lord Loudon, hoping to put a speedy end to the rebellion by seizing the prime mover, resolved to attempt a surprise. Accordingly, on the evening of the 16th, he marched out of Inverness with a force of fifteen hundred men, drawn from the loyal clans. Timely information, however, was conveyed to Lady Mac Intosh, and she speedily, and with great presence of mind, put matters in train for defeating the project. Various versions are given of the method of procedure. According to one version she, without informing the Prince of his danger, arranged an ambuscade consisting of only a few men. These, at her suggestion, took up several stations in a wood, through which the attacking party must pass. No sooner did the latter make their appearance than the ambuscade fired upon them from the different positions, at the same time, and, in accordance with her Ladyship's instructions, vigorously rolling out upon the night air the war cries of several of the insurgent clans. Seized with panic, from the belief that the whole division was upon them, the party took to flight and retreated in great confusion to Inverness.

With a view to repaying Loudon for his attention, Charles, on the following day, advanced upon Inverness. The Royalist commander, however, having lost many by desertion in the affair of the previous night, and being unable to trust those who remained, retired into Ross-shire, after having thrown a garrison into Fort George. Charles thereupon took up his abode in the town house of Lady Mac Intosh in Church Street, the only

house in Inverness at that time, it is said, that had a room without a bed in it. During the next few weeks Inverness was the scene of much gaiety, and the inhabitants revelled in the presence of royalty.

On his way into Ross-shire, Lord Loudon was joined by Lord President Forbes. By the Duke of Perth they were pursued across the Firth of Dornoch, and thirty miles beyond. There Loudon's forces broke up, the Mac Donalds and Mac Leods retiring to Skye, bearing with them the General and the Lord President, while the others fled to Lord Reay's country. On the 20th February, after a siege of two days, Fort George was surrendered to the Prince, and Fort Augustus shared a similar fate on the 5th of March. This accomplished, attention was directed to Fort William, but it was well garrisoned, and its defenders succeeded in maintaining a successful resistance to the engineering efforts of Brigadier Stapleton, and to those of Keppoch and Lochiel, until the besiegers were called away to share in the closing conflict.

In the district of Atholl, also, the army of the Prince showed considerable activity. Thus in many and distant parts of the country Charles did not hesitate to engage his forces, and that although Cumberland was at Aberdeen, and might begin his advance at any time. With a force of 700 men, Lord George Murray and Cluny Mac Pherson entered the defiles of Atholl, and so secretly and successfully did they arrange their plans, that, in a single night, they succeeded in surprising and carrying as many as thirty military posts, some of them of considerable importance. Thereupon, having been joined by some four or five hundred men of that neighbourhood, who had formerly served in the Highland army, Lord George entered upon the blockade of his brother's castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew. For some time the blockade was effectually maintained, and a very few days more would have brought about its surrender for lack of provisions, but in the nick of time a large body of Hessians advanced from Perth to its relief. To the Hessians, Lord George would gladly have offered battle, had the Prince found it convenient to agree to a proposal he now made that he should be reinforced by 1200 men. In view, however, of the evident preparations of the Duke of Cumberland for an advance, Charles considered it necessary to concentrate his forces without loss of

time, and so he instructed his lieutenant-general to rejoin him without delay at Inverness. This order Lord George received on the 31st March, and within seventy hours he arrived at the northern capital, only allowing, in that long and rapid march, about four hours for sleep.

The position of Charles at this critical juncture was trying in the extreme. His funds were well-nigh exhausted. His troops were badly fed, and received no pay; while a sum of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds, which had been sent from France, had been captured. No longer, he now realised, need he hope for that invasion of England from France, which had been so often promised, and whose advent, he anticipated, would necessitate the recall of Cumberland to the south. No such good fortune was his, and he knew, only too well, that a battle would not be much longer delayed, and that he would have to enter upon it with defective artillery, and short of ammunition.

But for some of his troubles the Prince had himself to blame. Upon Lord George Murray, his ablest officer, he continued to look with unwarranted suspicion and distrust, and by so doing, as well as by continuing to be guided exclusively by Broughton and the Irish officers, who, from having nothing to lose, invariably agreed with him, and were consequently liked by him, he alienated the sympathies of the chiefs and those Lowland gentlemen who had risked so much for him, and had furnished him with his army. Nothing, however, of a mutinous character occurred, nor was the idea of desertion entertained, and ere long friction disappeared, in large measure, before the necessity for united action, and the call to stern duties.

The 8th of April witnessed the resumption of the advance of the Duke of Cumberland, and on the 11th he approached the Spey with an army of 10,000 men. That the passage of that river should be keenly contested was the intention of the Prince, and to Lord John Drummond the task was entrusted. On the approach of the royalists, however, Lord John, to the amazement and gratification of the Duke, withdrew his guns and forces from the positions that had been taken up, thus casting to the winds a splendid opportunity of inflicting serious loss upon the enemy, and so crippling them for future action. On the 14th, after some skirmishing with Drummond's retreating forces, the royalists reached Nairn, where they passed the

following day holding high festival, in honour of their commander's birthday.

It was a knowledge of this latter circumstance that determined the immediate action of the rebels, who, that same day, lay on Culloden moor, at a distance of nine miles from the royalists. On the night of the 14th, the Prince and his staff occupied Culloden House, the seat of the Lord President. Early next morning he summoned a council of war. At that council it was arranged that an effort should be made that night to surprise the enemy, which they anticipated would be facilitated by the fruits of the day's revelry.

But to assemble the army in anything like full numbers was a formidable, a hopeless task, for the pangs of hunger had driven the poor fellows hither and thither in search of food, and some precious hours were wasted in efforts to bring them together. The provisioning of the army was shamefully neglected at this all-important time by those appointed to the duty, and the neglect was the more grievous in that there was sufficient meal in Inverness and its neighbourhood to feed the forces for a fortnight. At this time, Secretary Murray was unwell, and absent from duty.

Notwithstanding the incomplete muster, and the loss of time, a start was made, with the deepening darkness, Lord George Murray leading the van. But the progress was slow, for the difficulties of the long night-march were great, and the privations the men had endured had told seriously upon their energies. By the time the van had reached Kilravock House, daylight was breaking, and the distant rumble of the drums in the enemy's camp could be heard. To Lord George it was only too evident that the object they had set themselves could not be accomplished, and, calling a halt, he ordered a retreat. In the opinion of many, however, a surprise, though possibly not a complete one, might very well have been effected, for they had come within an hour's march of the enemy. In any case, the chances were much more in favour of the rebels than they were at Culloden, a few hours afterwards. Three hours later, weary, hungry, and disappointed, they reached, once again, the morasses and heathery waste of Culloden moor.

The toilsome, dispiriting, night march was a poor preparation for the hard work that was so soon to follow, while there was

little time to rest, and little food available to restore the wasted energies. To Lord George Murray, their critical position was so evident that he again pressed a proposal he had already made that a hilly, less accessible situation, behind the river Nairn, where the ground would afford greater protection, and be more suitable for Highland tactics, should be at once taken up. The main objection to this proposal was that it opened up to the Royal army the way to Inverness, while to the Prince's rash, sanguine nature it savoured of retreat. In this conviction, and with a confidence begotten largely of the justice of his cause, and of his past experience of his Highlanders, Charles announced his unwise determination to meet the enemy upon the open field. Than the field chosen none could be better fitted for the operations of a disciplined army adequately furnished with horse and artillery: none less suitable for an irregular force.

Ere the hour of 7 a.m. had passed, information was brought to the camp of Charles that the army of Cumberland was in full march, and the cavalry already at a distance of only two miles. With all speed, the Highlanders were brought into position, but the roll-call was sadly disappointing, for it revealed that about two thousand men were not available, they having been driven by hunger to Inverness and other places in the neighbourhood in quest of food. Matters were made worse by the fact that several bodies of men—Mac Phersons, Mac Gregors, and additional Frasers—who had been daily expected, had not yet come in.

It cannot have been with other than a sense of painful misgiving that the officers contemplated the coming battle, for it was a strife against fearful odds—five thousand weary, half-starved men going forth, under unfavourable physical conditions, to give battle to an army strong in horse and artillery, and consisting of ten thousand troops, fresh, well-fed, and carefully disciplined. A single glance at the two armies, as they stood facing each other, must have convinced every man of them that the beginning of the end had come. Yet, in spite of all, the Highlanders did not shun the fight, but entered upon their hopeless task with their usual martial spirit.

By the Prince, the attenuated battalions of the rebels were drawn up in two lines. On the right of the first line were the Atholl men with, in succession towards the left, the Camerons, the Stewarts, the Frasers, the Mac Intoshes, the Farquharsons,

the Mac Lachlans, the Mac Leans, the Chisholms, the Duke of Perth's regiment, Roy Stewart's regiment, and, on the extreme left, the Mac Donalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry. The second line was composed of the more Lowland troops, and the French auxiliaries; while on either wing and in the centre a field battery was placed. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, Lord John Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth on the left. Before the battle joined, the Prince passed from rank to rank, animating and exhorting them to act as they had done at Prestonpans and Falkirk.

To prepare the royal army to meet successfully the wild Highland charge had been, during the immediately preceding weeks, the aim of Cumberland and his staff, and, among other points insisted upon, instructions were given that each man should direct his bayonet, not against him who directly opposed him, but against the right breast of the man who fronted his right hand comrade, and in this way it was hoped the interposition of the target might be evaded. Past experience, also, led Cumberland to draw up his army, on the present occasion, not in continuous lines, but in echelon, so that if the front line were broken, it might retire through the spaces without throwing the second line into disorder, as had been done in the recent conflicts.

One o'clock had passed ere the battle opened, and with its beginning there fell fierce hail and snow showers, which were driven, by a strong north-west wind, full in the faces of the Highlanders. To add to the disadvantages of the rebels, the gunners, who should have served the left field battery, could not be found up to the time the fight began, and the guns had to be manned by the infantry, with the result that, within a few minutes, they were abandoned. The other batteries were also badly served, and the guns badly directed.

For nearly an hour the artillery kept up an incessant fire, the cannon of the royalists doing much execution among the impatient Highlanders. As he stood on a hillock in rear of the first line, the Prince was bespattered by mud raised by balls which plunged into the earth at his feet. To draw the English on was the aim of the waiting rebel commanders, but they could not be induced to advance. It was not thus with the Highlanders; for this was not the kind of warfare that suited them, and to which they were accustomed. Their spirits chafed at the

inactivity that was bringing confusion, and costing them so dear. So impatient did they at last become that, just as Lord George, who had probably been waiting for the left wing to attack, as had been prearranged, was about to give the order to advance, the Mac Intoshes rushed forward through the dense smoke, sword in hand, followed by the rest of the centre, and the whole of the right wing.

Met by a murderous fire from the guns in front, and raked by grape-shot from the flank, the men went down by scores, but still they advanced, and when within pistol-shot delivered their fire. Rushing on the regiments of Burrel and Munro, the Atholl men and the Camerons broke through them with their impetuous onset, and would have cut them to pieces had they not been supported by two regiments of the second line. "They ran in upon the points of the bayonets," says Shaw in his manuscript History of the Rebellion, "hewed down the soldiers with their broadswords, drove them back, put them into disorder, and possessed themselves of two pieces of cannon." By the Stewarts of Appin, the Frasers, the Mac Intoshes, and the other centre regiments, a similar charge was made, with similar success, the front line of the enemy being driven back upon the second.

But here the progress of the Highlanders was stayed, though they still fought with splendid courage. From the second line in front, from the dragoons and 8th Foot on the right flank, and from the Argyllshire Highlanders and Lord Loudon's men in the rear, there now poured upon them, at close quarters, such volleys as literally mowed them down, till they lay in layers of three and four deep. Staggered by their reception, a few of them, according to Cumberland, rushed forward, and in their impotent rage assailed the royalists with stones for a minute or two. Then the royal troops advanced, and swept the whole right and centre before them in irretrievable rout—defeated, but not dishonoured, for they had fought with their accustomed bravery. Among the slain was the chief of the Mac Lachlans, while Lochiel was severely wounded, and was borne to the rear by two of his henchmen.

Meanwhile, the Mac Donald clans on the left had failed to respond to the order to advance. Deprived of the post of honour[1]

[1] In connection with this claim of the Mac Donalds, we find an instructive note in the Memorials of John Murray of Broughton. At a very early

on the right, which they claimed as theirs, but which had been obtained for the Atholl men, on the unwise insistance of Lord George Murray, they stood sullen and moody, victims of offended pride. To the fire of the royalist regiments opposed to them, they responded with a general discharge, but in vain did the Duke of Perth call out "Claymore! Claymore!" and summon them to the attack. In vain did he bid them convert the left into the right by the bravery of their assault; in vain did he assure them he would henceforth call himself a Mac Donald should they win the field. Nor was the gallant Keppoch more successful in overcoming their sullen obstinacy. Accompanied by a few kinsmen, he advanced to the attack, but he fell, and his dying exclamation, "My God! have the children of my tribe deserted me?" still rings in the ears of brave men, with all its pristine pathos.

Charles viewed the scene of his first defeat with the bitterest grief. The fruitless gallantry of the right and centre, the conduct of the formerly chivalrous Mac Donalds, and the recognition of the impossibility that what had already occurred could be retrieved by the advance of the second line, brought tears to his eyes. Within a few minutes, retreat was general, Charles quitting the field with the greatest reluctance, after having changed his horse, his own having been wounded. A portion of the second line retired in good order with colours flying and pipes playing, but many fled in great confusion, and singly

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stage of the campaign Charles had anticipated that claims of precedency might arise, and arise at very awkward times, such as the eve of battle. To prevent this possible danger he wisely proposed, while at Perth, that the principal chiefs should draw lots for their respective positions. This was agreed to, and to the Mac Donalds the left fell, while the right devolved upon the Camerons and Stewarts, who had agreed to act together, and to compose one body. At that time, none of the other clans pretended to precedency, and the centre fell to them. Not till the morning preceding the battle of Prestonpans did it prominently appear that the general mass of the Mac Donalds resented the arrangement that placed them upon the left of the fighting line, and they then determined that it should not be so. After a long dispute, Lochiel, on that occasion, generously gave way to the Mac Donalds, notwithstanding the agreement, and next morning, on the eve of the battle, the Mac Donalds marched from the Left, and took up their position upon the Right. It is evident that the same spirit animated them at Culloden.

endeavoured to secure their own safety. Fortunately, the pursuit was not immediate. The Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the French troops, directed their steps to Inverness, while the others, so far as they kept together, proceeded towards Badenoch. The former suffered much in the retreat from the sabres of the cavalry, for all quarter was refused. By the royalist cavalry, also, many of the inhabitants of Inverness and the surrounding district, who had been drawn by curiosity to the scene of conflict, were cruelly slain, for the poltroons of Coltbridge, of Prestonpans, and of Falkirk could not, even in their hour of triumph, avoid giving fresh evidence of the essentially cowardly spirit that animated them.

Many of the Highlanders sold their lives dearly. It is recorded of one named Golice Mac Bain, a man of gigantic stature, that, with his back to a wall, he laid at his feet thirteen dragoons before he was cut down. Major John Mor Mac Gillivray caused a dozen royalists to bite the dust ere he succumbed, while one of the clan Mac Intosh killed seven with the tram of a peat cart.

The total loss of the royalists in the battle of Culloden was only three hundred killed and wounded. Of the rebels, the loss is estimated at about a fifth of their original number. Among those who were captured, or who surrendered themselves prisoners, were Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock, while, three days later, another important capture was made, in the person of the Earl of Cromarty, who was seized further north, and brought to Inverness by a party of the Sutherlands.

After crossing the river Nairn, the Prince pushed on to Fort Felie, three miles from the field of battle. Here he dismissed the greater part of his escort, giving orders that the fugitive army should rendezvous at Ruthven, and there await further instructions. At this moment Charles was probably not without hope that a further stand might be made, for the Mac Phersons, Mac Gregors, and Frasers, who had been daily expected, might come in at any time, while it was also not improbable that the fugitives from his army, after the abortive night surprise, might once again join the remnant of his forces.

Pursuing his way along the south-east bank of Loch Ness, Charles, accompanied by a few attendants, arrived, ere nightfall, at the house of Gortuleg, the residence of Lovat's steward,

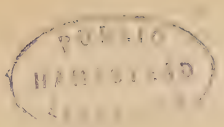
which was situated close to the Falls of Foyers. Here, for the first time, he met with Lord Lovat, but he did not prolong his stay, as it was considered desirable to retire to safer quarters, and in the early morning he arrived at the house of Invergarry. On resuming his journey after a few hours repose, he parted with most of his attendants, and was accompanied only by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Edward Burke. The latter, having been servant to Alexander Mac Leod, and well acquainted with the country, acted both as guide and servant. Dressed in the clothes of Burke, Charles reached that night the neighbourhood of Loch Arkaig, and spent the hours of sleep in the house of Donald Cameron of Glenpean. The following night was passed at Newboll in Clanranald's country. Thence he directed his steps to the head of Loch Morar, and on the 20th, after a more than usually toilsome journey, reached Glenboisdale in Arisaig, where, close by the spot at which he had landed nine months earlier, he passed several days in safety.

Meantime, Lord George Murray had arrived in Ruthven, where there gathered around him a force of two or three thousand men, including the Mac Phersons, who had now come up. From Ruthven, on the 17th, this able officer wrote to the Prince asking his permission to retire from the army, in accordance with a desire long entertained by him, and already known to Charles, and intimating, at the same time, his desire to serve him in any other situation. Though taking up this position, it was by no means contemplated by Lord George that the struggle should be abandoned, for he was convinced that much might be done by an army operating in the more inaccessible parts of the Highlands, and when he learned, as he did in a day or two, that Prince Charles purposed proceeding, as speedily as might be, to France, he sent Secretary Hay to Glenboisdale to endeavour to dissuade him.

Charles, however, having learned that the cruelty of Cumberland was producing its intended effect upon the Highlanders, and that there was little chance of their assembling once again in sufficient numbers to make success possible without the aid of France, resolved to proceed to that country, in the hope that he might be able to secure the effective support of the Court of Versailles. He accordingly wrote an affectionate letter to the chiefs informing them of this determination, and requesting them

to take such steps as they could for their security, till he should bring to them succour from France, or, at least, engage the French Court to secure favourable terms for them. The disbanding scene at Ruthven was full of pathos, the Highlanders giving vent to their grief "in wild howlings and lamentations." After agreeing, at a future time, "to raise in arms for the interest of his Royal Highness Charles, Prince of Wales, all the able-bodied men they could collect within their respective interests or properties," the chiefs and officers "took a melancholy leave of each other," and sought their safety where they thought they could best secure it, while the men returned to their own homes.

Had Charles only been aware that at this critical juncture there lay, in a bay opposite Borradale, two French ships which had come to him with arms, ammunition, and money, the course of subsequent events might have been altered. He would have, at least, had a favourable opportunity of making good his escape. From these ships there were landed six casks containing thirty-five thousand louis d'ors. The greater part of this money was buried by Secretary Murray and others in the neighbourhood of Loch Arkaig. Its subsequent history has engaged the attention of not a few enquirers. In the French ships there escaped the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, Sheridan, Lockhart, Hay, and several others.



CHAPTER XLVI.

The cruelties of butcher Cumberland—Honours paid to him—Trial and punishment of the rebel prisoners—The punishment of the Prince—His attractive personality—Incorruptibility and devotion of the Highlanders—Departure of the fugitives from Glenboisdale—Search for a French ship—Hardships among the Hebrides—Activity of the pursuers—Frequent risk of capture—Signal service of Flora Mac Donald—Her capture and imprisonment—Return of Charles to the mainland—Weary wanderings—Sheltered by the "Seven men of Glenmoriston"—His residence in the "Cage"—Escape to France—Memories of Prince Charlie and his faithful Highlanders.

1746.

We must now retrace our steps to Culloden's battlefield, and note the bearing of the royalists towards the wounded and the helpless. There were enacted many scenes disgraceful to humanity, and discreditable to a boasted civilisation. Infuriated with the thought of their previous defeats, the soldiery roamed the battlefield, and barbarously massacred the poor wretches, who lay maimed and expiring. "Our men," writes an English officer, "what, with killing the enemy, dabbling their feet in the blood, and splashing it about one another, looked like so many butchers." Cumberland did not want prisoners, and he told the soldiers so.

The day after the battle, hearing that some poor wretches still survived, hidden among the thickets and enclosures, parties were sent out from Inverness, with orders to kill all the wounded that could be discovered. Men were dragged out from those miserable shelters, where they had hoped to be at least permitted to die in peace, and after being ranged up in lines, had volleys of musketry poured into them. Yet another day, and the houses were searched, and the wounded and suffering hurried forth to execution. On this day, the young laird of Mac Leod saw as many as seventy-two despatched in cold blood. Within the court-yard of Culloden House, nineteen wounded officers were

being ministered to by the Lord President's steward. All of these were tied with ropes, and huddled into carts, and after being taken to a suitable place, were ranged in order along a wall, and all of them, but one, instantly shot dead. The same day, a barn or hut, in which between thirty and forty wounded clansmen had taken shelter, was set fire to, after the door had been secured. All of them were roasted to death.

When we consider such devilish deeds of blood: when we contrast the humanity of Charles and his so-called savages, after the previous battles of the campaign, with the barbarity of the Duke of Cumberland, and his highly civilised troops, it is impossible to wonder at the indelible stain that remains upon the memories of the victors.

But the scene of remorseless vengeance, of desolation, and of death, was by no means limited to the neighbourhood of Culloden's moor. The demon of cruelty had laid hold upon the army and its commander, and hurried them on to other deeds of savagery innumerable. In Moy Castle, Lady Mac Intosh was seized, after some old men, women, and children, had been massacred. Castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, was burned to the ground. Bodies of Grants, Munroes, Mac Kays, and Sutherlands, were detailed to overawe the northern counties, and endeavour to capture the fugitive Prince. On the west coast, the Laird of Mac Leod, Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat, and General Campbell, performed similar services (even the lonely St. Kilda was kept under supervision), and so clearly did ruin confront the rebel chiefs that several of them held a conference at Muirlaggan on the 8th of May, at which they entered into a bond, for their mutual defence. It was arranged that the absent chiefs should be at once communicated with, and that, a week later, the clans should assemble at convenient centres, but for various reasons, the project came to naught, and the Highlanders were surrendered to the tender mercies of their spoilers.

Early in May, Cumberland issued a proclamation calling upon the insurgent clans to deliver up their arms. Little attention was, however, paid to it, and, having resolved to inflict yet more signal chastisement on the rebels, the Duke, on the twenty-fourth of that month, removed his headquarters to Fort Augustus. From this central position, detachments were sent out in all directions, on their work of devastation and death. The seats

of Lochiel, Glengarry, Kinlochmoidart, Keppoch, Cluny, Glengyle, and others, were plundered and burned to the ground, and great numbers of the houses of the common people shared the same fate.

Referring to the general orders authorising the despoiling of the people, Captain Hamilton, one of Cumberland's officers, says:— "It was also given in orders that the goods, their cattle, corns, etc., might be seized, and might be disposed of, and the price divided among the officers and soldiers, according to their pay; and it's believed these orders were put in execution in all the northern counties, and that this greatly distressed the rebels, and made the soldiers very alert in searching for, and in apprehending the rebels." Sometimes as many as two thousand cattle would be driven off in one drove, and sold to graziers from the south, and Boyse tells us that the party which plundered the house of Glengarry, and which consisted of two hundred men, had the following allowances made as their share, viz., each captain, £11 5s.; each subaltern, £5 18s.; each sergeant, £1 10s.; each corporal, £1; and each common soldier, 15s., clear of all deductions.

Fire and sword spread misery and desolation all around. In the wail of the Highland widow's lament, so touching in its simplicity, we have an echo of the cry of grief that rose from many a stricken home:—

"I was the happiest of a' the clan;
Sair, sair may I repine,
For Donald was the bravest man,
And Donald he was mine."

In one instance a whole family was shut up in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Many a time the innocent suffered as well as the guilty. "In several parts of the Highlands," says Bishop Forbes, "the soldiers neither spared man, woman, nor child. The hoary head, the tender mother, and the weeping infant behoved to share in the general wreck, and to fall victims to rage and cruelty by the musket, the bloody bayonet, the devouring flame, or famishing hunger and cold. In a word, the troops sported with cruelty. They marched through scenes of woe, and marked their steps with blood." And this was what his Grace of Cumberland calmly spoke of as "a little blood-letting."

"Oh, Cumberland, what meant you then,
To ravage ilka Highland glen?
Our crime was truth and love to ane,
We had nae spite at thee, man:
And you and yours may yet be glad
To trust the honest Highland lad:
The bonnet blue and belted plaid,
Will stand the last o' three, man."

To overcome five thousand weary, half-starved men, with an army double their number, and afterwards to play the part of a merciless butcher, should not have been sufficient to command the applause of a nation, but William, Duke of Cumberland, in his triumphal progress towards the capital in July, was hailed in the towns along his route as a great soldier, and the deliverer of his country. By Parliament, a special grant of £25,000 a-year was voted him, and the wielder of the exterminating sword could not but feel that he was well paid for his work. Among the men who fought on Culloden field was General James Wolfe, the hero of Quebec. Upon re-visiting the scene of the battle in 1751, and calling to memory the deeds that had been there enacted, he thus wrote:—"The actors shine in the world too high and bright to be eclipsed, but it is plain they don't borrow much of their glory from their performance on that occasion, however they may have distinguished themselves in later events."

In the discovery of the more prominent rebels the utmost zeal was exercised, and death by hanging was proclaimed as the punishment for harbouring insurgents of any degree or rank. Proclamations were ordered to be read from the pulpits enjoining all to assist in the discovery of the fugitives, and the clergy were required to give the names of any whom they knew to have been concerned in the insurrection. Notwithstanding these extreme measures, comparatively few of the leading rebels were captured. In addition to those already mentioned, there came into the hands of the Government, sooner or later, Lord Mac Leod, the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Lovat, Glengarry, Secretary Murray, and Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of Lochiel. The great majority succeeded in reaching the continent, and as many as forty-three were afterwards deemed sufficiently prominent men to be attainted by Act of Parliament.

Of those in a lower rank in life, many captures were made. The gaols were thronged to suffocation, and to all ranks the

treatment accorded was harsh in the extreme. Neither to laird, to lady, nor to vassal, was bedding allowed; water and food were furnished in insufficient quantities, and death came to many as their best friend. Some who were shipped to London found themselves in even a worse plight by the change, and suffered the extreme of misery on the voyage. Disease raged, but there was no one to tend them, and many succumbed ere they reached the Tower.

By the middle of July, matters were in train for the trial of the unfortunate prisoners. The first to be put in the dock, and the first to suffer, were Francis Townley, and several officers of the Manchester regiment. They were tried at London on a charge of high treason, found guilty of the same, and sentenced to death. The words in which the death sentence was expressed in connection with all these trials gives ample evidence of lingering barbarism. More than four hundred years earlier almost the same form was employed in passing sentence on the patriot Wallace. The words were these:—"When you come there (*i.e.* to the place of execution), you must be hanged by the neck; but not till you are dead; for you must be cut down alive; then your bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your faces; then your heads must be severed from your bodies, and your bodies must be divided into four quarters; and these must be at the king's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls."

Reference has been made above to the shipment of Scottish prisoners to London. This was made possible by the passing of an Act, ere yet the rebellion had come to an end, which made it legal for Scottish offenders to be tried in England, and in the end of July, the Scottish Lords—Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Cromarty—were proceeded against, before their peers at London. This fate the aged Tullibardine escaped, by dying in the Tower three weeks earlier. Against the three lords, a conviction was secured, and they were all sentenced to death, but, on account of special circumstances, Cromarty was pardoned, on the intercession of his friends. Kilmarnock and Balmerino met their fate on the morning of the 18th of August, and within the next three months eight others were brought to execution at London.

Meanwhile, the judges were also busy at similar duties in the north of England, and at York and Carlisle many were sentenced

to death. At Carlisle, alone, as many as 380 prisoners awaited trial, but while the more conspicuous of these, such as Mac Donald of Kinloch-Moidart, Mac Donald of Tyendrish, and Buchanan of Arnprior, were specially reserved for trial, it was, to facilitate matters, mutually agreed that the common soldiers should draw lots for one out of each twenty, who should be tried for his life, while the other nineteen should be banished. These, added to those reserved, made a total of 127, all of whom were brought before the commission, and 33 suffered capital punishment. Of the 75 indicted at York, 22 were also sent to execution.

By the end of December, 77 persons had paid the death penalty. Many hundreds were sent off as slaves to the plantations, but the proportion that survived the voyage was small. Of 157, who were immured in the hold of one transport, only 49 lived through the hard treatment meted out to them.

On the 9th of the following April, the aged Lord Lovat suffered death on the Tower Hill, London. His was the last death by decapitation in Britain, and there were few who lamented his fate. Two months later, the Government, conscious of their unpopularity in the country, from the severity of their proceedings, procured the passing of an Act of Indemnity, granting a pardon, with certain exceptions, to all persons who had been engaged in the Rebellion. The exceptions were, however, so numerous, that this act of grace did not count for much. Besides those previously not specifically attainted, others of the more prominent rebels were specially excepted by name, and had to continue to seek security in seclusion, or in other countries. One of the fugitives suffered death as late as 1753 for his part in the rebellion, for George II. had not yet learned to forgive. The victim was Dr. Archibald Cameron, a skilful physician as well as a brave soldier. Believing that all severities were passed, he visited Scotland in the year named, but he was seized near Inversnaid, and conveyed to London, where he was tried and executed. It is not a little remarkable that, with the exception of Lord Kilmarnock, all those who were sent to execution professed, even at the bitter point of death, their steadfast adherence to the cause they had espoused.

Sufficiently hard was the fate, sufficiently grievous the punishment, of him who had been the head and front of the insurrection.

Many a time and oft has the romantic story been rehearsed of the wanderings of the fugitive Prince among the Hebrid Isles, and upon the western sea-board, and interest in the tale, a tale of heroically borne suffering, and incorruptible fidelity, but strengthens with the years. No episode in Scottish history has laid stronger hold upon the sympathies and imagination of the race, and in song and story Prince Charlie and his trusty Highland friends will live while English literature endures, and while passionate devotion and unswerving fidelity under the most trying circumstances continue to be honoured.

In the person, disposition, and manners of the Prince there was much that was calculated to strengthen the ties which bound a people of a highly emotional, imaginative, and poetic type of mind to the representative of their ancient race of kings. Ever courteous and kingly in bearing, ever grateful for assistance vouchsafed, ever contented with food or accommodation, however poor these might be, ever ready to share hardship with the meanest, and ever cheerful under the most depressing circumstances, he won their love and their warmest admiration. Their hearts responded to the trust that was reposed in them, and, though the risk was enormous, and the temptation to betrayal great, they were never appealed to in vain for help or protection.

> "Siller wadna buy the heart
> That beats aye for thine and thee."

To one man, and to one alone, at this time, this general characterisation does not apply. The exception was Coll Mac Donald of Barrisdale, a chieftain who was made prisoner after Culloden. State Papers show that this man had written to Cumberland, offering to discover the whereabouts of the Prince, should his Royal Highness promise to intercede for him. Fortunately, though his terms were accepted, Barrisdale was never able to implement his engagement. Some years later, Samuel Cameron, James Mor, son of Rob Roy, and young Glengarry, brought disgrace on their names by acting as spies in the Hanoverian interest. The identification of the latter with "Pickle the Spy," seems to be placed beyond doubt by the researches of Andrew Lang.

In his toilsome journeyings towards his temporary resting place at Glenboisdale, Charles, as we have seen, had a foretaste of both the hardships and the friendships that he was to experience, during the five months that were to elapse ere he, at last,

found himself secure from his enemies. Already, for his capture, the most strenuous efforts were being put forth, and to the searchers the promised reward of £30,000 was an ample incentive to zealous action, were such required. In all directions the soldiers and militia were moving about, and cruisers scoured the western archipelago.

To Charles and his little cluster of friends, it soon became evident that no indefinite stay could be made with safety at Glenboisdale, and, on the evening of the 24th of April, in the hope that they might, among the Hebrides, fall in with a French ship, they placed themselves under the guidance of Donald Mac Leod of Gualtergill, Skye, and left the shores of Lochnanuagh in a boat of eight oars. This old Highlander had already proved himself a friend to the cause. The only provision made for the party was four pecks of oatmeal. After a night of dreadful storm, they reached, in the morning, the island of Benbecula, where they secured the shelter of a tumbledown shepherd's hut, and made the best of their uncomfortable circumstances, till the hurricane blew past. With an old sail for his couch, the Prince "was very well pleased, and slept soundly."

Putting to sea again on the evening of the 29th, they steered their course for Stornoway, but the elements were again unpropitious, and drove them for shelter to the island of Scalpa, where they were hospitably entertained by Donald Campbell, a tenant of the royalist laird of Mac Leod. To pave the way for the escape of Charles to France, Donald Mac Leod proceeded to Stornoway in advance, in a boat lent him by Campbell, and in a few days, he was able to announce, by express, that he had succeeded in hiring a small vessel of forty tons. Rejoiced at the arrangement, the party took leave of their friends in Scalpa, and put to sea on the 4th of May, but contrary winds compelled them to land at Loch Seaforth, from which they made their way, tired and hungry, over many miles of moorland, towards Stornoway, only to learn that their enterprise had been baffled through the loose, exaggerating tongue of a drunken boatman who, to the dismay of the inhabitants, had given it out that the Prince was in the neighbourhood with a force of five hundred men. The hired boat would not now be given, and matters looked so threatening, that it was recognised that nothing remained but to retrace their weary steps, and put to sea again in their open

boat, steering they knew not whither. To add to their distress, four men-of-war were presently sighted, but they succeeded in escaping their attentions, and landed on a small desert island, where they remained four days, living on dried fish left by some fishermen, who had fled on their approach. When leaving, Charles considerately placed money on the rocks to pay for the fish.

Some hours after again committing themselves to the sea, they had a much narrower escape, a man-of-war bearing down upon them full sail, and within a couple of musket shots. Fortunately for the fugitives, a dead calm prevailed, and the boatmen, bending to the oar, soon carried them out of danger, and once again to the island of Benbecula, where they remained a few days, enjoying the shelter of a miserable bothy. Here the Prince was visited by Clanranald, who brought him some shoes and stockings, and a supply of fresh linen, of which he stood much in need, and some wine and brandy.

The next four weeks were passed under somewhat more favourable conditions in the Forest-house of Glencoradale in South Uist. In this retreat Charles was occasionally visited by his friends, Clanranald and Boisdale, and provided with little luxuries. Newspapers were sent him by Lady Margaret Mac Donald, daughter of Alexander, Earl of Eglinton, and wife of the Hanoverian Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat, and, for some time, he was able to enjoy the pastimes of shooting and fishing. In his meetings with his friends at this time, Charles gave evidence of those drinking tendencies which so degraded him in his later years. They had been, at a still earlier period, noticed by his father.

These comparatively comfortable times in South Uist came, all too soon, to an end, for on the neighbouring islands of Barra and Erisca the militia were in eager search. None might move about without a passport, guards were posted at every ferry, and the cruisers were all around, and vigilant. On the evening of the 14th June, the Prince and his party pushed out into the open sea, but, after several days' absence, they found it impossible to escape from the neighbourhood, and returned to South Uist. For a few days, they lay about Lochboisdale till, upon two vessels of war entering the loch, they fled to the hills. There they suffered great privations, and found little repose, for news was brought them of the landing of five hundred regulars

and militia, within a mile and a-half of their hiding place. At this critical juncture it became evident to Charles that his little party must be further reduced, and choosing O'Neil as his only companion, he went his way to Benbecula, while O'Sullivan, Mac Leod, and Burke, were left to shift for themselves, as best they could. The parting was with great regret, and many misgivings.

It was now, in this hour of extremity, when capture seemed imminent, that there came upon the scene the generous-hearted and devoted Flora Mac Donald. This young lady, whose memory will ever be cherished and held in esteem, was the orphan daughter of Mac Donald of Milton in South Uist. Her usual residence was now in the Isle of Skye, as her mother had married Hugh Mac Donald of Armadale, but at this particular time she was on a visit to her only brother, Angus, at her old home of Milton.

In a hut belonging to her brother, and at the hour of midnight on the 21st of June, Charles was introduced to his future protectress by O'Neil, who had already made her acquaintance. At that interview there was placed before Flora the perilous enterprise upon which it was proposed that she should enter, which, shortly put, was that she should conduct him to the house of her mother at Armadale. To Flora the project seemed hopeless, and she saw nothing likely to result from it but ruin to all concerned, but the sad position of the Prince, and his delicate condition of health at the time, overcame her scruples, and she agreed to essay the task.

Without loss of time, arrangements were put in train for the carrying out of the enterprise, and in Lady Clanranald, and Flora's stepfather, who was stationed at South Uist in command of one of the independent companies, helpful allies were found. From the latter, the necessary passports were got, and, on the 22nd June, he sent the following letter to his wife, which indicates the scheme that had been adopted :—"I have sent your daughter from this country lest she should be any way frightened with the troops lying here. She has got one Betty Burke, an Irish girl, who, as she tells me, is a good spinster. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till she spin all your lint ; or, if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent Neil Mac Eachan along with your daughter and Betty Burke to take care of them.—I am, your dutiful husband,—HUGH MAC DONALD."

It may here be noted that the Neil Mac Eachan referred to above, and who proved so helpful to Charles, settled subsequently in France, and became the father of the famous Marshal Mac Donald, Duke of Tarentum. "Betty Burke" was, of course, the Prince.

While Flora was engaged at Ormaclade with Lady Clanranald in preparing a suitable garb for the future "Betty Burke," Mac Eachan devoted himself to the transference of the Prince to Rossinish in South Uist, from which point, it had been arranged, the party should take ship for Skye. After a journey of the most exhausting and trying character, they arrived, weary and faint, at the hut in the neighbourhood of Rossinish, at which they were to put up till Flora had completed her arrangements. There they learned that a party of militia were stationed within a quarter of a mile of them. Again, escape seemed impossible, and Charles was almost in despair, but, aided by a kindly Highland girl, he succeeded in avoiding detection, and at last, on the 28th June, all was in readiness for his embarkation.

That evening, attired in a somewhat extraordinary costume—"a flowered linen gown, a light-coloured quilted petticoat, a white apron, and a mantle of dun camlet made after the Irish fashion, with a hood"—Charles, having bade affectionate adieu to O'Neil, the last of his original companions, stepped on board a six-oared boat along with his friends, and again committed himself to the sea. The night was stormy and the boatmen were anxious, but Charles was in good spirits, and shortly after morning dawned the point of Waternish was sighted. To land there, as had been intended, was, however, impossible, as they found the district in possession of the militia. These, on seeing the boat approach, summoned them to come on shore, but, altering their course, the boatmen struck out into the open sea again, and, though bullets whistled around them, they escaped uninjured. Shortly thereafter they arrived at Kilbride, close by Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat.

At this juncture, Sir Alexander was on duty at Fort Augustus, but his wife, Lady Margaret, was at home. Ardent sympathiser though she was, the coming of the fugitives, at that particular moment, was not a little discomposing to this lady, for at the time she heard of their arrival, some of the militia were in the neighbourhood, and she was actually entertaining in her house Lieutenant Mac Leod, a militia officer. Between Flora,

Lady Margaret, and Alexander Mac Donald of Kingsburgh. who was Sir Alexander's factor, an anxious interview was speedily arranged, at which it was agreed that the latter should at once conduct the unfortunate visitors to Kingsburgh House, and the following day bring them on their way to Portree, whence they should proceed to Raasay. To facilitate this latter step, a young chieftain, Donald Roy Mac Donald, was forthwith despatched by Lady Margaret, to acquaint the chief of Raasay of the intended visit of the Prince, and, after partaking of some refreshment, that was brought to him by the factor, Charles and the latter set off on foot towards Kingsburgh House. In the way, they were passed on horseback by Flora, Neil Mac Eachan, Mrs. Mac Donald of Kirkibost, and two servants, all of whom were travelling in company. The servants were not in the secret, and remarked, in passing, on the long strides, and the awkwardly managed petticoats of Betty Burke. Indeed, Kingsburgh himself felt called upon to beg his Royal Highness to act his part with more discretion, for, said he, "your enemies call you a pretender, but if you be, you are the worst at your trade I ever saw."

On the arrival of the visitors at their destination, the bristly salute of "Betty Burke" was not a little disconcerting to the good lady of Kingsburgh; but she was not only disconcerted, but dismayed, when she learned that the tall personage who had thus saluted her was none other than the Prince. For the moment she was convinced that black ruin stared them in the face, and that they would all be hanged. How to conduct herself before her royal guest was her next concern, but her husband reassured her, and she prepared to set before them the contents of her larder, which happened to be at the time scantily furnished. At supper, Charles sat between his hostess and Miss Mac Donald, and had his hunger appeased under more comfortable circumstances than he had experienced for many a day. That night he enjoyed also the still greater luxury of a good bed, and slept on, in undisturbed repose, till one o'clock next day. Twenty-seven years later the same bed was occupied by Dr. Samuel Johnson, when the hostess was Flora Mac Donald.

After dressing, the finishing touches to the toilet of the Prince were applied by Flora and Mrs. Mac Donald, amid much merriment. As a result of a colloquy in Gaelic on the subject, while the dressing was in progress, permission was asked by Flora, and

gracefully conceded by the Prince, to cut off a lock of his hair. This done, the relic was fondly and carefully divided between them. But this was not the only memento of the royal visitor which these friends continued to possess and to treasure. By the lady of the house, the sheets on which he had slept were carefully laid past, with the intention that they should never be used again, but be reserved for her winding sheet, and to this purpose they were accordingly put in due time. By Kingsburgh, the tattered brogues which Charles had worn on his arrival, were also faithfully kept as a precious memento, while the Prince was presented by his host with a new pair. At the same time, as it was considered desirable that the female attire should shortly be discarded, he also furnished him with a complete Highland dress. After taking leave of Mrs. Mac Donald, Charles, accompanied by Kingsburgh, proceeded on his way towards Portree. In a wood, at some distance from the house, he donned his new attire, and, this done, he took affectionate leave of Kingsburgh. Thereafter, he went on his way amid drenching rain, accompanied by a little boy named Mac Queen, who acted as guide. To the same rendezvous, but by a different route, the Prince had been preceded by Flora and Neil Mac Eachan.

Ere this time, several of those who had been most helpful to Charles in his wanderings—Donald Mac Leod, O'Neil, and Lady Clanranald—had fallen into the hands of the Government, and in a few days a similar fate befell Kingsburgh. His satisfaction with the part he had played, as brought out in examination by Sir Everard Fawham, may be taken as illustrative of the unselfish feelings that animated all who assisted the unfortunate wanderer. When reminded by Sir Everard of the splendid opportunity he had lost of making his fortune, he spoke thus :—
"Had I gold and silver, piled heaps upon heaps, to the bulk of yon huge mountain, that mass could not afford me half the satisfaction I find in my own breast for doing what I have done."

By the time the Prince and Miss Mac Donald had reached Portree, a boat from Raasay had arrived in the bay, and was ready for his reception. Its occupants were young Raasay, his brother, Dr. Murdoch Mac Leod, their cousin, Malcolm Mac Leod, and two boatmen, John Mac Kenzie, and Donald Mac Friar. Donald Roy was also in attendance. Notwithstanding the absence of the old chief of Raasay from his island home (he was in hiding in Knoy-

dart) it was considered advisable that the Prince should be conveyed there, as the island was at that time free from the military. Accordingly, in the very early morning of the first of July, Charles took leave of his good friends, Neil Mac Eachan and Donald Roy, after which he bade a tender adieu to her who had been his guardian during one of the most critical periods in his wanderings. The task was a painful one, and words were slow to come, but after expressing a fond hope that he might yet see her at St. James's, he saluted her, and made her a present of his portrait in miniature. And so they parted. A few days later, the courageous girl was made prisoner, and sent to London. There, for several months, she was kept in confinement, but, on her release, she became the lion of the season, and was loaded with presents. Then she returned to her native north, where she married Alexander Mac Donald, younger of Kingsburgh. To the last she retained her Jacobite predilections. It was thus Dr. Johnson wrote of her nearly thirty years later:—"Her name will be mentioned in history, and if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour."

Two days only were spent in Raasay, when Charles was conveyed for greater security to Troternish, in Skye. The voyage thither was extremely boisterous, and at night the party landed, drenched and shivering, at Nicolson's rock, near Scorobreck. After a two miles walk in the darkness, they found shelter in a wretched cow-house. Next day, young Raasay and his brother took their leave, and the fugitive was left with Malcolm Mac Leod as his sole companion. Disguising himself to the best of his ability—he could not disguise his noble mien—the Prince took up the position of gillie to Malcolm, and they set off on a long tramp into Strath, the country of Mac Kinnon. Striding on in the rear of Malcolm, Charles marched through moors and mosses for many hours, and that apparently without tasting food, till at length, after a weary walk of thirty miles, he and his companion arrived at Ellagol, the house of one John Mac Kinnon, who was married to Malcolm's sister, and who had served as Captain under the laird of Mac Kinnon. At that moment, John Mac Kinnon was from home, but they received a warm welcome from the lady of the house, to whom Charles was introduced as Lewie Caw, son of a Crieff surgeon, who had been in the Rebellion. A hearty breakfast, and a few hours sleep, refreshed the travellers. Then,

having dressed the Prince amused himself with Mrs. Mac Kinnon's child, dandling it, and singing to it, and enjoying the situation immensely. Later in the day, John Mac Kinnon arrived, and, that evening, he introduced to him the old Chief of Strath, who came and did homage to the royal wanderer. This done, he conducted the Prince to a cave, where they found a plentiful supply of cold meat and wine, which had been laid out by Mrs. Mac Kinnon, the wife of the chief.

Charles was now placed under the guardianship of the Mac Kinnons, and it was resolved to bring him that night to the mainland. In bidding adieu to Malcolm Mac Leod, the Prince presented him with a silver stock buckle, and placed in his hands ten guineas. Like so many others of the friends of the fugitive, Malcolm was, ere long, made prisoner, and conveyed to London, but in July of the following year, he returned again to the north, in company with Flora Mac Donald. Boswell, who met him in 1774, says of him, "I never saw a figure which gave a more perfect representation of a Highland gentleman. I wished much to have a picture of him just as he was. I found him frank and polite in the true sense of the word."

On the evening of Friday, the 4th of July, Charles, accompanied by the chief and John Mac Kinnon, departed for the mainland. Landing at Little Mallag, on the shore of Loch Nevis, the little party found the militia active in the neighbourhood, and so great was the risk that they were constrained to remain at their landing-place for three days, without fire or shelter. On the fourth day, while in search of a cave where they might find shelter, they were chased for a long distance by a boat's-crew of militia men. Rowing, after a time, in the direction of a wood, the Prince, John Mac Kinnon, and a boatman, leaped ashore, but, on ascending a little eminence, they had the gratification of seeing their pursuers returning from their fruitless chase. It was a narrow escape.

Charles now entered into communication with old Clanranald, who, he learned, was at that time visiting at Scothouse, but the aged chief declined to risk anything further in the cause. Baffled in this direction, he was now taken by the Mac Kinnons to the residence of Morar, which they reached after a night tramp of eight miles. On arrival they were very heartily received, and protection was promised to the Prince. After a little, however,

the chieftain went out, and on his return, after a few hours' absence, his conduct towards his guest unaccountably changed. He had probably, in the interval, been in communication with Clanranald. In this dilemma, John Mac Kinnon, to whom the Prince appealed, willingly agreed to stand by him, and that night committed him to the care of Æneas Mac Donald of Borradale. "I shall lodge him so secure," said Æneas, "that all the forces in Britain shall not find him out." The lodging was a secluded, almost inaccessible, cave.

At no time, however, was the position of the hunted Prince more critical than it was during the next sixteen days. Under General Campbell, a complete cordon of troops was drawn round the district in which he now was, and at every pass and every ford sentinels kept watch and ward, by night and day. Camps were formed amid the recesses of the hills, scouting parties searched every nook and cranny, and escape seemed an utter impossibility. Notwithstanding the proud boast of Æneas, it became imperative to fly from Borradale, for the presence of the fugitive there was known; yet how to break through the lines, and where to fly to, were questions alike difficult to answer.

But again, in this darkest hour, friends did not fail the wanderer. Well, by this time, had he learned that

> "No where beats the heart so kindly
> As beneath the tartan plaid."

Borradale, his sons, and Dr. Angus Mac Eachan, his son-in-law; Glenaladale, and his brother; young Clanranald; Donald Cameron of Glenpean, and a trusty Glengarry man, all aided him loyally. For fourteen days, the weary fugitive, accompanied by one or more of his trusty friends, wandered hither and thither, in the wild district between Loch Shiel and Loch Hourn. Dreary moors were traversed, mountain tops were crossed, and the beds of streams were often crept along; while the lonely mountain sides or incommodious caves constituted their only resting-places. Hunger was often experienced, and discovery was frequently imminent. On one occasion, the sentries were passed so near that they could be heard speaking to one another. At other times, groups of the pursuers and their camps could be seen, and they were often closely approached; yet the hearts of the wanderers never failed, and eventually, on the 29th

of July, the Prince found himself welcomed to a romantic cave on the side of Corambian in the Braes of Glenmoriston. There his strange hosts were a group of banditti known as the "Seven Men of Glenmoriston," all of whom had taken part in the insurrection, and were now maintaining a guerilla warfare among the mountains, and seeking revenge upon the soldiers who had cruelly burned their homes, turned their wives and children adrift upon the mountain-side, and deprived them of every lawful means of subsistence. In the manner of life they had adopted, and by shifting about from place to place, they were able to maintain themselves in comfort, and although a price had been put upon their heads they continued to escape capture, for the mention of their names made many a soldier's heart to quake. Their names were Patrick Grant, John Mac Donald alias Campbell, Alexander Mac Donnell, three brothers Chisholm—Alexander, Donald, and Hugh—and Gregor Mac Gregor. From these men, the Prince received a hearty welcome, and, under their guardianship, he remained for three weeks, during which time, as the result of good feeding and the rest he obtained and so much required, his health became thoroughly re-established. To procure him a change of linen, a luxury which he had long desiderated, they seized a favourable opportunity to plunder an officer's baggage.

Towards the end of his three weeks' residence among those strange but faithful guardians, Charles became desirous of entering into communication with Lochiel and Cluny, who, he knew, were in hiding in Badenoch. This was ultimately effected, through the agency of Glenaladale, Cameron of Clunes, Lochgarry, and the two brothers of Lochiel, Dr. Archibald Cameron, and the Rev. John Cameron. Ere the friends met, however, many grievous sufferings, and many toilsome journeyings had yet to be endured by the hunted, weary Prince, but, on the 30th August, accompanied by Dr. Cameron, Lochgarry, and two servants, he succeeded in reaching the hiding place of Lochiel. Theirs was a joyous meeting, and two days later, when Cluny, who had gone out by a different way in expectation of meeting the Prince, had returned, the party was complete, and happiness reigned within the sheltering hut at Maelanuair. In a few days the Prince was conveyed to another of the numerous hiding places of Cluny—a romantic habitation situated on the side of

Benalder, and known as the Cage. It was formed of a thick bush of wood, and the whole fabric, says Cluny, "hung, as it were, by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage. . . . The cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons, four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking."

But the deliverance of Charles was now at hand. Already French vessels had, on more than one occasion, sought for him upon the west coast, but, failing to get into communication with him, had departed. Early in September, however, two French ships arrived in Lochnanuagh, expressly for his deliverance, and on the 13th the Prince was apprised of the fact. That very night, accompanied by Lochiel and others, he set off for the coast, and on the 19th reached Lochnanuagh, the spot where, fourteen months earlier, he had landed to enter upon that romantic career which now had come to an end. With him embarked Lochiel, Dr. Cameron, Lochgarry, young Clanranald, John Roy Stuart, poet and soldier, and one hundred and seven ordinary clansmen, all of them fugitives from their native land. Among the voyagers was the unfaithful Barrisdale, who was taken to France with a view to his being tried. His prosecution was not, however, followed up. On the 20th September, the anchors were weighed, and on the 29th, after a favourable voyage, Charles landed once more upon the coast of France.

> "Bonnie Charlie's noo awa,
> Safely o'er the friendly main."

By the gay Court of France and the Parisians the royal wanderer was welcomed in the most enthusiastic fashion, and became, for a time, the lion of society. It was not for long, however, for his popularity soon passed away, and the heroic virtues he had exhibited in his earlier years became blighted by disappointed hopes, and by intemperance and other indiscretions. In his later years he was a broken man, battered, homeless, almost friendless.

Around the memory of the Bonnie Prince Charlie the halo of romance still shines undimmed, and sentimental affection for the lost cause of the Stuarts continues, for his sake, if for no other,

to burn in the breasts of thousands, who, at the same time, would have regretted had he prevailed. As it was, his early triumphs at the head of a few thousand men deeply impressed the whole nation, while it shook the throne of George II. to its foundations. Later, his extraordinary adventures after the fatal field of Culloden, his wonderful escapes, and the heroic fortitude with which he bore sufferings and privations, which few men could have endured, seized upon the imaginations of the men of his generation, and of later days, and will not let his memory die.

Nor will posterity cease to remember with hearty appreciation that incorruptible fidelity and matchless devotion which made it possible for the wanderer to live so long among the lonely hills, and amid the Isles of the Western Sea, and, at last, to make good his escape; neither will it cease to acknowledge that human nature is ennobled by the unselfishness and chivalrous bearing of the unsophisticated, generous, clansmen of the west. "It is impossible," says the Duke of Argyll in *Scotland As It Was And As It Is*, "to praise too highly the unselfish and incorruptible devotion with which so many of the Celtic clans, and the poorest members of these, resisted the bribes and threats of a powerful government equally strong to punish or reward, in their protection of the Royal fugitive who lived so long in the cliffs and caves of Skye. There was not only genuine poetry in it, but genuine virtue too. It is an immortal page in our otherwise rude and melancholy history, and has conferred upon the Celtic character a just and imperishable renown."

CHAPTER XLVII.

Abolition of Ward-holding—Termination of the Heritable Jurisdictions—Proscription of Tartan and the Highland Garb—The Bagpipe and the Harp—The Music of the Highlander—Modern Gaelic Poetry—Some Highland Poets—Character and capabilities of the Highlander.

With the collapse of the 'Forty-five, the Government set themselves to the enactment of measures, through the vigorous enforcement of which, they hoped to make it impossible that a rising of the same nature should occur again. Of the Acts which were passed with that end in view, those that more particularly affected the Highlands were three in number. One concerned itself with the abolition of "ward-holding," or holding of land by military tenure (a condition which for long had been practically obsolete); another enacted the termination of heritable jurisdictions; while a third dealt with the disarming of the Highlanders, and the proscription of the Highland garb.

By the first of these all military services to superiors were formally put an end to, and arrangements were devised for converting all the superior's claims and privileges into reasonable pecuniary claims. In the matter of the heritable jurisdictions, which had long ere this ceased to deal with the higher criminal offences, as the offices had yielded considerable emoluments, the rights of the then holders were recognised, as they had been at the Union, and a sum of £152,000 was given in compensation to those of them who had not taken part in the Rebellion. Of this sum the largest share—£21,000—fell to the house of Argyll, for in that family had been vested the whole administration of criminal justice in Argyll and the South Isles, while they also enjoyed the high office of hereditary Justiciary of Scotland. "The other sums," says Hill Burton, "graduated from £6621 paid to the Duke of Queensberry, for the hereditary sheriffship of Dumfriesshire and the lordship of Dalgarno, down to £65 19s. 9d., awarded to Sir James Lockhart for the regality of

Carstairs." By this deprivation of judicial authority it was anticipated that the sway of the chief over his followers would be still further impaired, and the public peace made more secure. It is probable, however, that the jurisdictions had little to do with the power of the chiefs in the matter of compelling a following, for it is a fact that some of the most formidable rebels were possessed of no heritable jurisdictions at all.

But it was upon the third of these Acts that the Government placed most reliance for subduing the strong military proclivities of the Highlanders. Refusal to comply with its injunctions, as to the surrender of arms, rendered the delinquent liable to severe penalties. Upon a first conviction a fine of £15 was imposed, while the punishment for a second offence was transportation for seven years. In putting this Act into execution the following brutal oath was administered with a view to thwarting efforts at concealment. It is a further evidence of lingering barbarism in high places, from which more civilised ideas should naturally have been expected to emanate:—"I, A. B., do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property,—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations,—may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath."

To the free, high-spirited Highlanders, all of whom were placed by this Act in the same category, whether they had been loyal or disloyal to King George, the command to deliver up their arms was sufficiently insulting, but the proscription of their picturesque, historic dress galled them to the quick, and they resented the decree with just indignation. That it was unwarranted, unnecessary, unwise, and served no good purpose, was the opinion of Duncan Forbes, who knew the Highlanders much better than those who were responsible for the Act, while by Dr. Johnson the enactment was rightly characterised "rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and beneficent legislation." Speaking of the reception of the decree by the Highlanders, General Stewart, in his "Sketches," says,

"had the whole Highland race been decimated, more violent grief, indignation, and shame could not have been excited among them, than being deprived of this long-inherited costume."

The terms of this obnoxious Act were drastic in the extreme, and upon the loyal clans, as well as upon those that had been in rebellion, it was productive of gross hardship, for the clothing of all of them must have been, in large measure, made of tartan material. Except as a regimental uniform, wearing within the bounds of Scotland any part of the Highland garb, or tartan material in any shape or form, involved imprisonment for six months. A second conviction rendered the party liable to transportation for seven years to any of his majesty's plantations abroad. In the distressing position in which the men found themselves, a woman's petticoat or a blanket worn in shape of a philabeg, but partially stitched up the middle line sometimes, had occasionally to be resorted to instead of breeches. After the first ten years, the Act was less stringently enforced, but it was not till 1782 that it was actually repealed.

Curiously enough, in connection with the punishment of the rebels of the "Forty-five," the Bagpipe was declared, in a Scottish court of law, to be an "instrument of war." On 15th November, 1746, James Reid, a piper who had taken part in the Rebellion, was put upon his trial. By the Court, it was held that a "Highland regiment never marched without a piper, and, therefore, his bagpipe in the eye of the law was an instrument of war." On this finding Reid was convicted of high treason. Such being the manner in which bagpipes were viewed at that time, we need not wonder that Pennant, a few years later, found them "becoming scarce." A hard form of religion, however, had also something to do with the decline in the use of the pipes. Their revival dates from the year 1781, when the Highland Society of London instituted, in Scotland, a series of exhibitions and competitions.

In its more primitive forms the bagpipe was common to many parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Numerous references in literature show that it was largely used both in England and Ireland up till comparatively recent times. The great warpipe, fully developed as we know it, is, however, the product of the Gael of Scotland. By no people has it been brought to the

same perfection as by the men of the hills and glens of our land. That development has been, however, slow. Previous to the sixteenth century it existed in the simple form of chanter, bag, and one drone. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, a second drone was added, and early in the eighteenth century a third, which form it retains at the present time.

That the Scots were, at an early period, proficient in music is borne testimony to by Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote about the year 1187. He says, "In Ireland they use for their delight only two musical instruments, the harp and the tabor. In Scotland we find three—the harp, the tabor, and the bagpipe [?] (choro). In Wales they have also three—the harp, the pipe, and the horn. The Irish employ strings made of brass wire instead of the gut of animals. It is the opinion of many at this day, that Scotland has not only equalled her mistress, Ireland, in musical skill, but has far excelled her, so that good judges are accustomed to consider that country as the fountainhead of the art."

Until comparatively recent times, the bagpipe was, perhaps, as closely associated with the Lowlands as with the Highlands. In the Exchequer Rolls of 1362, we find that xl s were paid to pipers by the King's command, and the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, 1473-1498, furnish records of several payments having been made to pipers, some of whom were English. At the same period, King Henry VII. of England had his private piper, who was paid from the Privy Purse. Every considerable town had its public pipers and its minstrels. From the burgh records of Edinburgh we learn that that town had three public pipers in 1487, and the following arrangements were at that time made for their support:—"The Provost, Council, and Deacons, ordained that the common pipers of the burgh be fed for the honour of the town—that the pipers go and get their food day about from all persons of substance: or if the pipers take wages they must live thereon for that day. All who did not give them food, to give them ninepence on their day, that is, to each piper threepence at the least." Until the present century, a piper was maintained by the town of Perth.

It is not a little strange to find that though the bagpipe is peculiarly suited for service on the battlefield, and must have been used in that capacity for many centuries, our historians do not mention its employment in warfare till the beginning of the

sixteenth century. John Hastie, a Jedburgh piper, is stated to have played at the battle of Flodden. A French officer, writing in 1549, says, "The wild Scots encouraged themselves to arms by the sounds of their bagpipes." Since that time, as we have seen in our narrative, it was often referred to in connection with Highland struggles.

In early times the harp was even more closely associated with the history of the peoples of the British Isles than was the bagpipe. For use within doors, and as an accompaniment to the songs of the bards, it was the favourite instrument of the Celt, and its employment would seem to date back to the earliest times. In an old poem, "The Desire of the Aged Bard," which bears evidence of having been composed on the west coast of Scotland, and possibly in pre-Christian times, the old bard, in his death-song, speaks of the harp, and sings—

> "Turn my ear to the roar of the waterfall
> That bursts in thunder from the rock;
> Let a harp and a shell be by my side,
> And the shield that defended my sires in battle."
>
> "With harp and shell for the road let me play;
> Then farewell to the harp, the shell, the lay."

As is well known, many references to the harp are to be found in Ossianic poetry. Joseph Anderson tells us that trumpets are represented on a monumental stone at Hilton of Cadboll, and harps on the stones at Aldbar, Nigg, Monifieth, and the Dupplin Cross—all monuments of Celtic type, but some of them of its later period.

Writing in 1597, and speaking of the music of our country, the author of *Certain curious matters touching Scotland*, says "they delight much in musicke, but chiefly in *harps* and clarischoes of their own fashion. The strings of the clarischoes are of brass wire, and the strings of the harps of sinews, which strings they strike either with their nayles growing long, or else with an instrument appointed for that use. They take great pleasure to decke their harps and clarischoes with silver and precious stones; and poor ones that cannot attayne hereunto, decke them with chrystall."

By Major we are told that our poet-king, James I., who died in 1437, excelled the best harpers among the Irish and the

Scottish Highlanders. In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts of the early part of the following century, we find a few items which indicate a hearty interest taken by royalty in the harpers of the Highlands.

1491.—"Item the xix° Aprill, to Martyn, clareschaw, and the toder Ersche [Highland] clareschaw, at the Kingis command, xviii^{s}."

1491.—"Item to Martyn M'Bretne, clareschaw, x^{s}."

1491.—"Item to ane oder Ersche clareschaw, v^{s}."

1496.—"Item . . . to a man that playit on the clarscha to the King, vii^{s}."

1503.—"Item to Makberty, the clarisha to pass to the Isles, iij^{li}. x^{s}."

1506.—"Item to Maklain's clarisha, ix^{s}."

,, —To Earl of Argyle's clarisha, xiiij^{s}., and to Duncan Campbell's bard, v^{s}."

As is well known, every Highland chief had, in the olden times, his harper as well as his bard, and we have already seen that, about the year 1490, Angus, son of John, last Lord of the Isles, was slain by his own harper. The last of his race is commonly supposed to have been Murdoch Mac Donald, harper to Mac Lean of Coll. Accounts still extant seem to show that payments were made to him by Mac Lean till the year 1734, when he appears to have gone to Quinish in Mull, where he died. One of Murdoch's teachers was Roderick Morrison, usually called *Ruaraidh Dall* or Blind Roderick, who was harper in Skye to the Laird of Mac Leod. In 1650, after the death of Mac Leod, Roderick paid a visit to Robertson of Lude, who was himself a skilled harper. On that occasion he composed a *Port* or air, called *Suipeir Thighearna Leoid* or The Laird of Lude's Supper, which, with others of his compositions, is still extant. One of the harps then in Robertson's possession was the famous Lamont harp. It is recorded that in 1460, Lilias, a daughter of the then chief of the Lamonts, married Charles Robertson of Lude. To her Perthshire home she carried with her a harp, ancient even then, and now believed to be almost the oldest specimen of the Celtic harp in existence.

Before the wider usefulness of the pipes, and the greater effectiveness of the violin, the harp, which had charmed the men and women of other days, and had supplied the accompaniment

to many a wondrous tale and stirring ballad, fell into disfavour, and practically died out.

Than the Bagpipe, no single musical instrument that has ever been invented unites in itself so wide a range of usefulness. For service upon the march, or amid the din and strife of battle, no instrument, and probably no combination of instruments, is at once so convenient and so effective. To the soldier, who from childhood has been accustomed to its stirring strains, it speaks with an intensity, and with a quickening power, which no other instrument can approach. Upon the march, as the sound of the war-pipe swells out upon the breeze, and steals upon the wearied soldier's ear, he instinctively straightens himself up, squares his shoulders, and presses forward with new life and swinging step, while the martial spirit, the warlike mood, is stirred within him. In the thick of the carnage, and amid the roar of artillery, when every other musical instrument is hushed, its shrill notes continue to inspire and sustain; and in the desperate headlong charge, when so much depends upon the spirit in which the men enter upon it, the animating strains of the *Piob Mhor* may still be heard, leading on to death or victory. And so it is that the Bagpipe continues, year by year, to gain in favour in the British army, and even in the Native Indian army, in some of whose regiments it has been employed since 1864. The first Native regiment to adopt it was the First Punjaub Infantry.

But the Bagpipe is much more than a martial instrument, and in earlier days, if not now, it played its part in well-nigh every concern in life. Besides marches and quicksteps, pipe music comprises *piobaireachd*, which include gatherings, salutes, and laments; jigs, reels, and strathspeys. Of these varieties, the pibroch is the noblest form of composition, the most sublime, and the most difficult of perfect execution. Of the reels and strathspeys, so many of which are now played upon the violin, a very large number were originally composed for the bagpipe. By Neil Gow, however, who himself composed much of this class of music, the titles of many of the old tunes were altered, and named after his patrons and patronesses. It is, consequently, difficult to definitely distinguish the older ones from those composed by himself.

In the olden days the Highlanders were passionately fond of

dancing, and to the enlivening strains of the bagpipes the nimble feet moved quicker and quicker upon the green sward, as the merry notes flew out upon the air. But in scenes of mourning, no less than in times of joy, the bagpipe has all through its history held an important place, and the wild, weird, wail of the Lament stirs in many a heart responsive echoes, and soothes the spirit of the desolate one away in the lonely glen. Here it may be well to remind those who object to the sound of the bagpipes at close quarters that Highlanders, in no less degree than Lowlanders, cherish the same objection. The bagpipes belong to the open air, and no Highlander plays them for choice within doors. To everything its purpose and its place. "Men do not mend pens with axes," nor do eagles catch flies.

Considered as folk-music, as music composed not by educated men, but by people in ordinary life, it seems not improbable that the music of the Highlander, both vocal and instrumental, is unequalled by that of any other people, either as regards quantity or quality. No doubt exists that much of what is known as Scottish music is derived from the Celtic muse. Under the inspiration of beautiful Highland airs, Burns and other Lowland poets composed many of their noblest songs. Speaking of one of these tunes, Burns says:—"This is one of those fine Gaelic tunes preserved from time immemorial in the Hebrides; they seem to be the ground work of many of our finest Scots pastoral tunes." To Burns, a child of nature himself, with probably much of Celtic blood in his veins, the naturalness of Highland airs, their simplicity, their pathos, their intensity, and the fact that they had "been for ages the favourites of nature's judges—the common people"—was sufficient test of their merit, whether they were reducible to modern rule or not. In fact, their very eccentricity was to him a recommendation.

Nothing but their intrinsic merit, and the fact that many of them are associated with the history and traditions of the country, could have perpetuated those beautiful, heart-thrilling melodies, and caused them to live in the memories of the people from generation to generation. Writing on this subject, Hamish Mac Cunn has said recently:—"This Highland music (of which there exists a surprisingly voluminous quantity, traditionally preserved from time immemorial by the Highland peasantry) possesses a wonderful and wild beauty of its own. Its pensive and

somewhat melancholy imaginativeness, the grandeur and fierce energy of its sterner moods, and the immense variety and diversity of its character and scope, entitle it at once to permanent preservation, and to the respect and admiration of all thoughtful and patriotic Scotsmen." Such considerations cannot but raise our estimate of the Highland peasantry ; for music and song are indicative of the life and character of a people ; and we cannot have beautiful melodies composed and loved by a race unless the individuals are possessed of exalted feelings, and own and cherish refined tastes and sensibilities.

Very much of ancient Gaelic poetry, and perhaps almost all of the compositions of the more modern bards, were intended to be linked to music. Several of the airs to which the old Ossianic lays were sung are contained in modern collections of Highland music. That there are mines of lyric wealth stored up in Highland literature no one can doubt who has any knowledge of Gaelic poetry at first hand or through worthy translations. Perhaps it is not too much to say that in no other country is there to be found a peasantry possessed of a folk-minstrelsy comparable to that which is stored up in the poetic literature of the Scottish Gael. Than this fact, and their love of music, we could have no better evidence of the essentially refined and elevated tastes and character of the Highland peasantry. We say the peasantry, for since the higher classes took to the English tongue and employed it in their literary work as the vehicle by which they could appeal to the largest number of their fellows, the language of the Celt has been left almost entirely to the humbler classes. Of that language many of them have succeeded in making a brilliant use, and hundreds of beautiful wild flowers, of which the Lowlander has, as yet, no knowledge, only await the appearance of competent translators, themselves filled with the divine afflatus, to make them heartily welcomed by the English reader. Much has already been done in this way, and many Gaelic poems of great beauty have been clothed in a worthy English dress by Principal Shairp, Professor Blackie, Thomas Pattison, and others, but it is highly desirable that many more of these simple but genuine treasures were made accessible to non-Gaelic readers.

But not only were many of the noblest Gaelic poems productions of the peasantry, but not a few of them were composed by those who had no lettered education, men and women who could neither read nor write. In this connection the following extract from the biography of Rob Donn, the Reay bard, is highly instructive. "I have of late," says Dr. Mac Kay, his reverend biographer, "frequently heard strangers express their surprise at the marked intelligence evinced in the works of a man devoid of every degree of early cultivation. To this it may be answered, that the state of society was very different then from what it is now, progressively retrograding, as it has been for the last thirty years at least, in this country. *In the bard's time the lords, lairds, and gentlemen of this country not only interested themselves in the welfare and happiness of their clan and dependents, but they were always solicitous that their manners and intelligence should keep pace with their personal appearance.* I perfectly remember that my grandfather would every post-day evening go into the kitchen, where his servants and small tenants were assembled, and read the newspapers aloud to them, and it seems incredible with what propriety and acuteness they made remarks, and drew conclusions from the politics of the day. In a certain degree this was practised all over the country; the superiors regularly condescending to explain to their dependents whatever was going forward. The fact was, the chief knew his affinity to the different branches of his clan; and it was deemed no inconsiderable part of duty in the higher classes of the community to elevate the minds, as well as assist in increasing the means, of their humbler relatives and clansmen. I am aware that many unacquainted with the dear ties of such a system, argue largely that the distinctions of rank appointed by God, could not be maintained amidst such indiscriminate intercourse. Still, the habits of that day never produced a contrary effect. The chiefs here, for many generations, had been 'men fearing God, and hating covetousness.' Iniquity was ashamed, and obliged to hide its face. A dishonourable action excluded the guilty person from the invaluable privilege enjoyed by his equals, in the kind notice and approbation of their superiors. Grievances of any kind were minutely inquired into and redressed; and the humblest orders of the community had a degree of external polish, and a manly mildness of deportment in domestic life, which few of the present

generation have attained to, much as has been said of modern improvements."

There can be no doubt that all down the generations the same healthy social influences, the same kindly intercourse between the different ranks of society, "the same friction of mind with mind," occurred universally throughout the Highlands, with the same stimulating and elevating effects. Thus men were educated without being book-learned. Among the unlettered poets was Duncan Mac Intyre or Donnacha Ban, as he was familiarly called, "one of the greatest masters of the Gaelic Lyre."

Gaelic lyric poetry comprises love songs, martial songs, laments, labour songs, cradle songs, satirical songs, comic songs, Jacobite songs, and farewell or emigrant songs. Simple and unpretentious though many of these lyrics are, yet when wedded to their appropriate music, and sung from the heart, they have a power to thrill and to captivate, such as is seldom equalled by more elaborate compositions.

For the most part the songs of the Gael are provided with a chorus, the intention being the eminently social one of making it possible for the entire company to take part in the entertainment. Labour songs—iorrams or boat songs, reaping songs, etc., partook specially of this character, for the Highlander took delight in singing at his work. "In a certain part of the song, the leader stops to take breath, when all the others strike in and complete the air with a chorus of words and syllables, generally without signification, but admirably adapted to give effect to the time."

Other forms of modern Gaelic poetic compositions comprise descriptive pieces, elegies, and religious poems. These with the more distinctively lyrical productions make up a very considerable number of volumes. In the year 1832, Reid published his "*Bibliotheca Scoto Celtica*, an account of all the books that have been printed in the Gaelic language." In that work "there is a list given of fifty-eight different volumes of Gaelic poetry, containing the words of well-known bards, or the result of collections made orally throughout the Highlands." Many valuable contributions to the poetical literature of the Gael have since been added, and in Mac Kenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Féinne*, and Sinclair's *An t-Oranaiche*, the lover of Gaelic poetry will find mines rich in purest ore.

All down the centuries, and until quite recent times, there is nothing that so clearly distinguishes the poetry of the Celt from that of the Lowlander as the manner in which they respectively looked upon wild nature. To the Lowlanders it was abhorrent. In them the sight of mountains, however grand or however picturesque, called up no pleasurable feelings, induced in them no sense of inspiring awe. The fiercer and graver aspects of Nature filled them only with fear, and a desire to haste away from them to softer, tamer scenes.

How different it was with the Celt, with the Gael of Scotland, all down his history, his poetry amply testifies. He felt the charm of wild nature, he loved its converse, he entered into its spirit, giving expression to its inexhaustible moods and phases with wonderful felicity and fidelity. No one has recognised this more fully and clearly than Matthew Arnold. By Principal Shairp it is also borne testimony to, as when he says in his *Aspects of Poetry*, "some features of their country's scenery, and some human feelings and habits which it has fostered, have expressed themselves in songs of the native Gaelic-speaking bards, which, for force and vividness, no foreign language can equal." The towering mountain, the gloomy glen, the forest solitude, the lonely mysterious sea, the bubbling stream, the wild-flower, the changing seasons, and all animated nature the Highlander loved and made his own, for he lived near to "Nature and her secret," Thus he is able to express vividly "the intimate life of Nature, her weird power, and her fairy charm," bending language at his will in virtue of his "magic of style." Upon Nature he also drew largely for images and comparisons, and applied them in artistic fashion in love lyrics and many other compositions. To him Nature was much in his every-day experience, and in her freest gifts he recognised his choicest blessings. It is thus Donnacha Ban sang upon revisiting his favourite haunt of Ben Dorain after a long absence, and as he thought of the joyous times he had spent there in his youth a-chasing the deer, and drinking in the unsullied joys of a life of freedom. It was his last farewell to the hills:—

"How cheerily I rose and went
The rugged brakes to roam,
I sought them early, but unspent,
Though late I wandered home;

For the breath of those great mountains,
Was health and strength to me,
And a fresh draught from the fountains,
Like a new life would be.

. . . . . .

Then wild heath forest, fare-you-well,
Ye wonderful bright hills;
Farewell sweet spring and grassy dell—
Farewell the running rills,—
Farewell vast deserts, mountains grand,
With peaks the clouds that sever;
Scenes of past pleasures pure and bland—
Farewell, farewell for ever!"

In one of his Oxford lectures, Principal Shairp, speaking on Celtic poetry, appeals in this fashion to his audience:—"To Lowlanders, accustomed to read the great standard poets, and to measure all poetry by their model, it may be some advantage to turn aside and look at a poetry wholly unlike that of England, Rome or Greece, a poetry which is as spontaneous as the singing of the birds and the beating of men's hearts; a poetry which is, in great measure, independent of books and manuscripts; a poetry which, if narrower in compass and less careful in finish, is as intense in feeling, and as true to Nature and to man, as anything which the classical literatures contain."

Between the Reformation period and the close of the last century, many poets of genuine worth sang in the Highland glens, and on the Western Islands. We can here do little more than name them. First among them comes Mary Mac Leod of Harris or Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh (1569-1674), one who is spoken of as the inimitable poetess of the Isles. Her work is characterised by boldness, freshness, and originality, while her language is simple and elegant.

Next in point of time comes John Mac Donald or Eoin Lòm, the bard of Keppoch (1645), a staunch Royalist, a great admirer of Montrose, and a poet-politician, who, for his zeal, was made a sort of Gaelic Laureate by Charles II., with a small pension. He was the first of the Jacobite poets. Mac Donald was a man of strong moral courage, and was possessed of genuine lyrical fervour, with large powers of hating, as is shown in his treatment of the Campbells in his verses on the Battle of Inverlochy.

"Warm your welcome was at Lochy,
Blows and buffets thickening round you,
And Clan Donald's groovéd claymore,
Flashing terror to confound you.

. . . . . .

By the field of Goirtean-òar,
Who may take his summer ramble,
He will find it fair and fattened
By the best blood of the Campbell."

An elegy composed by Eoin Lòm, on the murdered children of his chief, is a poem of power and pathos, and it aided, largely, in bringing about the punishment of the covetous murderers.

In Mac Kenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, specimens are given of the productions of about a dozen other notable poets and poetesses, who flourished principally in the seventeenth century. These are Archibald Mac Donald, surnamed *An Ciaran Mabach*, illegitimate son of Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat; Dorothy Brown or Diorbhail Nic A Bhriuthainn, a native of Luing; Lilis or Cicely Mac Donald, a member of the Keppoch family; Niall Mac Mhuirich, bard of Clanranald, who occupied the *Baile-bhàird* or the bard's farm in South Uist; Iain Dubh Mac Iain Ic Ailein—Black John, the son of John, the son of Alan—of the Clanranald family, who resided at Eigg; the *Aosdana* Mac Mhathain—the old singer Matheson,—bard to the Earl of Seaforth, with his home at Loch Alsh; the *Aosdana* Mac Illean, or Mac Lean, bard to Sir Lachlan Mac Lean of Duart; Mac Kinnon, a scion of the Strath family; Roderick Morison, the blind harper and poet already referred to; and John Mac Kay of Gairloch, a distintinguished piper and composer of pipe music, as well as a poet. We come now to Alastair Mac Donald, who held a commission in the army of Prince Charlie.

Alastair Mac Mhaighstir Alastair, as he is called by his countrymen (1701-80), was the son of a Moidart Episcopal minister. He studied at Glasgow University, but circumstances made him a teacher and a farmer. He was an ardent Jacobite, and his fiery and warlike songs did much for the Stuart cause. Alastair fought at Culloden, and suffered much hardship afterwards. To him belongs the honour of having published, in 1741, the first Gaelic Vocabulary ever issued in Scotland. Ten years later his poems were published. Alastair was, unquestionably, a poet of

great vigour and power, and, by Highlanders, he is spoken of as the king of Celtic poëtry, the most masculine, as well as the most accomplished of their poets. Truth and vividness characterise his descriptions of nature, while in tenderness and grace he is not lacking. His most striking poem is "The Biorlinn of Clanranald."

One of the most powerful satirical writers that the clans have produced (they have been few) was John Mac Codrum of North Uist, bard to Sir James Mac Donald of Sleat. He was contemporary with Alastair Mac Donald, and in connection with the great Ossianic controversy his name came before the public. Writing regarding him to Dr. Blair, Sir James says:—"I have heard him repeat for hours together poems which seemed to me to be the same with Macpherson's translations." Mac Codrum was not only a satirist and a wit, but a master of the philosophy of common life. Few of his compositions were published, and these few only in Mac Donald's collection.

Among the writers of Gaelic sacred verse the earliest, and still the most esteemed, was Dugald Buchanan (1716-1768), teacher, catechist, and famous preacher, of Kinloch Rannoch. He was born at Strathtyre, in Balquhidder, and was partly educated in Stirling and Edinburgh. A considerable portion of the year 1756 he spent in Edinburgh, superintending, along with the Rev. Mr. Stewart of Killin, the publication of the New Testament in Gaelic, and at the same time availing himself of the opportunity of attending at the University the classes of Natural Philosophy, Anatomy, and Astronomy. Buchanan's poems have been great favourites, and have gone through about twenty editions. His most esteemed pieces are "The Day of Judgment," "The Dream," "The Winter," "The Prayer," "The Skull," and "The Christian Hero." He also wrote a Memoir of himself in forcible yet graceful English.

In the highest rank of Celtic bards stands Duncan "of the songs,"—Donnacha Ban Mac Intyre, Glenorchy's sweet singer. His period was 1724-1812. As a young man, he fought on the Hanoverian side at the battle of Falkirk, and there lost a sword which had been given to him by a gentleman called Fletcher, whose substitute he was. The loss of the sword resulted in his composing his first poem—a good-humoured satire on Fletcher, who had refused to pay him the small wage of his substitution. "Mac Intyre became famous, and Fletcher contemptible," while,

ultimately, the latter was forced by Breadalbane to pay his legal due. In Donnacha Ban, we have one of the most characteristic, tuneful, singers that the Highlands have produced. True to nature, his poetry is "pervaded and enlivened by the very spirit of Highland scenery, and embalms, though unconsciously, yet with good effect, the tone of that phase of life of which the bard himself partook." As a descriptive poet he is unexcelled, while he is a master of versification. As a forester and gamekeeper in Coire Cheathaich, and on Ben Dorain, and Buachaill Etive, he lived much with nature, and communed with her lovingly, and so we find his poems redolent of the heather, and the hills, the deer, and the roe. His genius for descriptive poetry is strikingly displayed in his two greatest poems, *Coire Cheathaich* or *The Misty Corrie*, and *Ben Dorain*, of the latter of which Blackie writes :— "I shall be surprised to learn that there exists in any language, ancient or modern, a more original poem of the genius which we may call venatorial, than the *Ben Dorain* of Duncan Ban." Of his compositions, six thousand lines have been printed, all of which, as he was wholly unlettered, must have been arranged and stored up in his memory for many years. Mac Intyre's physical vigour may be gauged by the fact, that, at the age of sixty-nine, he joined the Earl of Breadalbane's regiment of Fencibles as a sergeant, while six years later he became a member of the City Guard of Edinburgh, in which he continued until 1806, when he was eighty-two years of age. On a hillside, in the neighbourhood of Loch Awe, a worthy monument has been reared to his memory.

Another soldier-poet of this period, and a man of genius in both respects, was Colonel John Roy Stuart, a Badenoch man, and a descendant of the ancient Barons of Kincardine in Inverness-shire. His was a vigorous personality, and he wrote with vigour. "His martial strains," says Mac Kenzie, "thunder along with the impetuosity of the mountain torrent—racy, sinewy, and full of nerve." In the rebellion of the 'Forty-five he took a prominent part, and wrote a vigorous poem on the defeat at Culloden. His denunciation of the Duke of Cumberland is scathing and bitter. He speaks to this intent. "May William, the son of George, be as a leafless splintered tree, rootless, branchless, sproutless. May there be no joy on his hearth, no wife, no brother, no son, no sounding harp or blazing wax."

After Culloden, Stuart had many hairbreadth escapes. Upon one of these he composed a poem, commonly called "John Roy's Psalm," which begins as follows :—

"The Lord's my targe, I will be stout
With dirk and trusty blade ;
Though Campbells swarm in flocks about,
I will not be afraid."

Rob Donn Mac Kay, the Reay bard (1714-1778), to whom reference has already been made, though holding a lower place in the estimation of his countrymen than Alastair Mac Donald or Donnacha Ban, is still highly regarded by them. Fortune smiled on his memory, when his work attracted the attention of John Gibson Lockhart, who, in the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1831, brought his merits before the reading public, and hailed him as entitled to a place among the genuine sons of song. Like many others of the leading singers, Rob was wholly illiterate, and, except for a period of four years, which he spent in the Sutherland Highlanders, as a sort of combined soldier and bard, he acted almost continuously as chief herdsman over the cattle of his chief, Lord Reay. Mac Kay composed many songs of very unequal merit, some of them not distinguished for their purity. He was clear-sighted, shrewd, and witty, while as a satirist his poems have both point and pungency, and they are still of interest, as illustrating contemporary manners and customs. To the poet's memory a monument has been erected, with inscriptions thereon, in English, Gaelic, Greek, and Latin.

Other poets who played their part at a period somewhat later than that with which we deal, and who have found a niche in the Gaelic temple of fame, we will content ourselves with merely mentioning. Lachlan Mac Pherson, of Strathmashie, born 1723, coadjutor of James Mac Pherson, of Ossianic fame ; Kenneth Mac Kenzie, sailor, soldier, and post-master, born at Caistel Leauir, near Inverness, in 1758 ; Allan Mac Dougall, tailor, fiddler, and piper, born at Glencoe about 1750 ; James Shaw, the bard of Loch Nell, born in Mull in 1758 ; William Ross, schoolmaster and sweetest of lyric poets, born at Broadford, Skye, in 1762 ; James Mac Gregor, D.D., Anabaptist missionary, and distinguished sacred bard, born near Comrie in 1762 ; Ewan Mac Lachlan, A.M., schoolmaster and distinguished poet-scholar, born

in Lochaber in 1775; Alexander Mac Kinnon, soldier, born at Morar in 1770; Donald Mac Donald, sawyer, and bard of Strathconan, born in Strathconan in 1780; Donald Mac Leod, merchant and Skye bard, born at Durness in 1785; Livingstone, accomplished tailor, historian, and poet, born in Islay in 1808; and Ewan Mac Coll, custom-house officer, the bard of Loch Fyne, born at Kenmore in 1812.

Here and there, throughout the course of our narrative, reference has been made to many facts and incidents which serve to cast some light upon the character, characteristics, and capabilities of the Gaelic race in Scotland. On those interesting subjects, as well as on the institutions and customs of the Highlanders, nothing better has been written than Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, and Mrs. Grant's *Letters from the Mountains*, and the reader who desires to follow up the subject will derive pleasure and instruction from their perusal. What further we have to say here on the first-named points will be said shortly, and in a general way.

In the matter of descriptive criticism, Macaulay's vivid picture, while doing justice to some of the noble qualities of the Highlander of the past, may be taken as putting before us the worst that could be said regarding his failings. That distinguished writer, while deprecating the prejudiced views of former times—the extremes of good and the extremes of bad—and lamenting the impossibility of constructing a perfect picture owing to the lack of material drawn from inside the confederacy of the clans, or from their view-point, is himself not free from blame in this matter, and it would not be difficult to show that, in several respects, his statement of their failings is alike unfair and uncharitable. It will be time enough, however, to seek to excuse many of the acknowledged defects of the men of the hills when the race has been discovered that is the happy possessor of all the virtues, and has no failings shared by others or peculiar to itself.

The fact is that it is difficult, if not quite impossible, for one race or one nationality, to rightly understand another. Hence arise prejudices, prejudices which are often perpetuated through successive writers failing to remember that the original communicator of a particular opinion may have been him-

self prejudiced, or, from want of knowledge or other defect, incapable of forming a correct judgment. Sometimes, also, an opinion concerning a particular race can only be estimated at its true value by a consideration of what the same writer has to say regarding another race. For example, Andrew Lang in a recent work calls attention to the fact that Gildas, in the sixth century, wrote of the Picti as "a set of bloody freebooters, with more hair on their thieves' faces than clothes to cover their nakedness," but he fails to tell us that the same British writer spoke of the Saxons who, as well as the Picts, were enemies of his own people, as "a race hateful alike to God and man." It need scarcely be said that it is always unwise to judge a people or individuals by the opinions of enemies.

In large measure, the virtues and failings of Highlanders were such as were to be looked for in a primitive people—a people who, from their isolation and want of proper government, had continued comparatively uninfluenced by modern ideas into a time when their neighbours had been long affected and moulded by external civilisation. There can be no doubt that many of the Highlanders' characteristics would have shown themselves in any race similarly situated. That the backwardness of the Gael in the ways of modern civilisation was not due to any natural inferiority, as compared with the Saxon, even Macaulay unhesitatingly acknowledges, and, coming as he did of a Gaelic stock, he presented in himself one of the best possible evidences of the truth of his admission. The great need of the Gael, as we have frequently contended, was effective, sympathetic government, and the responsibility for his backwardness, and the many regrettable things that occurred in the Highlands, must rest with those who, while charged with the government of the country, failed in their duty. In art, in music, and in poetry, the Celts, as we have seen, have exhibited, all down their history, a striking originality and power of expression, combined with great capabilities of culture; and at home and abroad, in modern days, they have made it abundantly evident that, when placed under conditions which give scope to their energies, there is no race capable of showing more intelligence, and exhibiting more industry. Laziness, in the matter of business, follows, as a rule, from having little to do, and from being so circumstanced that there is nothing to inspire to exertion. It was emphatically

so with the Highlanders, for they are not often equalled when hard work is to be done, or there is occasion for activity.

In the matter of government, or of building up a civilisation under the inspiration of modern ideas, the Celtic race, as such, has had no opportunity of showing what it could evolve, but the vigour and cultivation of Scotland under her Celtic kings, and the undoubted influence of the Celtic element (not only as individuals, but as a substratum of the general population) upon the well-being of our country, may well incline us to conclude that had the Celts been left free to mould the destinies of their several countries upon lines conform, in the main, to their genius, they would have produced a civilisation and administration which, while it might differ in many respects from the noble product of the combined races of these islands, would have been entirely fitted for its purpose, suited to the people, and of such a character as would have led to much prosperity. The fervid spirit of their race, their quick intuitions, their artistic sense, their energy, their adaptability, and their many other noble qualities, moral and physical, lead readily to the conclusion that, under favourable conditions, they are capable of filling a high place in the world's great economy. It is time that prejudiced writers recognised this fact, and acknowledged that all the nobler capabilities are not restricted to the so-called Anglo-Saxon people.

In the character of the genuine Highlander, though there are, as has been pointed out, failings not a few to be deplored, there is much that is very attractive. Some of his best characteristics, such as courage, fidelity, constancy, courtesy, dignity, were the products of the clan system. Sir John Dalrymple credits them with accounting it their highest accomplishments "to be modest as well as brave, to be contented with a few things which Nature requires, to act and to suffer without complaining, to be as much ashamed of doing anything insolent or ungenerous to others, as of bearing it when done to ourselves, and to die with pleasure to avenge affronts offered to their clan or their country." Another Lowlander has thus written of the modern Gael—"He is modest and unassuming. His courtesy and good breeding are unstudied and becoming, and no feeling of inferiority betrays him into abstraction or awkwardness of manner; shrewd, inquisitive, and intelligent, he has his

faculties collected and at his command. He is sensible of kindness, and deeply susceptible of gratitude, but withal he is superstitious, haughty, passionate, and vindictive."

To the Highlander's pride of race and self-esteem is, doubtless, to be attributed his readiness to quarrel. In more recent times his belief in himself, his strong conviction that the side he favours is right, has led, all too frequently, to the exhibition of a combative spirit in matters of religion, with results that can only be described as unfortunate.

In spite of their love of profitable forays, it can be claimed for the Gael that, as individuals, they were strictly honest, and it was rightly contended by Cluny of the 'Forty-five that the habit of collective robbery "proceeded only from the remains of barbarism, for he had many convincing proofs that in other respects the dispositions of the people in these parts were generally as benevolent, humane, and even generous as those of any country whatever."

Notwithstanding their faults and failings, we may, with the late Professor Blackie, have little hesitation in considering the people of the Highlands as "the noblest peasantry in the world." Writing to Lady Stanley of Alderley in 1890, Dr. Jowett, the late Master of Baliol said:—"I am not sure whether Scotland (especially the West Coast) is not the finest country in the world, and her people, notwithstanding their awkwardness, the greatest race." "I have wandered amongst the peasantry of many countries," wrote the late J. F. Campbell, in the introduction to his Tales, "and this trip (1859) but confirmed my old impressions. There are few peasants that I think so highly of, none that I like so well. Scotch Highlanders have faults in plenty, but they have the bearing of Nature's own gentlemen—the delicate, natural tact which discovers, and the good taste which avoids all that would hurt or offend a guest. The poorest is ever the readiest to share the best he has with the stranger. A kind word kindly meant is never thrown away, and whatever may be the faults of this people, I have never found a boor or a churl in a Highland bothy."

The strength and the backbone of Scotland lie in her cottar and her peasant class, and Scotland will act wisely, will promote her highest interests, if she seeks, by every means in her power, to retain within her embrace as many members of that class as

can maintain a comfortable subsistence upon her plains, or within her glens. The best wealth of a country is a healthy manhood, and considerate treatment will save to us our Highlanders, for they love their country, and do not willingly forsake her.

"Here is the shore, and the far wide world's before me,
And the sea says 'Come!' but I would not part from you:
Of gold nor fame would I take for the scent of larches
That hangs around you in the rain or dew.
Place of my clansmen, place of the old brave stories,
Good hearts, stout hearts, keen swords, and their manly glories!"

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